

1937

THE
WORKS
OF
TACITUS.
VOLUME I:

CONTAINING
THE ANNALS.

To which are prefixed,

POLITICAL DISCOURSES

Upon that Author.

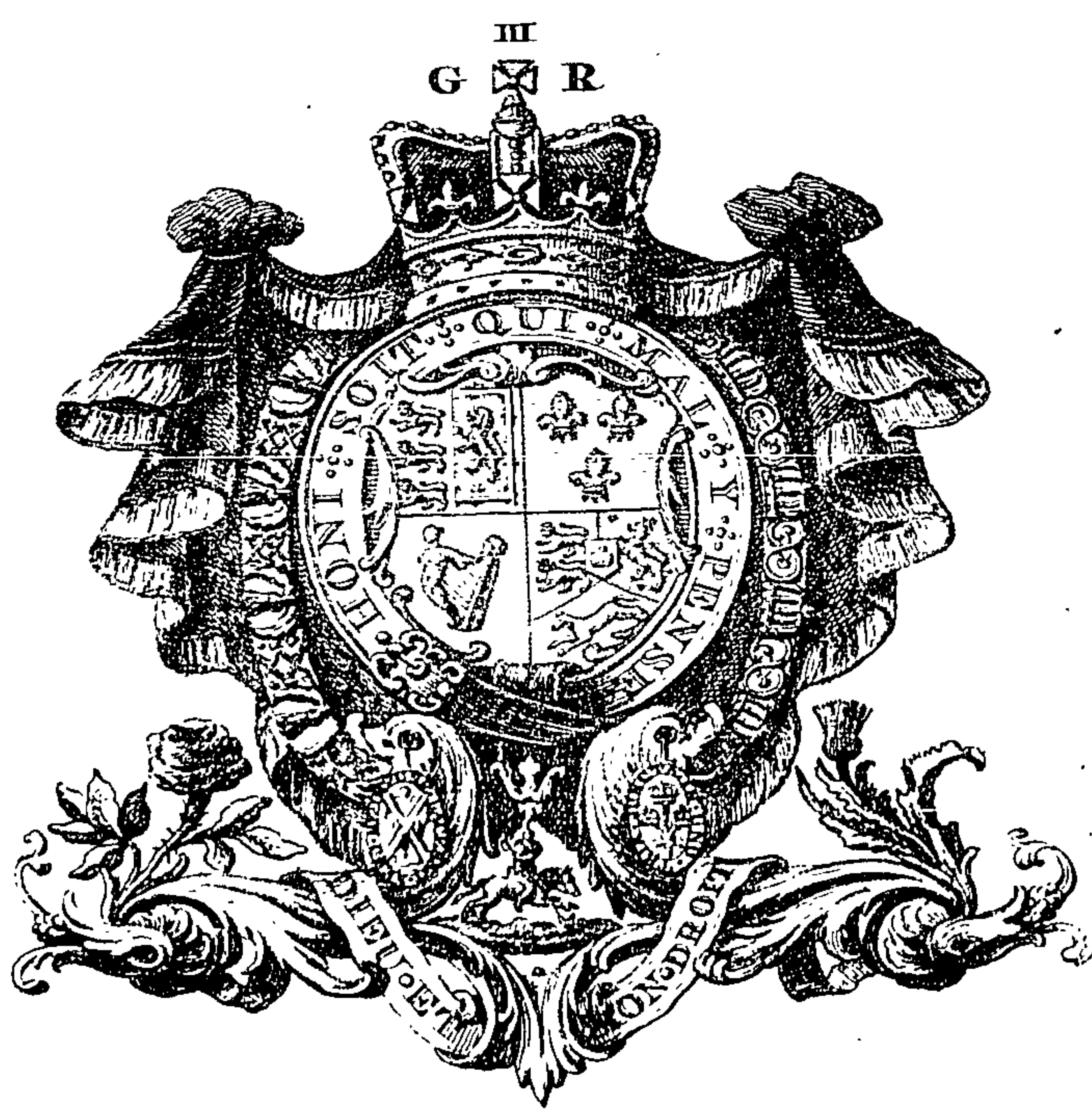


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MDCCXXVIII.

THE
XXO
TO
ZUTIOAT
MAY 1867



T O

The Right Honourable

Sir ROBERT WALPOLE,

First Commissioner of the Treasury, Chancellor
and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, one
of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Coun-
cil, and Knight of the Most Noble Order of
the Garter.

S I R,



S you were the first to promote the fol-
lowing Work in a public manner, I take
the liberty to present it to the Public un-
der your name, and to do an act of ac-
knowledgment for one of generosity. Be
pleased to be the Patron of a Book which
under your Patronage was composed. It is natural and com-
mon for men who profess Letters, to seek the countenance
and protection of men of Power; and from such of them as
to greatness of fortune were happy enough to join greatness
of mind, they have not sought in vain.

A

POWER

DEDICATION.

POWER without Politeness and Complacency, is at best distasteful, often hated; amiable when it knows how to condescend. It is thus that men in high stations avoid envy from such as stand below them. He who cannot rise to their height, finds a sort of retaliation and amends in their coming down to him. No man is pleased with a behaviour which represents him as contemptible. To make us think well of ourselves, by another's shewing us that we are well thought of by him, is a generous and artful civility: a lesson which stately and rebuking men want to learn. A mean man of great quality and figure (for such incongruities we often meet) teaches others to scorn him, by his shewing that he scorns them. Affability therefore, accompanied with good sense, which will always guard it from exceeding, is the art of keeping great Splendour from growing offensive to the rest of the world.

IT must be owned that no Affability, even the most flowing; no Genius, even the most elevated, can escape particular distastes; and from the dislike of Persons to that of Actions the transition is easy and too common. Men do not easily discern good qualities and intentions in one, to whom they do not wish well. All men, even those of the most unexceptionable Characters, are apt to form their judgment over-hastily, when their passions are warmed: and from this cause it has often proceeded, that the inevitable misfortunes of times and accidents have been charged upon such, whose interest and study it was to prevent them. This is one of the evils and uneasinesses inseparably attending every Administration. When a State is under heavy burdens and difficulties, the means to relieve and support it, will be almost always proportionably heavy: and as whatever proves heavy, however necessary, is easily called Oppression; so the hand, which administers a remedy, may, merely because it is felt, be easily stiled oppressive.

BESIDES the reason which I have already given for this Address, I have another; one taken from the Character of
my

DEDICATION.

my Author. As he was a man of Affairs, a great Minister, I choofe to prefent him to another; to one who having been long engaged in public Life, having had long experience of men, feen far into their bent and foibles, and been converfant with the myfteries and primary operations of Government; can thence readily judge whether TACITUS has refined too much in his Politics, or been over fevere in his Cenfures upon mankind: or whether this charge has not been chiefly raifed by men of speculation, who, however furnifhed with Learning, were yet unacquainted with the tranfactions of States, and ignorant of human nature; or perhaps willing to do honour to it, or to themfelves at the expence of Truth. Men are to be known, not by Theories taken up in clofets, but by Commerce with men; and beft of all in thofe great fcenes of public Life, where you, SIR, have fufained, for fo many years, a high and important part, and gained eminent experience as well as the juft opinion of great fufficiency.

I could here, agreeably to the ufual ftile and purpofe of Dedications, fay a great many advantageous things, without rifquing the ufual cenfure incurred by Dedicators. But fuch things I would much rather fay of you, than to you. In this place, I fhall only profefs my being with perfect truth and refpect,

S I R,

Your moft obliged

and moft obedient

humble Servant,

T. GORDON.

T H E

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N. B. In Page 60, III, &c. instead of ANNAL II, III, &c. read BOOK II, III, &c.

ERRATA in the DISCOURSES.

PAGE 16. Line 6. for weakened, read impaired. p. 17. l. 19. for Lal, r. Law. p. 29. l. 46. after are, add two. p. 37. l. 41. for *noxæ*, r. *noxæ*. p. 47. l. 2. after *vocabula* put a comma. p. 48. l. 13. for seditions, infusions, r. seditious infusions, p. 56. l. 17. instead of confined to rule, r. confined to no rule. p. 58. l. 7. for human, r. humane. p. 66. l. 34. dele right. p. 81. l. 28. for crucified, r. enriched. p. 82. l. 22. before imputations put as. p. 87. l. 33. for feats, r. seats. p. 94. l. 14. for a, r. and. p. 103. l. 5. for Galla, r. Galba. *ibid.* l. 6. for smoothed, r. soothed. p. 110. l. 46. for prattles, r. prattle. p. 111. l. 6. between most and can put that.

In the ANNALS.

PAGE 20. for Cedo, read Cede. p. 21. dele comma after however. p. 29. for such as served, r. such as had served. p. 49. l. 13. instead of above, r. about. p. 54. l. 5. for naturally, r. unnaturally. p. 62. l. 9. for then r. thence. p. 70. l. 8. after the word Infantry, add he. p. 73. for bate, r. bait. p. 86. l. 9. for loved, r. lived. *ibid.* l. penult. for reserves, read reserve. p. 94. for human, r. humane. p. 104. for Cefarian General, r. Cefars in general. 109. l. 21. for never, r. ever. p. 111. for stood slowly in, r. failed slowly in. p. 113. for observations, r. observances. p. 115. for crowd in r. crowding. p. 141. for corn, r. coin; and for no men, r. no man. p. 143. for municipal, r. municipal. p. 145. instead of motion of, r. motion for. p. 149. for ye, r. yea. p. 163. l. penult. for promoted, r. prompted. p. 170. for feasts, r. seats. p. 175. for hired, r. lured. p. 186. l. 5. for battled, r. baffled. p. 195. for fired, r. fed. p. 209. for battled r. baffled. p. 225. for DACO, r. LACO. p. 233. for RUSSO, r. RUFO. p. 236. for ORADES, r. ORODES. p. 243. l. the last, r. in his interest. p. 245. for VINCINUS, r. VINICIUS. p. 248. for FREGALLANUS, r. FREGELLANUS. p. 252. for assignations, r. assignation. p. 256. for battled, r. baffled. p. 260. for qualifications, r. gratifications. p. 263. after prosecution, add the. p. 272. for hineous, r. heinous. p. 279. for deed, r. deeds. p. 287. for Proprietors, r. Propretors. p. 290. instead of the War arose, r. the War which arose. *ibid.* for VINZRIUS, r. IBERIA. p. 296. for devisor, r. deviser. p. 299. before great affright, dele a, and for whoever in the next line, r. whatever. p. 300. l. 4. for design, r. daign. p. 344. l. the last but two; after Province, add and. p. 363. for ingenious, r. ingenuous. p. 374. instead of too many, r. so many. p. 385. for feat, r. seats. p. 391. instead of Noblemen, r. Nobleman. p. 402. before earth put the. p. 418. for cession, r. lesson. p. 419. for acrimony, r. reproach. *ibid.* for hand, r. hands. p. 462. instead of born a manumised Slave, r. born of a manumised Slave. p. 456. for jesticulations, r. gesticulations. 462. for name April, r. name of April.

DISCOURSES UPON TACITUS.

DISCOURSE I. Upon the former English Translations of TACITUS.

Sect. I. *Of the Translation by GREENWAY and SIR
H. SAVILL.*

I AM going to offer to the publick the Translation of a Work, which for wisdom and force, is in higher fame and consideration, than almost any other that has yet appeared amongst men; a Work often translated into many Languages, seldom well into any, into ours worst of all. The first was done in Queen ELIZABETH's reign, the Annals by one GREENWAY, and four Books of the History by SIR HENRY SAVILL, a man exceeding learned, and esteemed for his critical notes upon TACITUS, as well as for those upon St. CHRYSOSTOM, of whose works he has published an elaborate edition. But tho' he was an able Grammarian, and understood the Antiquities in TACITUS, and his words, his Translation is a mean performance; his stile is stiff, spiritless, and obscure; he drops many of his Author's ideas, preserves none of his fine turns, and starves his meaning even where he best conveys it. 'Tis a mere Translation, that rather of one word into another, than that of a dead tongue into a living, or of sense into sense. The Roman idiom is forced and wire-drawn into the English, a task altogether impossible; and not adopted and naturalized, a thing possible enough; and out of a Book profuse in eloquence, fine spirit and images, he has drawn a work harsh, halting and barren. OGILBY is not more unlike VIRGIL. GREENWAY is still worse than SAVILL; he had none of his learning, he had all his faults and more: the former has at least performed like a schoolmaster, the latter like a schoolboy.

Sect. II. *Of the English Translation by several hands.*

ABOUT a hundred years after them another English Translation was undertaken by several hands, Mr. DRYDEN and others. DRYDEN has translated the first Book; but done it almost literally from Mr. AMELOT DE LA HOUSAYE, with so much haste and

2 DISCOURSES UPON TACITUS.

little exactness, that besides his many mistakes, he has introduced several Gallicisms: he follows the French author servilely, and writes French English, rather than trust him out of his eye. It is true LA HOUSSEY is an honest Translator, and one of the foremost: he has gone as far as the thirteenth Annal inclusive; but his phrases are often weak and trifling, and he is subject to all that faintness and circumlocution for which the French tongue is noted. DRYDEN copies his manner as well as his meaning, 'twas pure hurry and want of application; for he was a fine writer, had a copious imagination, a good ear, and a flowing stile: strike away all that is bad in his works, enough will remain to shew him a great Poet, a man of parts and a master of language. Even his many enemies and opposers shew the considerableness of the man: but his excellencies in many things excuse not his faults in others; his Translation of TACITUS is poor and languid, no where derived from the original, generally full of mistakes; at best 'tis only the French Translator ill translated, or ill imitated.

Sect. III. *Of the last Translation of the first Annal.*

TACITUS talking of the latter end of AUGUSTUS his reign, says, *domi res tranquillæ: eadem magistratum vocabula.* These are two sentences independent of each other; yet Mr. DRYDEN translates, “all things at Rome being in a settled peace, the Magistrates still retained their former names;” as if the one was the cause of the other. This blunder is owing to LA HOUSSEY ill understood: *tout étoit tranquille à Rome, les Magistrats avoient les mêmes noms:* if instead of *avoient*, he had said *ayant*, the translation would have come pretty near the French. But the English Translator does not seem to understand French, tho’ he has no other guide, else how could he so miserably mistake, *pars multo maxima imminentis dominos variis rumoribus differebant;* as to render it, “the greater part employed their time in various discourses of future matters?” From this 'tis plain he never look'd into the original, or understood not a word of it. He was misled by the French which he as little understood; *la plus part se plaisoient à faire divers jugemens de ceux qui aloient devenir leurs Maitres.*

BUT more wretched still is what follows: TACITUS represents the Romans discoursing, during the decline of AUGUSTUS, concerning the next successors in view, AGRIPPA Posthumus and TIBERIUS, and makes them say of LIVIA the Empress; *accedere matrem muliebri impotentia: serviendum feminae, &c.* “His mother of a violent and imperious nature according to the sex themselves, subjected to the slavery of a woman.” This is absolute jargon and nonsense, tho’ the author followed the French as well as he could; *qui (Tibere) a une mere imperieuse & violente, selon la coutume du sexe, à laquelle il faudra obéir en esclaves.* Well may he be said to follow the French blindly; and less is the wonder that he adopts his Gallicisms where he happens to understand him.

When DRUSUS, the son of TIBERIUS, entered the camp of the seditious Legions in Pannonia, and the mutinous soldiery were gathered round him; TACITUS makes a charming and strong description of their behaviour, with the several vicissitudes of their passions, which shifted strangely according as they dreaded his person and authority,

thority, or recalled their grievances and surveyed their own numbers and strength; and he concludes the whole according to his custom, with a fine reflection: *Illi, quotiens oculos ad multitudinem retulerant, vocibus truculentis strepere; rursus, viso Cæsare, trepidare. Murmur incertum, atrox clamor, & repente quies; diversis animorum motibus, pavebant, terrebantque.* This is all pretty well translated by LA HOUSSAYE. I shall only quote the last clause or reflection: *par des mouvemens tout differens, ils prenoient l'epouvante, & la donnoient;* and this I quote only to shew how impotently the English Translator hangs by the French phrase and takes it literally: "by their different motions," says he, they gave and took terror in their turns."

Is not this pithy and sounding? There are numbers of such instances both as to language and strength; infomuch that I have been sometimes tempted to think it not to be DRYDEN's: but I have many assurances of its being his. I take it for granted it was a jobb for the Booksellers carelessly performed by one, who wanted no capacity, but only pains or encouragement to have done it much better, perhaps very well.

SECT. IV. *Of the last Translation of the second Annal.*

THE next Annal is translated by another hand, less negligently, but with small taste and vigour; no resemblance of the original, where in every sentence almost there occur surprizing images and turns, which no where appear in the Translation. 'Tis not the fire of TACITUS, but his embers, quenched with English words cold and Gothick. Let any one read particularly the two speeches of ARMINIUS and MAROBODUUS to their different armies just before they engaged, cap. 45. and 46. and he will find that between TACITUS and his Translator, there is just as much difference as between a living soul and a cold carcase. Yet the lifeless Translation of this Annal compared with that of the third by a different hand, is an able performance.

SECT. V. *Of the last Translation of the third Annal.*

THE other in truth is wretched beyond belief; 'tis below drollery; and a sort of a middle between bad sense and good nonsense. TACITUS says of the arrival of the fleet, which brought AGRIPPINA from Asia with her husband's funeral urn, and her children now fatherless; *classis paulatim successit, non alacri ut adsolet remigio, sed cunctis ad tristitiam compositis, An. 3. c. 1.* "The fleet (says the Translator) came in, not rowing briskly as they used to do, but slowly, and with sorrow in their countenances." A translation this worthy of one who could make TACITUS say elsewhere, "DRUSUS left the City to enquire his fortune:" Would not one think that he went to some remote country to consult a cunning man? Or meant the Translator to joke upon the religion and solemnities of the Romans? The words of TACITUS which he thus perverts, or rather quite drops, are, *Drusus urbe egressus repetendis auspiciis:* "DRUSUS went without the gates, to repeat the formality of the auspices."

TACITUS at the end of his discourse upon laws, says, *Cæsar Augustus, potentiae securus, quæ Triumviratu jusserat abolevit, deditque jura,*

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jura, quis pace & Principe uteremur: acriora ex eo vincla, inditi custodes, & lege Papia Poppæa premiis inducti, ut si &c. sed altius penetrabant, (custodes, scil.) Urbemque & Italiam, & quod usquam civium, corripuerant, multorumque excisi status; & terror omnibus intentabatur, nisi Tiberius statuendo remedio, &c. Now observe the force, and elegance, and truth, with which this is rendered by the Translator; "AUGUSTUS CESAR being settled in his authority, " he abolished those things he commanded in the Triumvirate, and gave " new laws to be observed in time of peace, and under a Monarch. " And that they might be the better kept he appointed some to look " after them:" [as if the laws had been a flock of sheep] " The law " PAPIA POPPEA provided, &c. But the informers went farther, " not only in the City, but thro' all Italy, where any citizens were, " ruined many families and frightened all. To remedy which TI- " BERIUS," &c. A little farther TACITUS says, *adversis animis acceptum, quod filio Claudii socer Sejanus destinaretur: polluisse nobilitatem familiæ videbantur, suspectumque jam nimie spei Sejanum ultro extulisse.* " There were (says the Translator) great discontents " upon CLAUDIUS's son's being to marry SEJANUS's daughter as " a disparagement to him, [to what him? SEJANUS was the last " named.] But SEJANUS whose ambition was suspected was much " exalted upon it."

TACITUS discoursing of the revolt of FLORUS and SACROVIR, and representing the sentiments of the people upon that and other alarms, says, *increpabant Tiberium, quod in tanto rerum motu, libellis accusatorum insumeret operam. An Julium Sacrovirum majestatis crimine reum in Senatu fore? Extitisse tandem viros qui cruentas epistolas armis cohiberent: miseram pacem vel bello bene mutari. Tanto impensius in securitatem compositus, neque loco, neque vultu mutato, sed ut solitum per illos dies egit: altitudine animi, an compererat modica esse & vulgatis leviora.* Hear how this is translated. Blaming " TI- " BERIUS for employing himself in reading informers accusations " where there was so great commotions. What, said they, have the " Senate found JULIUS SACROVIR guilty of treason? Some have " had the courage to suppress by arms the bloody libels of a Tyrant; " war is a good change for a miserable peace. But he neither chang'd " place nor countenance; affecting to shew he was not afraid, ei- " ther thro' courage, or that he knew things to be less than " they were reported." Was ever good sense so vilely burlesqued? were one to study to ridicule TACITUS, what more miserable stuff, void of all sense and sound, could one make him utter? It puts me in mind of a notable complement in an address from a learned Society to the late King; " We perceive that you are one that is not afraid " that posterity should make mention of you;" or words of the like force and beauty. Neither have I picked out these passages invidiously, as the worst: I have read the whole Annal, and I know no part of it better done.

Sect. VI. *Of the last Translation of the fourth, fifth, and sixth Annal.*

THE fourth, fifth, and sixth Annals are done by another hand, and poorly done. In him you find little of the true mean-
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ing of TACITUS; of his spirit and manner nothing at all; but frequent deviations from his sense, and even from all sense. TACITUS in the Character of SEJANUS, says; *intus summa apiscendi libido, ejusque causa modo largitio & luxus, sæpius industria ac vigilantia, haud minus noxiæ, quotiens parando regno finguntur*: who but the Translator would have discovered, that by these words TACITUS meant to declare, that “virtues are as dangerous as vices, when they meet with a turbulent spirit aspiring to Empire?” Yet the Translation of this passage is as just as that of many others. Sometimes he drops whole phrases and passages, such as he knows not what to make of, and oftner loses out of sight the meaning of others however plain.

TACITUS says, *ut series futuri in Agrippinam exitii inciperet, Claudia Pulchra sobrina ejus postulatur, accusante Domitio Afro. Is recens prætura, modicus dignationis, & quoquo facinore properus clarescere, crimen impudicitia, adulterum Furnium, veneficia in Principem & devotiones objectabat*. “To begin the ruin of AGRIPPINA, [how insipid and defective!] DOMITIUS AFER lately Pretor [not a word of *modicus dignationis*] and ready to engage in any thing to gain himself credit [obscure the force!] accuses CLAUDIA PULCRA of adultery with FURNIUS [the words *sobrina ejus*, which explain the rest, and the word *pudicitia*, one of the articles of the charge, are omitted] and to have a design on the life of that Prince with her charms and person:” What Prince? FURNIUS was none; TIBERIUS has not been mentioned in several pages: ’tis nonsense; and “a design on his life with her charms and person,” multiplies the nonsense.

WHAT follows fares not much better: *Agrippina semper atrox, tum & periculo propinquæ accensa, pergit ad Tiberium*. “AGRIPPINA always of a violent temper, but at present extremely enraged, runs immediately to TIBERIUS, &c.” He drops *periculo propinquæ*, as useless words.

TACITUS says, that amongst other reasons assigned why TIBERIUS retired from Rome, some alledged the authority assumed by his mother; who having persuaded AUGUSTUS, contrary to his inclinations, to postpone GERMANICUS and adopt TIBERIUS, did afterwards upbraid TIBERIUS with so signal a service, and even challenged the Empire as her own: *idque Augusta exprobrabat, reposebat*. “The Empress (says the Translator) seemed to reproach him with that favour, and requested it for her son.” What gibberish! she had but one son and he had it. She forsooth reproached her son TIBERIUS for having given him the Sovereignty, and from the same TIBERIUS claimed it for the same TIBERIUS. SEJANUS, once when a cave fell in upon TIBERIUS and his company, covered the Emperor with his own body: *major ex eo*, says TACITUS. “This admirable and undoubted fidelity,” says the Translator; which TACITUS never said nor meant. How miserably too does he translate, *ingentium bellorum cladem æquavit malum improvisum: ejus initium simul & finis exstitit*. “Happened a calamity in which we sustained as great a loss as in the greatest defeats, tho’ it was all done in an instant.” I will venture to say, that this is as well done as any other part of all the three Books.

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Sect. VII. *Of the last Translation of the eleventh Annal.*

THE eleventh Annal is translated by another Gentleman; but not with another spirit: 'tis like the rest, full of feebleness and mistakes and low phrases. I shall here give some instances. The Pleaders, in a speech to the Emperor CLAUDIUS, in defence of taking fees, and in answer to SILIUS, who alledged against them the example of certain great Orators of the former age who had never taken any; say, *facile Asinium & Messalam, inter Antonium & Augustum bellorum præmiis refertos, &c. c. 7.* "ASINIUS and MES-
"SALA, who feathered their nests well in the Civil Wars 'twixt
"ANTHONY," &c. This is the Language of a chairman, but of a piece with the rest, such as, a King's ^a *playing the good fellow*; ^b *trumping up ARMINIUS's title*; ^c *being equipped with money*; ^d *his reputation began to exert itself far and near*; ^e *saw but one poor snake*; ^f *more bloody than he ought to be*; Senators ^g *squabbling in the house*; A silver mine ^h *which bled but a little*; ⁱ *It was not come to that yet*; ^k *Advice hurts not the guiltless*; ^l *Men had recourse to impudence when their ill actions came to be discovered*; ^m *others were in the same predicament with them in that matter*; ⁿ *Claudius as he was easily angry, so he was easily pleased*; ^o *Matrimony the last comfort of those who give themselves to lewdness*; ^p *Affidavits of her lewdness*; ^q *The vast treasures given to Silius for his drudgery.* Such cant, jargon, and ill-favour'd nonsense, is called the Translation of TACITUS.

Sect. VIII. *Of the last Translation of the twelfth and thirteenth Annals.*

THE two succeeding Annals are Englished by another hand, and miserably Englished they are; rather worse than the former. 'Tis all wretched tittle tattle, unmeaning and ill-bred; nor could any number of words thrown together at random, without thought or idea, be more shallow or vulgar, more destitute of ornament or sound. To pass by his *top Orators*; *Knack of speaking*; *Starving off a war any ways.*—*He being rectine.*—*The Emperor himself their worthy.* *Yea Gentlemen and Senators do make no other original to themselves but from thence*; and the like gibberish which occurs in every sentence: I shall here transcribe a passage where he seems to aim at a meaning and to exceed himself: "The power his mother had over him (NERO) dwindled away
" by

^a Vinolentiam & libidines usurpans, c. 16.

^b Frustra Arminium præscribi, c. 16.

^c Auctum pecunia, c. 16.

^d Jam longius clarescere, c. 16.

^e Unam omnino anguem visam.

^f Atrociores quam novo regno conduceret,

c. 9.

^g Obstrepentibus his, c. 6.

^h Unde tenuis fructus, c. 20.

ⁱ Non eo ventum, c. 26.

^k Infonibus innoxia consilia, ib.

^l Flagitiis manifestis, subsidium ab audacia petendum, ib.

^m Adeste conscios, ib.

ⁿ Claudium, ut insidiis incautum, ita iræ properum, ib.

^o Nomen matrimonii cupivit, ob magnitudinem infamiae, cujus apud prodigos novissima voluptas est, ib.

^p Codicillos libidinum indices, c. 34.

^q Quicquid habitum Neronibus & Drusis in præteritum probri cessisse, c. 35.

^r Cæterum infracta paulatim potentia matris, delapso Nerone in amorem libertæ, cui vocabulum Actæ fuit: simul adsumptis in conscientiam Othone & Claudio Senecione adolescentulis decoris, quorum Otho familia Consulari, Senecio liberto Cæsaris patre genitus, ignara matre, dein

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“ by degrees, and NERO fell in love with ACTE, a freedwoman, and
 “ made OTHO and CLAUDIUS SENEIO the confidents of his
 “ new Amour, one of which (to wit) OTHO was of a consular family,
 “ but SENEIO, a son of one of CESAR’s freedmen; who at first
 “ without the mother’s knowledge, and since in spite of all she could
 “ do, worked himself by degrees into the Prince’s affections, by luxury
 “ and secret ways, that no body knew, which the best friends he had
 “ indulged him in, and were pleased to see him take up and content
 “ himself with that woman, a thing which did no body an injury:
 “ for he had the misfortune to dislike his wife OCTAVIA (whether
 “ it be that we naturally slight what we can have, and eagerly pur-
 “ sue what is forbidden) of an illustrious family, and of an unspotted
 “ virtue, and ’twas feared he might fall into a vein of debauching
 “ women of quality, if he was checked in that intrigue: but AGRIP-
 “ PINA could not bear that a freedwoman should nose her,” &c.
 That “ a freedwoman should beard her,” says the old Translation.

How clear, how strong, and how just! This is in the thirteenth Book:
 take one or two samples more out of the twelfth. “ ’Twas enacted
 “ that if they (women) married (to slaves) without their master’s con-
 “ sent, they should remain such” [who should, the women or the
 slaves? the former were none, and could not remain what they were
 not; and to say it of the latter, is nonsense.] “ BAREA SORANUS,
 “ Consul elect, moved that PALLAS (whom CESAR said was the
 “ first that brought it into the House) should have the Pretorial ho-
 “ nours, and fifteen millions of Sesterces, and, that SCIPIO COR-
 “ NELIUS might have the Thanks of the House, for that being
 “ descended from the Kings of Arcadia, he forgot his birth and qua-
 “ lity to serve the publick, and was contented to be one of the Prince’s
 “ servants. CLAUDIUS assured them, that PALLAS satisfied with
 “ the honour the Senate had done him, would live as retiredly as he
 “ used to do. In short an act was made,” &c.

THESE two passages are as brightly translated as any in the two
 Books, indeed beyond most passages.

I shall quote one more; ’tis in the thirteenth Annal, cap. 26.
 It was importunately urged in the Senate that such freedmen as by
 abusing their Lords, had shewn themselves unworthy of their liberty,
 should remain at the mercy of the said Lords, and be subject to their
 former chains, *nec deerant qui censerent*, says TACITUS, *sed Consules*
relationem incipere non ausi ignaro principe (i. e.) “ There were Senators
 “ too ready to have voted for such a Decree; but the Consuls durst not
 “ propose it to the vote without acquainting the Emperor.” Of all this
 plain matter the Translator understood not one word. He says, “ nei-
 “ ther

dein frustra obnitente, penitus inrepperant per
 luxum & ambigua secreta. Ne severioribus qui-
 dem Principis amicis adversantibus, muliercula,
 nulla cujusquam injuriâ, cupidines principis ex-
 plente: quando uxore ab Octavia, nobili qui-
 dem & probitatis spectatâ, fato quodam, an quia
 prævalent illicita, abhorrebat: metuebatur-
 que ne in supra seminarum inlustrium pro-
 rumperet, si illa libidine prohiberetur. Sed
 Agrippina libertam æmulam, &c. *Ann. 13. C.*
12, & 13.

Inter quæ refertur ad patres, de pœna fe-
 minarum, quæ servis conjungerentur. Statui-

turque ut ignaro domino ad id prolapsa, in serâ
 vitutem, sin consensisset, pro liberta haberetur.
 Pallanti, quem repertorem ejus relationis edide-
 rat Cæsar, prætoriam insignia, & centies quin-
 quagesies sestercium censuit consul designatus
 Barea Soranus: additum à Scipione Cornelio,
 grates publice agendas, quod regibus Arcadiæ or-
 tus, veterrimam nobilitatem usui publico post-
 poneret, seque inter ministros Principis haberi
 fineret. Assëveravit Claudius, contentum honore
 Pallantem, intra priorem paupertatem subsistere.
 Et fixum est ære publico Senatus Consultum,
 &c. *Ann. 12. C. 53.*

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“ther were there those wanting who would censure them (*nec deerant qui censerent*) “but the Consuls durst not, without the Emperor’s knowledge, determine the matter.”

I cannot omit one polite phrase more out of this Book. *Suilius Senecam increpans*, says TACITUS. “He laid it in SENECA’s dish,” says the Translator, c. 42. “laying it in SENECA’s dish,” says the old Translation. He indeed has stolen all he knew of TACITUS from the old Translation, with all its blunders and stupidity, and improved both notably. Behold another specimen. “At Rome he cheated men of their legacies, and wronged the fatherless, who were deluded by him.” The words of TACITUS are, *Romæ testamenta & orbos, velut indagine ejus capi*, c. 42.

Sect. IX. *Of the last Translation of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth Annals.*

A Fresh hand has undertaken the three following Annals, and by good fortune such a hand as has preserved an eminent uniformity with the foregoing; only he is somewhat more gross. TACITUS says, it was reported that when AGRIPPINA studied to draw NERO her son into an incestuous commerce with herself, *Senecam contra muliebres inlecebras subsidium a femina petivisse: immissamque Acten libertam*. “SENECA (says the Translator) soon brought in ACTE, NERO’s beloved woman, to expel one whore with another.”

When AGRIPPINA had escaped the first attempt upon her life, she dissembled, and seemed not to think it designed, nor to entertain any future apprehensions: *simulata securitate*: “Under the appearance of security,” (says the Translator.) But as ACERRONIA one of her maids had perished in that attempt, she ordered her Will to be found, and all her effects to be sealed up. This she did, says TACITUS, without any dissimulation; *id tantum non per simulationem*, c. 6. “She takes all necessary care (says the Translator) for the cure of her wound; the Testament of ACERRONIA to be looked out, her coffers to be sealed up, and all things necessary to be done without the least dissimulation:” How nicely he understands the original, and how grammatical is his English! Here however there seems to be some meaning aimed at; in what follows, even that is wanting: “The image of the villains who were stained with the guilt of this parricide, still haunted him.” The words of the original are *observabanturque maris illius & litorum gravis adspectus*, c. 10.

IN truth, to expose the insipidness and nonsense of these Annals, were to transcribe them. In some places he is so gross, that his words will not bear repeating; as particularly where one of OCTAVIA’s maids tells TIGELLINUS, *castiora esse muliebria Octaviæ quam os ejus*. His Translation of this is abominable, as well as ridiculous and false; and many such like instances there are in him. I beg leave to quote one short passage more out of this Annal. When that Lady was by the Tyrant divorced, and banished into Campania under a Guard

¹ The old Translation has it, *At Rome he trap them*. This is foolish, but wiser than the *cozened men of their legacies such as died without children, as if he had laid a snare to en-* other.

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Guard; *inde crebri questus*, says TACITUS, *nec occulti per vulgum, cui minor sapientia, & ex mediocritate fortunæ, pauciora pericula sunt*, c. 60. This is a fine reflection; observe how execrably it is rendered: “ Upon the clamour of the people (who having nothing to lose, are commonly fearless, not out of any love or relenting at his severity) this was remitted.”

THE fifteenth Annal is done just like the fourteenth, wretchedly. Here follows a specimen: CORBULO and CESENNIUS PETUS commanded in the East: *sed neque Corbulo æmuli patiens* (says TACITUS); *& Pætus, cui satis ad gloriam erat si proximus haberetur, despiciebat gesta, nihil cædis aut prædæ, usurpatas nomine tenuis urbium expugnationes, dictitans: se tributa ac leges, & pro umbra Regis Romanum jus victis impositurum*, c. 6. The misfortune was, (says the Translator) “ the one was impatient of a rival, and the other could not endure a superior; and PETUS, who ought to have contented himself in being second to CORBULO, ever took pleasure to diminish the glory of his actions, upbraiding him that his victory in taking of towns was imaginary, without conquest or plunder. That he would impose laws and demand contributions, introduce the Roman power in the place of their Knights, and render them a meer shadow.”

HE often seems to be without the least glimmering of TACITUS's meaning, or any meaning, and puts down a parcel of words at random. How clearly does he English, *provixis exemplis Caudinæ ac Numantinæ cladis*; “ resolving to follow the example of Numantian, and the Caudine defeat, which practice they thought they might justify, since the Parthians were at this time more powerful than the Carthaginians or Samnites: [were they in truth? what a discovery is here?] *neque eandem vim Samnitibus Italico populo, aut Pænis Romani imperii æmulis*. He goes on: *They were now beginning to talk that the Antients were always commended for their address in suiting all things to the times, and securing a safe retreat when fortune should frown upon them*. This is another discovery which he has made from these words: *validam quoque & laudatam antiquitatem, quotiens fortuna contra daret, salutis consuluisse*, c. 13; that is, “ these same venerable Antients, so very stubborn and invincible, and so much adored, always consulted self preservation, as often as pressed by the assaults of a calamitous fortune.”

When PETUS had submitted to such shameful conditions from the Parthians, he amongst the rest made a Bridge over the river Arsarnias, and to hide his disgrace, pretended 'twas to shorten his own march; when in truth, 'twas done in obedience to the commands of the Parthians, as a monument of their superiority and conquest: *namque iis usui fuit; nostri per diversum iere*, c. 15. “ it being commodious to them, (quoth the Translator) and not in any manner to molest us.” Were ever two meanings more remote? He often adds words of his own to those of TACITUS, and often drops many more of the original, sometimes whole sentences. TACITUS says, there prevailed then a pestilent custom of making fraudulent Adoptions, by such Candidates for Offices as had no children of their own; and as soon as the Election was over, they instantly dismissed such as they had occasionally adopted. This abuse raised a storm from such as were real parents; who, having applied to the Senate with warm representations against such fallacious dealings in others, and

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such injury done to themselves, add, *sibi promissa legum diu expectata, in ludibrium verti, quando quis sine solitudine parens, sine luctu orbis, longa patrum vota repente adæquaret, c. 19.* All this is dropp'd by the Translator, and the following jargon of his own inserted: "They took children to quit them at their fancy in contempt of those laws, while they had a great many privileges, for care or sorrow, the other with ease enjoyed the same."

I am afraid I have tired my reader as I have done my self with such a dull deduction of stupidities. I did not at first intend to say any thing of the former Translations: I took it for granted that every man who had seen them, must have condemned them, and found them as pitiful and bad as they really are. But when upon publishing my Proposals, I found that some, who by their titles and profession should be learned, others who by their high quality, ought to have taste and elegance, had commended the former Translation, and uttered their despair of seeing a better; I found it necessary to give some account of that performance, which I think to be as low, defective, and wretched as any thing in print; neither language, nor sense, nor decency, and as much unlike TACITUS the Historian, as the meanest slave of TACITUS the Consul, was unlike his master. It is much worse than the old Translation, which is exceeding bad. 'Tis in my own defence as well as in defence of TACITUS, that I have censured it, and against my inclination. It looks indeed as if the Translators themselves had no opinion of it, since they have not, as is usual, said one word about it by way of Preface. This is what Mr. DRYDEN particularly never used to omit doing: why did he omit it now in the Translation of a work of such name and weight? As far as the sixth Annal there is a Translation too of LA HOUSSAYE's Notes, but done with great ignorance and errors.

DISCOURSE II. Upon TACITUS and his Writings.

SECT. I. *The Character of TACITUS.*

AS to the Character of TACITUS and his Writings; he was the greatest Orator, Statesman, and Historian of his time; he had long frequented the Bar; he had passed through all the high offices of State: he was Edile, Pretor, Consul; and after long acquaintance with business and men, he applied himself to collect observations, and to convey the fruits of his knowledge to posterity, under the agreeable dress of a History. For this task he was excellently qualified: No man had seen more, scarce any man had ever thought so much, or conveyed his thoughts with greater force and vivacity; a mighty genius, for which no conception or design was too vast; a powerful Orator, who abounds in great sentiments and description: yet a man of consummate integrity, who, tho' he frequently agitates the passions, never misleads them: a masterly Historian, who draws events from their first sources; and explains them with a redundancy of images, and a frugality of words: a profound Politician who takes
off

off every disguise, and penetrates every artifice: an upright Patriot, zealous for publick Liberty and the welfare of his Country, and a declared enemy to Tyrants and to the instruments of Tyranny; a lover of mankind; a man of virtue, who adores Liberty and Truth, and every where adorns and recommends them; who abhors falshood and iniquity; despises little arts, exposes bad ones; and shews, upon all occasions, by the fate and fall of great wicked men, by the anxiety of their souls, by the precariousness of their power, by the uncertainty or suddenness of their fate, what a poor price greatness obtained is for goodness lost; and how infinitely persecuted virtue is preferable to smiling and triumphant wickedness. GERMANICUS under all his hardships and disfavour, is a happier man than TIBERIUS with all his power and Empire; happier in peace of mind, happier in his fame and memory. TIGELLINUS is a great favourite with NERO, but detested by all the rest of the world, and fearful of all men. SENECA is disliked by the Emperor, but universally beloved and regretted. TACITUS is a fine Gentleman, who suffers nothing pedantick or low, nothing that is trifling or indecent to fall from his pen. He is a man of wit; not such a one as is fond of conceits and the quaintness of words, but a wit that is grave, majestic, and sublime; one that blends the solemnity of truth with the fire of imagination, and touches the heart rather than the fancy; yet, for the better reception of truth, pleases and awakens the fancy.

THE telling of truth is dry and unaffecting; but to enliven it with imagery, is describing it: and every one knows the advantages that Description has over bare Narration: hence the force of fine painting; tho', in my opinion, the Orator has the advantage of the Painter, as words can multiply ideas better than the pencil, throw them thicker together, and enflame them more. What piece of APPELLES could have animated the Athenians against PHILIP of Macedon, like one of DEMOSTHENES's Orations? What picture of Love can equal the description of that passion by LUCRETIVS, the noblest wit of all the Latin Poets? It is hardly, I believe, possible for colours to carry images higher than they are by MICHAEL ANGELO carried, in his piece of the last Day: yet I believe it not only possible, but easy to make a description of that day more affecting than the sight of that celebrated piece.

Sect. II. *How much he excells in Description and Force.*

PAINTING in words is the strongest painting; and in that art TACITUS excells to amazement. His images are many, but close and thick; his words are few, but pointed and glowing; and even his silence is instructive and affecting.

How justly does he represent that noble fullness and disdain of the wife of ARMINIUS, when brought with other captives before GERMANICUS? *Inerant & feminae nobiles, inter quas uxor Arminii, eademque filia Segestis, mariti magis quam parentis animo, neque victa in lacrymas, neque voce supplex, compressis intra sinum manibus gravidum uterum intuens, A. 1. c. 57.* A circumstance of distress more moving than this last, could not be devised; and what words, or exclamations or tears could raise compassion so effectually, as the representation of a spirit too great to weep or complain; of a grief too mighty to be uttered?

THE March of GERMANICUS and his Army to the Forest of Teutburg, to bury the bones of VARUS and his Legions, there massacred by the Germans; the description of that Camp, with the revival of the circumstances of that tragical event; and the sympathy and resentments of the Soldiers, are all beautifully displayed with great force and brevity, with equal tenderness and horror.

PERMOTO *ad miserationem omni qui aderat exercitu, ob propinquos, amicos, denique ob casus bellorum, & sortem hominum. Incedunt mæstos locos, visuque ac memoria deformes. Prima Vari castra lato ambitu, & dimensis principiis, trium legionum manus ostentabant: dein semiruto vallo, humili fossa, accisæ jam reliquæ consedisse intelligebantur: medio campi albertia ossa, ut fugerant, ut restiterant, disjecta vel aggerata: adjacebant fragmina telorum, equorumque artus, simul truncis arborum antefixa ora; lucis propinquis barbaræ aræ, apud quas tribunos ac primorum ordinum centuriones mactaverant. Cladis ejus superstites pugnam aut vincula elapsi, referebant, hic cecidisse legatos, illic raptas aquilas; primum ubi vulnus Varo adactum, ubi infelici dextra, & suo ictu mortem invenerit; quo tribunali concionatus Arminius; quot patibula captivis, quæ scrobes; utque signis & aquilis per superbiam inluserit. Igitur Romanus qui aderat exercitus, sextum post cladis annum, trium Legionum ossa, nullo noscente alienas reliquias an suorum humo tegeret, omnes ut conjunctos, ut consanguineos, auctâ in hostem irâ, mæsti simul & infensi condebant, An. 1. c. 61, 62.*

HERE is eloquence and description! What can be added, what can be taken away? His stile is every where warm and pathetick, and he never informs the understanding, or entertains the imagination, but he kindles the affections. You are not only convinced by his sentiments, but governed by them, charm'd with them, and grow zealous for them. This is a trial of the power and skill of a writer: this the drift and glory of persuasion and eloquence; and this the talent of TACITUS.

To display Tyrants and Tyranny he chuses the strongest words and figures: *facinora ac flagitia sua ipsi quoque in supplicium verterant. Si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse adspici laniatus & ictus; quando ut corpora verberibus, ita sævitia, libidine, malis consultis, animus dilaceretur: quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non solitudines, protegebant, quin tormenta pectoris suasque ipse pœnas fateretur, An. 6. c. 6.*

IT was his business and design to lay open the iniquity and horrors of their mis-rule; *sæva jussa, continuas accusationes, fallaces amicitias, perniciem innocentium.* You see the bloody hands of the executioners, Rome swimming in the blood of her own Citizens, and all the rage of unrelenting Tyranny; *undantem per domos sanguinem, aut manus carnificum.* You see the bands of accusers let loose, nay hired to destroy, and breathing death and exile; *sævitiam oratorum accusationes minitantium: delatores per præmia eliciebantur.* You see the barbarous outrages of an insolent and merciless soldiery; *cuncta sanguine, ferro, flammisque miscent.* You see madmen bear rule, these mad rulers governed and made worse by slaves, villains, and harlots; yet all these monsters adored, their persons, wickedness, and even their fury sanctified; iniquity exalted, virtue trod under foot, laws perverted, righteousness and truth depressed and banished; every worthy man doomed to scaffolds, rocks, and dungeons; the basest of all men pronouncing that doom, and making a prey or a sacrifice of the best; fear and

and distrust and treachery prevailing; the destroyers themselves haunted with the perpetual dread of destruction, at last overtaken by it, yet seldom leaving better in their room.

ALL these melancholy scenes you see exposed in colours strong and moving: the thoughts are great, the phrase elevated, and the words chaste and few: 'tis all a picture: whatever he says you see, and all that you see affects you. It puzzles one to give instances, because there are so many in every page. How many affecting images are there in these few words near the beginning of the first Annal; *Quotusquisque reliquus qui rempublicam vidisset?* How mournful too and expressive, yet how plain are these which immediately follow! *Igitur verso civitatis statu, nihil usquam prisci & integri moris;* as well as those a little before; *rebus novis aucti tuta & praesentia, quam vetera & periculosa mallent?*

WITH what thunder and vehemence does ARMINIUS rouse the Cheruscans, his country-men, to arms, when his wife became a captive to the Romans, and his child a slave tho' yet unborn? *Egregium patrem! magnanimum imperatorem! fortem exercitum! quorum tot manus unam mulierculam avexerint: sibi tres Legiones, totidem legatos procubuisse: non enim se prodicione, neque adversus feminas gravidas, sed palam adversus armatos bellum tractare. Cerni adhuc Germanorum in lucis signa Romana. Coleret Segestes victam ripam, redderet filio sacerdotium, &c.* In how few words does he comprize a long and perplexed debate in the council held by GERMANICUS, how to proceed with the mutinous Legions! *Augebat metum gnarus (superior exercitus) Romanae seditionis, & si omitteretur ripa, invasurus hostis; ac si auxilia & socii adversum abscedentes Legiones armarentur, civile bellum suscipi: periculosa severitas, flagitiosa largitio: seu nihil militi, seu omnia concederentur, in ancipiti Respublica. Igitur, &c. An. 1.*

Sect. III. *Further instances of the justness of his Genius, and of his great Thoughts.*

HIS account of the persecutions of GERMANICUS, with his last words and amiable Character, makes a fine Tragedy; so does the Death of SENECA; so does that of the Conspirators against NERO. With what magnanimity and calmness does SULPITIUS ASPER the Centurion answer the brutal Tyrant, when asked, why he had conspired against his life? *non aliter tot flagitiis ejus subveniri potuisse.* With what silence and firmness did the Consul VESTINUS die? tho' he was NERO's old companion and friend, and unconcerned in the conspiracy, and no crime nor accuser against him: *vigens adhuc balneo infertur, calida aqua mersatur, nulla edita voce qua se miseraretur.* How beautiful, how deep, and just are his observations upon human nature! *Molles in calamitate humani animi: mobiles ad superstitionem percussae semel mentes: cupidine ingenii humani lubentius obscura credi: neque morum spernendus, nisi quod paupertatem praecipuum malorum credebat. Vivorum ut magna admiratio, ita censura difficilis: eandem virtutem admirantibus cui irascebantur: manebat admiratio viri & fama, sed ode- rant. Beneficia eo usque lata sunt dum videntur exsolvi posse; ubi multum antecessere, pro gratia odium redditur. Exaeto per scelera die, novissimum malorum fuit letitia. Rumore populi, qui neminem sine aemulo finit: minore spe veniae, crescit vinculum sceleris: populus no-*

E

varum

varum rerum cupiens pavidusque: vulgus eadem pravitate interfectum insectatur, qua viventem foverat.

How masterly and profound are those upon Government! *Primas dominandi spes in arduo: ubi sis ingressus adesse studia & ministros. Arduum eodem loci potentiam & concordiam esse. Potentia cautis consiliis tutius habetur. Major longinquo reverentia. Principibus præcipua rerum ad famam dirigenda. Infociabile regnum: cupido regni fratre & filia potior. Scaurum cui implacabilius irascebatur (Tiberius) silentio transiit. Intelligebantur artes, sed pars obsequii in eo, ne deprehenderentur. In summa fortuna æquius quod validius.* These I do not quote as the finest Thoughts in TACITUS, but only such as occur to me.

HE paints Thoughts and Faculties, Men and Passions, Tyranny and Slaves. His imagination is boundless, yet never out-runs his judgment; his wisdom is solid and vast, yet always enlivened by his imagination. His designing is great, his drawing just, his colouring beautiful. See the description of a Pestilence at Rome, *An. 16. c. 13. Domus corporibus exanimis, itinera funeribus complebantur. Non sexus, non ætas periculo vacua. Servitia perinde ac ingenua plebes raptim extinguere, inter conjugum & liberorum lamenta, qui dum assident, dum deflent, sæpe eodem rogo cremabantur. Equitum Senatorumque interitus quamvis promiscui, minus flebiles erant, tanquam communi mortalitate servitiam Principis prævenirent.* Under a Tyrant, a Plague was a blessing.

WHO but TACITUS could have said as he does of the antient Germans: *Argentum & aurum propitii an irati Dii negaverint, dubito?* or that afterwards of the same people: *mira diversitate naturæ, cum iidem homines sic ament inertiam, quietem oderint?* or that of the Sitones, a particular Clan of Germans, who were under the Government of a Woman; *in tantum non modo a libertate, sed etiam a servitute degenerant?* These are such instances of discernment, sagacity and happy expression, as few Writings can shew. By them and a thousand more, 'tis manifest that TACITUS saw every thing in a true and uncommon light: and his reflections are like mirrors where human nature and government are exhibited in their proper size and colours.

I cannot help thinking that to be a bold and gallant Saying of BOIOTICALUS to the Roman General, who refused him a mansion for himself and his people in the vacant Lands of Frizia; and thence provoked him to implore the Sun and Stars: *quasi coram interrogabat, vellentne contueri inane solum? potius mare superfunderent adversus terrarum creptores. Deesse nobis terram in qua vivamus; in qua moriamur non potest.* What a sublime thought is that of his concerning the Fennians? The most savage and wretched race this of all the wild Germans; their cloathing, skins; their bed, the earth; their food, the grass; destitute of horses, houses, and arms; the thick branches of trees their only shelter against tempests and the ravening beasts: Here they find cradles and protection for their babes; here live the old men, and hither resort the young: yet this miserable life they prefer to that of sweating at the plough, and to the pains of rearing houses: they thirst not after the fortunes of others; they have no anxiety about preserving their own; so that they hoped for nothing that was not theirs, and having nothing of their own, could fear to lose nothing: *securi (says TACITUS) adversus homines, securi adversus deos, rem difficillimam adsecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus sit.*

Sect. IV. *The Morality of TACITUS, and his spirit virtuous and humane.*

AS obvious too as his other great qualities, is his love of Mankind, of Civil Liberty, and of private and publick Virtue. His Book is a great tablature of the ugliness and horrors of Tyranny; of the scandal and infamy of servitude and debasement; of the loveliness of virtue and a free spirit; of the odiousness of vice and sycophancy. Such was his sympathy for the sufferings and severe lot of the Romans under TIBERIUS, that he is glad of a digression from home, and keeps thence as long as he can, to relieve his soul from attending to domestick evils: *duabus aestatibus gesta conjunxi, quo requiesceret animus a domesticis malis*. He grieves for the slavish spirit, for the stupid tameness of the Romans under the Tyranny of the detestable NERO: So much Roman blood wantonly shed by that monster, is a load upon his soul and oppresses it with sorrow: *patientia servilis, tantumque sanguinis domi perditum, fatigant animum, & mæstitia restringunt*.

HE delights in good times, in publick Liberty and virtuous Reigns, and delights to praise them; such as those of NERVA and TRAJAN; *rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis, & quæ sentias dicere licet*. In what a different strain does he speak of the foregoing Emperors? *Nobilitas, opes, omissi gestique honores pro crimine, & ob virtutes certissimum exitium*. He glories however that the worst and most faithless times produced many instances of friendship and generous fidelity: *non tamen adeo virtutum sterile seculum, ut non & bona exempla prodiderit*.

HE is fond of a virtuous Character; as that of LABEO: *Labeo incorrupta libertate & ob id fama celebratior*: such as that of LEPIDUS; *hunc ego Lepidum temporibus illis, gravem & sapientem virum fuisse comperio: nam plæraque ab sævis adulationibus aliorum, in melius flexit*: and that of L. PISO chief Pontiff; *nullius servilis sententiæ sponte auctor*. How amiable are the Death and last words of L. ARRUNTIVS, like those of a Patriot and a Prophet! But how vile every where, and even miserable and insecure, are Tyrants, Flatterers and the Ministers of Iniquity? What he says of the first I have quoted above: and against the other hear his honest indignation: *tempora infecta, & adulatione sordida fuere. Fædaque & nimia censerent. Adulatio perinde anceps si nulla, & ubi nimia est. Delatores genus hominum in exitium publicum repertum, perniciem aliis, ac postremo sibi invenere*. What an odious insect is VATINIUS; what a horrible villain TIGELLINUS; what infamous sycophants are CAPITO and VITELLIUS; and what a shocking parricide is SERENUS, the accuser of his father and a general accuser?

Sect. V. *The Style of TACITUS, how pertinent and happy: his Obscurity, a charge of the moderns only.*

BESIDES the grandeur and dignity of his phrase, he is remarkable for a surprising brevity: but let his words be ever so few, his thought and matter are always abundant. His expression is like the dress of POPPEA SABINA, described by himself; *velata parte oris ne satiaret aspectum, vel quia sic decebat*. He starts the Idea, and leaves the

the Imagination to pursue it: the sample he gives you is so fine, that you are presently curious to see the whole piece, and then you have your share in the merit of the discovery; a compliment which some able Writers have forgot to pay to their Readers. I cannot help thinking Mr. LOCKE a great deal too wordy, and that the plainness of his propositions, as well as their strength, is often weak'ned by an explanation over-diffuse. Dr. TILLOTSON's stile is much better, indeed very fine, but takes up too much room: 'tis like he chose it as fit for popular Discourses; since 'tis plain from the vivacity of his Parts, and the many fine turns found in his Writings, that he could have been very sententious. These two great names are by no man revered more than I reverence them, and without malignity I mention them, as I do that of the worthy Lord CLARENDON, whose language is weighty, and grave, but encumbered and even dark'ned, I might say flat'ned, with a multiplication of words.

STILE is a part of Genius, and TACITUS had one peculiar to himself, a sort of a language of his own, one fit to express the amazing vigour of his spirit, and that redundancy of reflections which for force and frequency are to be equalled by no Writer before or since. Besides, the course and fluency of his Narration, is almost every where broken by persons whom he introduces speaking and debating; inso-much that a great part of his History comes out of the mouths of other people, and in expressions suitable to their several Characters. 'Tis plain too that the older he grew, the more he pruned and curtailed his Stile; for his Histories are much more copious and flowing than his Annals: and thus what has been by others reckoned a fault, was in him the effect of his judgment. Neither were his Works intended for the populace; but for such as governed States, or such as attended to the conduct of Governors; nor, were the Stile and Latin ever so plain, would they ever be understood by such as do not. As PLUTARCH came to understand the Roman Tongue by understanding their Affairs; TACITUS is to be known by knowing human Nature, and the elements and mechanism of Government.

IT is madness to wish for the manner and redundancy of LIVY in the Writings of TACITUS. They wrote at different times, and of Governments differently formed. TACITUS had transactions of another sort to describe, and other sorts of men; (for by Government men are changed); the crooked arts of policy, the false smiles of power, the jealousy, fury and wantonness of Princes uncontrolled; the flattery of the Grandees; the havock made by the accusers, and universal debasement of all men: matter this chiefly for reflection, complaints and rebuke! *Nobis in arto, & inglorius labor: mæstæ urbis res, &c.* LIVY had another field and more scope; the History of a Commonwealth rising, forming, and conquering; perpetual victories and matter of panegyrick; and his pen flowed like the prosperity of the State: *Ingentia bella, expugnationes urbium, fusos captosque reges, discordias Consulium adversus Tribunos, agrarias frumentariasque leges, plebis & optimatum certamina, libero egressu memorabat, An. 4. 32.* Doubtless he could have adopted another Stile if he would, perhaps the stile of LIVY, as I think this very quotation shews: but TACITUS had another view and different topicks; nor would another stile, the easy and numerous stile of LIVY, have answered his purpose. I fancy too that no body who knows TACITUS, would wish him to have written in a strain dif-

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ferent from what he has done. There are charms in his manner and words, as well as in his Thoughts, and he wears the only dress that would become him.

It is amazing that this obscurity of his should never be mentioned by any of the Antients who mention him. It is a fault discovered by the Moderns, tho', in my opinion, common to him with other Classical Writers; nor has he puzzled the Commentators more than HORACE, CICERO, PLINY, SALLUST, &c. His Latin is truly pure and classical; he has few or no words which had not been used by approved writers, nor does he often give new ideas to old words. If his Works were no wise obscure to men of sense when he composed them, as we have no reason to think; 'tis insolence and folly in us to reckon his obscurity a fault. 'Tis a dead language he writes in, and he wrote near seventeen hundred years ago. When TACITUS the Emperor directed copies of his Books to be placed in all the Libraries, and for their better preservation, to be transcribed ten times every year, he ordered no Grammarian to explain his abstruse places; tho' the Historian had been then dead near two hundred years. Great Writers are in their manner and phrase a Law and Authority to themselves; and not confined to the Rules that fill the heads or grammars of small wits and pedants. MILTON has a style of his own, and rules for writing of his own; and who that tastes his genius would wish him more fashionable and exact, or to have writ otherwise. I am even pleased with the jarrings of MILTON's phrases. But here I chiefly mean his poetical style. Of his prose I shall make mention hereafter.

WHEN the subject varies so should the style: that of TACITUS is marvellously suited to his subject and design; had it been more familiar, it had neither been so just nor so beautiful. To me nothing is more so than the manner of TACITUS: his words and phrases are admirably adapted to his matter and conceptions, and make impressions sudden and wonderful upon the mind of man. The doleful condition of the Emperor VITELLIUS, when deserted by his fortune and all men, is strong and tragical as imagination and words can make it. *Terret solitudo & tacentes loci; tentat clausa; inhorrescit vacuis; fessusque misero errore, & pudenda latebra semet occultans, à Tribuno protrahitur: vincitæ pone tergum manus; laniata veste, fædum spectaculum ducebatur, multis increpantibus:* he adds, *nullo inlachrymante;* and the reason he gives for this, is judicious and fine: *deformitas exitus misericordiam abstulerat.* What follows is in the same affecting strain; as are the first sensible approaches of his calamity. *Vitellius, capta urbe, Aventinum in domum uxoris cellula defertur, ut si diem latebra vitavisset terracinam—perfugeret: dein mobilitate ingenii, & quæ natura pavoris est, cum omnia metuenti, præsentia maxime displicerent, in palatium regreditur, vastum desertumque; dilapsis etiam infimis servorum, aut occursum ejus declinantibus.*

WHO would blame TACITUS for a paucity of words, when he conveys so many images in so few? *Is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur?* Where can there be a happier expression than that concerning GALBA, when the Empire was already rent from him, and he knew it not? *Ignarus interim Galba & sacris intentus, fatigabat alieni jam imperii deos.* When OTHO, proclaimed Emperor by no more than three and twenty
F Soldiers,

Soldiers, was advancing to the Camp, & *paucitate salutantium trepidus*; the behaviour and acquiescence of those he met in his way are accounted for with surprizing brevity and justness: *alii conscientia, plerique miraculo; pars clamore & gladiis, pars silentio, animum ex eventu sumpturi*. There is infinite pathos in what he says of the Omens and Phenomena, which were observed during the Civil Wars, and the strife of Princes: *cælo terraque prodigia, & fulminum monitus, & futurorum præsagia læta, tristia, ambigua, manifesta*. What can be more solemn, founding and sublime, even in LUCRETIVS? When NERO was disgracing himself and the Roman State, by debasing his person to that of a Player upon the publick Stage; how pathetically is the behaviour and spirit of BURRUS described in a few words; *adstabat Burrus mærens & laudans*.

SECT. VI. *A general Character of his Works.*

THERE is no end of specimens and examples: 'tis all over a wonderful Book, full of wisdom, full of virtue; of astonishing strokes of genius and superior sense. Yet he seems not to value himself upon his great thoughts; the finest things fall from him like common things; he says them naturally, and never dwells upon one, because he has always more to utter. When he has struck your imagination and you want to stand still and ruminate, you have no time; he draws or rather forces you forward, and the next thought strikes you as much; so does the third, and all of them; and you go on reading and wondering, yet wishing for leisure to ponder and recollect: But he gives you none; for from first to last the present reflection is always the best.

'Tis all of it eternal good sense, and will bear an eternity of time and censure. 'Tis no wise akin to your pretty trifles of humour and fancy, that just tickle the imagination and go no deeper, and please for a day. His beauties are solid, and upon the strictest examination discover no paint or tinsel; his wisdom and instruction are inexhaustible, and his works consequently an everlasting feast. I have seen several performances of tolerable length and notable reputation, all derived from so many short sentences of TACITUS, well wiredrawn and paraphrased: he is indeed a fund for Writers who have discretion and stile, but want depth.

There is a fine short Character of TACITUS in OWEN'S Epigrams;

*Veracem fecit probitas, natura sagacem,
Obscurum brevitæ te, gravitasque brevem.* Epigr. 157.

SECT. VII. *TACITUS vindicated from the imputation of deriving events from counsels too subtle and malevolent.*

HE is accused too of over much subtlety and refining, and of deriving the actions of his Princes, even the most innocent and plausible, from crooked designs and a base heart; and of imputing to Craft and Politicks what was often no more than the effect of inclination and passion. A charge in my opinion intirely groundless: TACITUS describes things and men as they are, shews Particulars acting agreeably to their characters, their situation and views; and represents counsels

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fels flowing from such sources only as were likely to produce them. Let us examine his reign of TIBERIUS for which he is chiefly censured.

THE first feat of this reign, was the murder of AGRIPPA, the grandson of AUGUSTUS. TIBERIUS ordered it, and denied it, and threatened the Centurion who was the executioner, that he should answer for it to the Senate. This is the account given by TACITUS, and the same is given by SÜETONIUS; the former adds, that it was done from jealousy of State, and for the removal of a Rival: and what other reason is to be given? for he had shewn how improbable it was that the same had been ordained by AUGUSTUS, tho' this was pretended, as SÜETONIUS too testifies. Nor was any thing more natural than his apprehensions of GERMANICUS, a young Prince popular above all men, and at the head of a great army, who wanted him for their Emperor in the room of TIBERIUS. This is matter of fact and well attested: Now where is the extreme refining, to represent TIBERIUS as contriving to remove such a dangerous man, one of such good pretences and powerful interest, first from his faithful Legions, and then from home, for ever; tho' at the same time he flattered him, extolled him, and heaped honours upon him? All this is but the common road of such Courts, when they have the same designs and fears. Is it not usual in Turkey to load a Bashaw with Imperial Presents, to bestow upon him some great Government, and to murder him before he arrive there?

Is not power a jealous and artificial thing, full of fears and wiles; and is not TIBERIUS allowed by all men to have been a Prince of infinite distrust, craft, and cruelty? What meant he by making great men Governors of Provinces, and yet never suffering them to go thither for a course of years, nor even out of Rome, tho' they still held the name? What meant he by continuing others in the actual possession of Provinces for a long tract of years, nay frequently to the end of their life? Was it not his distrust of the former; and that as to the latter, he could not make a safer choice, and therefore was afraid to choose any? Yet TACITUS far from diving into his Politicks in this matter, or being subtle and dogmatical about it, gives you the sentiments of others: *alii tædio novæ curæ, semel placita pro æternis servavisse: Quidam, invidia, ne plures fruerentur. Sunt qui existimant, ut callidum ejus ingenium, ita auxilium judicium; neque enim eminentis virtutes sectabatur, & rursus vitia oderat: ex optimis periculum sibi; a pessimis dedecus publicum metuebat.* Never was any thing said more impartial, never any thing more just and solid. From the doubles and even contradictions that possess the heart of man, the conduct of men will be perplexed and contradictory. It is allowed that *alieni appetens, sui profusus*, was a just branch in the Character of CATILINE, and is reckoned one of the beauties and strong places in SALLUST. Without peradventure, as beautiful and strong and just, is this of TACITUS: *neque eminentis virtutes sectabatur, & rursus vitia oderat; the reason too assigned for it, is equally just and fine: ex optimis periculum sibi; a pessimis dedecus publicum metuebat.* Is not this accounting from the principles of nature and self preservation for the conduct and politicks of TIBERIUS? Many of his actions and measures, recounted by TACITUS, are supported by collateral evidence, by SÜETONIUS, PLINY, DION CASSIUS, and others: many by them omitted

omitted are by him related, with such probability, and so perfectly resemble the rest of his conduct, that we must deny TIBERIUS to have been such a Prince as all men agree he was, or believe the account of him given by TACITUS.

HIS diffimulation was constant and notorious. In the very beginning, while he confidently acted as Emperor, with all the pomp and might of Majesty, he openly refused the Empire: *Principatum* (says SÜETONIUS) *quamvis neque occupare confestim, neque agere dubitasset, vi & specie dominationis assumpta, diu tamen recusavit impudentissimo animo*: Such severe language as this is not given him by TACITUS.

DOES TACITUS represent him as hating and fearing the great Romans and illustrious Senators? And do not other Historians; do not the facts themselves prove it? Was he not continually destroying them, till they were almost all destroyed? Of the twenty Grandees particularly (*principum Civitatis*) whom he desired of the Senate, for his Confidants and Counsellors, he left not above two or three alive; all the rest were by treachery and feigned crimes cut off by him; *Horum omnium vix duos aut tres incolumes præstitit: Cæteros, alium alia de causa perculit*, says SÜETONIUS. Is TACITUS therefore too refined, in discovering what facts demonstrate? Is it not SÜETONIUS too who says, *Multa specie gravitatis, ac morum corrigendorum, sed magis naturæ obtemperans, sæve & atrociter factitavit*? "It was usual with him, to do actions exceeding barbarous and merciless, yet all under shew of Justice and the reforming of Manners; but in reality from the instigation of his own cruel spirit." Is SÜETONIUS also over subtle, the Historian in the world the most plain, and seldom aiming at a reflection? For what reason did he suffer the boundaries of the Empire to be invaded, and Provinces to be seized by the Barbarians, but from fear of trusting any great Officer with the conduct of the War?

THAT he affected to derive all power from the Senate, yet left them but the shadow of authority, and was even jealous of that shadow, is sacredly true. It was even natural; and wanted no refining, to discover it. Did not CROMWELL do the same? And are not all men willing to have their power, however lawless, legitimated, and the odium of their acts of violence transfer'd upon others? Will any one say, that the Senate liked his acts of Sovereignty, his frequent impeachments of their Members, often the best and most innocent, and his obliging them to condemn, (for he that dares not refuse is forced to consent) and his leaving every particular in continual dread of being the next; which was a farther motive in each to hatred and complaisance? He knew he had earn'd their hate, *reputante sibi publicum odium*. Is it likely now that he loved them, or that there was or could be sincerity or confidence on either side? What did his retirement in the Isle of Caprea, with his perpetual absence from Rome, infer, but continual distrust of the Senate and People? Just before he expired he was hastening from a ramble upon the Continent, back to his Den, *Non temere quidquam nisi ex tuto ausurus*; to take measures of vengeance against the Senate, for that he had read in their acts, that they had discharged certain persons accused, though he had writ to the Senate, that they were only named by the informer: *Pro contempto se habitum fremens, repetere Capreas quoque modo destinavit, non temere,*

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temere, &c. This too is related by SÜETONIUS. It is certain the Senate were to all these Tyrants a constant mark of jealousy and hate, and some of them, particularly CALIGULA and NERO, had purposed to extirpate that venerable Assembly, by murdering the whole Body.

Sect. VIII. *More Proofs of the Candour and Veracity of* TACITUS.

TACITUS makes TIBERIUS no worse than he was, hardly so bad. That he doomed almost his whole family to exile, famine, or the executioner; that his cruel suspicion and distrust extended even to women, even to his mother, nay to children, relations and strangers, to names, nobility, and all men, is undeniable. Nor does TACITUS relate any part of the conduct or politicks of TIBERIUS, but what evidently results either from the nature of the man, or the nature of his power. He frequently speaks well of that Prince; and ill he could not avoid speaking, if he spoke of him at all. Nay the whole sixth chapter of the fourth Annal, is a fine panegyrick upon the moderation and wisdom of his Government for eight years before: *publica negotia, & privatorum maxima, apud patres tractabantur: dabaturque primoribus differere, & in adulationem lapsos cohibebat ipse; mandabatque honores, nobilitatem majorum, claritudinem militiæ, illustres domi artes spectando: ut satis constaret non alios potiores fuisse. Sua consulibus, sua prætoribus species: minorum quoque magistratuum exercita potestas; legesque, si majestatis quæstio eximeretur, bono in usu, &c.*

WHAT can be fairer than this? and do not other Historians agree that he grew worse and worse: that he had long smothered his vices, and was first and last a complete dissembler? And is it just upon TACITUS, to accuse him of displaying the subtleties and craft of a Prince, who was all craft and subtlety? Does he not give us the good and bad of his Character, and frequently defend it? Does he not say of him in opposition to popular opinion and report, *non crediderim ad ostentandam servitiam, movendasque populi offensiones concessam filio materiam; quam id quoque dictum est? An. 1. c. 76.*

DOES he not represent TIBERIUS elsewhere as mollifying a rigorous sentence of the Senate, for banishing a criminal to a barren and desolate Island, and arguing that to whomsoever they granted life, they ought to grant the conveniences of life: *dandos vitæ usus cui vita concederetur?* Does he not represent him in another place absolutely refusing a new accession of power, and arguing against it, like a Republican; yet charges him there with no dissimulation?

IN him you have no false colouring, no true worth blemished, no bad qualities disguised; but fair representations and equal justice. TIBERIUS is a dangerous Prince, extremely false, extremely cruel; but he has many abilities, and some good qualities. He is prudent in moderating the excesses of others, where he was not instigated by his own personal anger: *prudens moderandi, ubi propriâ irâ non impelleretur.* He loved power without bounds; yet was constant and resolute in rejecting pompous honours: *spernendis honoribus validus:* a great Tyrant, but a Prince observing the rules of primitive parcimony: *antiquæ parcimonie princeps:* furiously jealous of prerogative; yet the laws, where processes of treason interfered not, were in proper force: *leges, si majestatis quæstio eximeretur, bono in usu.* He is inflexible in his vengeance

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ance, and wherever his jealousy or anger centers, there terrible Tragedies are sure to follow: Yet the popular imputation of his poisoning his son, is by TACITUS exposed as incredible and fabulous; with many the like instances of eminent impartiality: He gives fair quarter to the man, but none to the Tyrant.

TO CLAUDIUS a stupid Prince, and almost a changeling, who had no judgment, no aversion of his own, but only such as were infused and managed by others, he allows a share of sense at intervals; allows that he did some reasonable things, gave good advice to the Prince of Parthia; and wanted not elegance in his speeches, when his speeches were premeditated. He owns the spirit of Sovereignty to be jealous and unfociable; but as an exception from this rule, mentions the amiable friendship and union between GERMANICUS and DRUSUS, in the Court of TIBERIUS, tho' their different interests had rent the whole Court into factions. He owns the friendship of DRUSUS for the children of GERMANICUS; tho' the participation of power, and the union of hearts, are seldom compatible.

The same fair temper and truth he observes in the Conduct and Character of GALBA, OTHO, and even of NERO and VITELLIUS: and 'twas his business and design to lay open the iniquity and horrors of their misrule.

THESE are some of the objections made to the Writings of TACITUS, and I think with extreme injustice. His Criticks are more subtle than he: they are false refiners, who for the reputation of sagacity, make singular remarks, and serve him as they say he did TIBERIUS; they pervert and blacken his designs, and are too curious to be equitable. TACITUS, with a masterly discernment, unravels the mysterious conduct of TIBERIUS: 'tis from awe of his Mother, 'tis from fear of GERMANICUS, 'tis from jealousy of the Grandees, and with design to amuse and humour, or to deceive them all, that he rules and acts with such temper and moderation, against the bent and pride of his nature always imperious and tyrannical. But when he had well established himself; when GERMANICUS was dead; when his Mother too was gone; when he had crushed some of the Grandees, and terrified all; and especially when he was far from the eyes of Rome, is it not most true, that he then gave a loose to all the excesses of villainy and cruelty? *cuncta simul vitia, male diu dissimulata, tandem profudit.* 'Tis not TACITUS who says this.

WAS he not continually mocking and deluding the Senate? First he would by no means accept the Empire, at a time when he was actually in possession: sometimes he was weary of it, and would needs resign at every turn. Before he quitted the City, he was for visiting the Provinces, and for this purpose many preparations were made, and high expectation raised: then when he had retired to Capreæ, he was continually amusing them with his immediate return to Rome, nay begg'd one of the Consuls to guard him. He carried the deceit so far, that he often visited the Continent, and the very Walls and Gardens about Rome; but never once return'd to Rome, nor visited the Provinces, nor had a thought of resigning. The Commonwealth was always in his mouth, even when he was acting the Tyrant most: he professed eminent moderation while he was meditating acts of cruelty; and in instances of injustice and rigour, pleaded law and mercy,

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HIS malice in leaving so wicked a Successor appears more from SUE-
TONIUS than from TACITUS, who allows him to have had some
thoughts of appointing another: but the former testifies expressly, that
TIBERIUS was wont to foretel what a devouring Dragon he rear'd
for the Roman people, and what a Phaeton or incendiary to the
whole earth. TACITUS is vouched by SUETONIUS in what he
says was reported for the motive which determined AUGUSTUS to
adopt TIBERIUS; *ambitione tractum, ut tali successore considerabilior
ipse quandoque fieret. Suet. in Tiber. c. 21.* The same too is testified
by DION CASSIUS.

Sect. IX. *Mr. BAYLE's unjust censure of TACITUS; and
how well the latter knew and observ'd the Laws of History.*

MR. BAYLE in his *Dictionary* in the Article of *Tacitus*, quotes
some passages out of a Book entitled *Anonymiana*, where TACI-
TUS is criticiz'd as above, and approves those passages. This is the
less matter of wonder to me, for that Mr. BAYLE, with all his im-
mense learning, acuteness, and candour, had a strange and unnatural
bias to absolute Monarchy, tho' he had fled from the fury of it, and
taken refuge in a free State. A proof this that great weaknesses cleave
to the greatest minds; and who can boast an exemption from preju-
dices, when a spirit so signally disinterested and philosophical as that
of BAYLE was not exempted? He himself says of TACITUS, *qu'il
y a bien à reprendre dans l'affectation de son langage, & dans celle de
rechercher les motifs secrets des actions, & de les tourner vers le crimi-
nel.* That this charge is groundless I have already proved. Much
less to be regarded is the authority of Mr. St. EVREMOND in his
censure upon TACITUS; his observations are without depth, to say
no worse: nor have I found in his Works any political observations
remarkable for solidity and force. What he has said of the Romans,
is superficial, and often wrong.

TACITUS knew perfectly the Laws of History, and blames the pas-
sionate and partial accounts given by those who described the same
reigns; since those of them which were written during the lives of the
Princes, were falsified through dread of their Tyranny, and when
dead, through detestation of their late cruelties. He had no motive
to be partial; free as he was from affection, free from resentment. He
knew that truth uncorrupted was the business of an Historian, and that
personal affection and hate should have no share in the work; *nec amore
quisquam, & sine odio dicendus est.* Of GALBA, OTHO, and VITEL-
LIUS he says, that to him they were known by no mark either of fa-
vour or diskindness. The same is true of AUGUSTUS, TIBERIUS,
CALIGULA, CLAUDIUS, and NERO. He shews how the truth was
corrupted, first by flattery, then by resentment; and professes to be
far from either. I think he is as good as his word.

Sect. X. *An Apology for the wrong account by TACITUS
given of the Jews and Christians, and for his disregard
of the Religion then received.*

THERE are other accusations against TACITUS: he has misre-
presented the Jews and Christians, and wanted Religion.

CONCERNING the Jews, he followed the traditions and accounts current amongst the Romans: he tells you what different relations there were, and neither adds any thing, nor misrepresents things maliciously. It was an obscure State, generally enslav'd to some greater power; to the Assyrians, Egyptians, Grecians, and then to the Romans; and condemned by all, as much as they themselves hated all. They had not common mercy or charity toward the Gentiles and uncircumcised; and being persuaded that the Almighty loved only themselves, they fancy'd that he abhorred, and therefore they abhorred the whole human race besides: so that 'twas said by TACITUS too truly, *adversus omnes alios hostile odium*. They were likewise ever solicitous to hide their mysteries from the eyes of the Heathens, and could not blame them for not knowing what was not to be known. Yet he was not ill inform'd in some instances, especially in their spiritual notions of the Deity, with their aversion to Images, and to the adoration of the Emperors: *nulla simulacra urbibus suis; non regibus hæc adulatio, non Caesaribus honor*.

OF the Gospel 'tis manifest he knew nothing, he could not else have made so ugly a picture of those who professed it; for it is not likely that the Christians were yet so degenerated as to disgrace the Christian Religion. TACITUS wanted an opportunity to be better informed. That Religion, as it began among the lower sort of people, had not probably hitherto gained many proselytes of name and quality, to countenance and recommend it to men of figure. TACITUS considered it like a Statesman, as a new Sect inconsistent with the Laws of Rome, and threatening civil tumults and innovations. It is probable too he had heard and credited the calumnies then usually thrown upon the manners and meetings of that people. Nor after the best instruction could he have become a Believer without the illumination of the Spirit; which, it is plain, was withheld from him: and, without a change of heart, it was impossible for him to conceive the Resurrection of the dead, and the Crucifixion of the Son of God. Yet he does them the justice to vindicate them from the obloquy of NERO, and exposes the barbarity of their treatment by that Tyrant.

FOR his disregarding the Religion then receiv'd, when I consider what sorts of absurdities the Pagans held for Religion, I cannot so much blame him. It was a worship paid to Deities altogether frantick and impure, by sacrifices and follies ridiculous and vain; and both their Worship and their Gods were invented by the cunning or delusion of men. It consisted in no purification of heart, nor amendment of morals; the things which men and societies require; but in sounds, gesticulation, and the blood of beasts: not in truth and sense, in benevolence and rectitude of mind; but in lying oracles, unaccountable mysteries, and a raving imagination: sometimes in profess'd acts of lewdness; often in those of fury and madness; always in such as were foreign from real virtue and the restraining of the passions. Public calamities were never thought to be brought down by public depravity and vice, nor to be averted or removed by public reformation. The Gods were not offended but by the omission, or wrong performance of some ceremony or grimace; and by grimace and ceremony they were to be appeased. And when the Deities were deemed to be endowed with the peevishness and caprices of children and apes, or the phrenzy of lunatics, what man of sense could reverence them, or believe in them? It would not have re-

dounded to the reputation of his sense, if he had. Where Religion is pure Superstition, and the belief of it absolutely groundless and blind; where its Rites are fanciful, foolish, and unmanly, as the Religion, and Gods, and Worship of the Pagans were; it would have been a revolt from common Reason to have had any such Religion. We know how freely CICEERO deals with their Gods.

IT is true that these great men of Rome, who either had no notion of Religion, or one quite opposite to that publickly received and practised, regarded it as far as it was interwoven with the constitution of the State, and subservient to the ends of Government: yet they suffer'd their Poets, especially the dramatic Poets, to treat their Gods with severe jests and satyr. They seem'd to be of TIBERIUS's mind, *Deorum injurias dijs curæ*; that is, to leave to the Gods the avenging of indignities done to the Gods. Men were punished for their libelling particulars, people of condition, and especially Magistrates; but to ridicule and lampoon the Deities, Jupiter himself, even upon the Stage, was a matter of impunity and diversion.

THEIR Religion therefore consisting in Rituals; a man might be very religious with a very debauch'd and libertine spirit: *cultor deorum parcus & infrequens*, is a complaint made by HORACE of himself, but does not seem to infer much heavenly mindedness, nor a departure from his impure pleasures. One might on the contrary be exactly good and just, nay the pattern of Virtue, and a public Patriot, without any tincture of their Religion. Such was CATO the Cenfor, such EPICURUS, and such was TACITUS. He thought that either there was no Providence (for his mind waver'd between the doctrine of necessity and that of chance,) or such a Providence as he could have well spared: *non esse curæ Deis securitatem nostram, esse ultionem*. But this bold reproach upon the Deities he uttered, after his heart, zealous for the good of his Country, had been heated by a terrible detail of her calamities.

NOR indeed according to the ideas conceived of these odd Beings, so easily humour'd and provok'd, could one say much good of them, or expect it from them. In the reign of NERO he enumerates many presages, from which as from signals divinely sent, great changes for the better were inferred; but all vanished into air and disappointment: *prodigia crebra & irrita intercessere; &c.* Hence he argues, that all these omens happened so apparently without any direction or interposition of the Gods, that, for many years after, NERO rioted in power and wickedness.

WHATEVER were the speculations of our Author about Religion; his Morality is strong and pure, full of benevolence to human society; full of every generous passion, and every noble principle; a terrible rebuke to iniquity, vice and baseness, in all stations and shapes; and one continued lesson of wisdom and virtue. These are the excellencies which in civil life recommend Books and Men; these the excellencies which recommend TACITUS; excellencies which he has carried as high as the utmost efforts of human genius could carry them. Mr. BAYLE says, *ses Annales & son Histoire sont quelque chose d'admirable, & l'un des plus grands efforts de l'esprit humain; soit que l'on y considere la singularité du stile, soit que l'on s'attache à la beauté des pensées, & à cet heureux pinceau avec lequel il a su peindre les desguisemens & les fourberies des politiques, & le foible des passions.*

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NOR does he shew more abilities than probity, as astonishing as his abilities were : and having so much , what more did he want for his design ? or what more could we wish in him ? Which is the better instructor, he who has store of faith, but wants virtue, and abounds not in good sense ; or he who wants the first, but abounds in knowledge and the rules of righteousness ? It is for this we consult TACITUS, not for his Theological speculations. How do his metaphysical notions impede his excellencies as an Historian and Politician ; or his mistakes in one thing, lessen his discernment and veracity in another ?

ACCORDING to the accounts of our best Travellers concerning China, the Mandarins who are the Nobility of the country, the Learned, and such as hold the Magistracy, have no Religion at all : their governing principle is public spirit ; their principal study the good of the State ; and they are noted for politeness and virtue. The Bonzes or Priests, on the contrary, pretend to extraordinary devotion ; but are vicious, sordid, base, and void of every virtue private or public. Here is an instance of a Monarchy the most thriving of any upon earth, or that ever was upon earth ; an Empire that contains more people than half the rest of the globe, these people full of industry and arts ; yet administered by men who are of no particular Religion or Sect, but are guided by the natural lights of Reason and Morality ; nor knows it a greater blot and disgrace than the vile lives of its Priests and Religious.

AGAINST this instance set another, that of the Pope's Dominions, the center of the Romish Religion ; where holy men sway all things, and have engross'd all things ; where tortures and flames keep out Infidels and Hereticks, and every man who thinks awry ; and where the champions for devotion, so called, protect the Church, and feed themselves. Now where but here should one look for the marks of opulence, ease, and plenty, and public happiness, if by an Administration of Priests and Devotees, public happiness were advanced ? But behold a different and melancholy scene ! Countries fertile, but desolate ; the people ignorant, idle, and starving, and all the marks and weight of misery !

DOES not this merit reflection, that a Church blended and debauched with excessive wealth and power, is worse, a thousand times worse than none ; and that the mere light of nature and of reason is many degrees more conducive to the temporal welfare of humankind, than a Religion or Church which is purely lucrative and selfish ? Were the Romish Church, or any other Church that teaches pains and penalties ; any that exalts Ecclesiastics into power, and leaves them the sword, or weilds it for them, once established in China ; there would in a little time be an end of their incredible numbers ; and it would soon feel the cruel curse attending the change. In this sentiment I am vouched by that polite Writer, and candid Prelate, Dr. TILLOTSON : “ Better it
“ were, says he, there were no revealed Religion, and that human na-
“ ture were left to the conduct of its own principles and inclinations,
“ which are much more mild and merciful, much more for the peace
“ and happiness of human society ; than to be acted by a Religion that
“ inspires men with so wild a fury, and prompts them to commit such
“ outrages.” Serm. Vol. I. p. 206.

Make another comparison between two particulars, a Heathen guided by reason, and a Christian by passion and false zeal ; between TACITUS and St. JEROM : behold the politeness, candour, eternal truth, and good sense in the one : mark the rashness and enthusiasm, the fierceness

ness and falshood of the other. So much stronger were the passions and insincerity of this great Saint, than the impressions of the Christian Religion, which is all meekness and candour: nay he often makes it a stale for his fury, forgeries, and implacable vengeance. I meddle not with his strange maxims, some foolish, some mad, many impracticable, and others turbulent and seditious. In TACITUS you have the good sense and breeding of a Gentleman; in the Saint the rage and dreams of a Monk. Does the Religion of the latter recommend his reveries and bitter spirit; or the want of it in TACITUS, weaken the shining truths that are in him?

WHEN a Writer relates facts or reasons from principles, his good sense and veracity only are to be regarded; and we have no more to do with his speculations or mistakes in other matters, than with his person or complexion. PLINY and ARISTOTLE are reckon'd Atheists; but what is this to their fine parts and learning? With small spirits and bigots every thing that is noble and free, is Atheism and Blasphemy. The littleness and sourness of their own hearts, is the measure of all things. NERVA, TRAJAN, and MARCUS AURELIUS were Heathen Princes; but they had virtue and benevolence, and their administration was righteous: what more did their subjects want from them? JUSTINIAN, CONSTANTIUS, JOHN BASILOWITZ, JOHN GALEAS, and LEWIS the eleventh, were Christian Princes, and men pretending to high Devotion; some of them great contenders for Orthodoxy, and great builders of Churches; but all barbarous and consuming Tyrants. What were their people or themselves the better for their Religion, without good nature and probity? Nay, they made Religion one of their principal machines for Tyranny; as Religion in a Tyrant or Impostor is little else but an impious bargain and composition with God for abusing men.

SUCH in truth is the situation of things below, such the frame and foible of men, that it depends in a great measure upon Civil Government, whether Religion shall in this world do good or harm. Is a country filled with oppression, the happier for being filled too with Churches and Priests, as were Greece and Italy by JUSTINIAN? Or can a country that abounds in virtue and happiness and good Laws, want any more to all the purposes of social life; like Lacedemon and Rome in their best ages? Let us praise all who have true Religion, full of mercy, and void of bigotry; but let us not condemn such as for want of the same lights and revelation which we have been bless'd with, are, without any forms of Religion, virtuous and wise. Certainly worse, much worse than none, is that Religion which inspires pride, bigotry, and fierceness, and hath not charity for all men.

To conclude this head, I shall here subjoin what I have said elsewhere to the like purpose: " That black is not white, and that two
 " and two make four, is as true out of the mouth of an Atheist, as
 " out of the mouth of an Apostle: a penny given by an Atheist to a
 " beggar, is better alms than a half penny given by a Believer; and
 " the good sense of an Atheist is preferable to the mistakes of a good
 " Christian: in short, whatever reputed Atheists do well, or speak
 " truly, is more to be imitated and credited, than what the greatest
 " Believers do wickedly, or say falsely: even in the business of bearing
 " testimony, or making a report, in which cases the credit or repu-
 " tation

“ tation of the witness gives some weight, or none, to what he says ;
 “ more regard is to be had to the word of an Unbeliever, who has
 “ no interest on either side, than to the word of a Believer who has :
 “ neither are the good or bad actions of an Atheist worse, with re-
 “ spect to the world at least, for his being one ; though the sin of
 “ a Saint is more sinful than that of a Pagan. It is the greatest folly
 “ to think that any man’s crimes are the less for him who commits
 “ them ; or that truth is less or more truth, for the ill or good
 “ name of him who speaks it.”

Sect. XI. *The foolish censure of BOCCALINI and others
 upon TACITUS.*

THE censure passed upon TACITUS by BOCCALINI and some of the other Commentators, as if he maliciously taught lessons of Tyranny ; is so senseless and absurd that it merits no notice, much less confutation. As well may they say that LUTHER and father PAUL display the encroachments and frauds of the Church of Rome, on purpose to teach that or other Churches how to oppress and deceive ; or that LIVY, as great a Republican as ever lived, exposed the usurpations and Tyranny of TARQUIN, in order to instruct Usurpers to support themselves and extinguish publick liberty. TACITUS represents Tyrants as odious to all men, and even to themselves. But what answer could one give to a man who should advance that GROTIUS wrote his Book of the Truth of Christianity, with a view to promote and confirm Paganism ?

Sect. XII. *Of the several Commentators and Translators of
 TACITUS.*

IT were almost endless to mention all who have writ upon TACITUS, and their success : numbers have done it, many as Criticks, some politically ; and several of the former with sufficiency and applause, such as LIPSIUS, FREINSHEMIUS, old GRONOVIVS, and RYCKIUS. From the edition published by this last I have made my Translation : the text is very correct, and his notes are judicious and good. Of all those who have commented upon his Politicks, I can commend but very few ; I mean such as I have seen : many of them are worse than indifferent : tedious compilations of common places, or heavy paraphrases upon the original, where its vigour is lost in superfluous explications ; and the lively thoughts of TACITUS converted into lifeless maxims, frequently wrong converted ; frequently trifling and affected ; often such discoveries as are obvious to every peasant or child : or puffy declamations, tedious, laboured and uninstruative. Of one or t’other sort are the Commentaries of BOCCALINI, ANNIBAL SCOTI, FORSTNERUS, SCHILDUS, and divers others.

Mr. AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAYE has made a large collection of political observations upon TACITUS, as far as the thirteenth Annual inclusive ; some of them pertinent and useful ; but many of them insipid, and little worth. The very first which he makes, is flat and poor ; *dès que la Roiauté commence à dégérer en tyrannie, le peuple aspire à la liberté.* Little better is this ; *quand un Prince commence à devenir*

devenir infirme, ou cassé, tout le monde tourne les yeux vers le soleil levant, c'est à dire, vers son successeur: and this; les refus du Prince doivent être assaisonnez de douceur & de courtoisie: and this; ceux même qui ont renoncé à leur honneur, & qui font gloire de leur sceleratesse, s'offensent d'être appelez traitres: and this; un bon General ne doit jamais hazarder une bataille, qu'il n'ait mis bon ordre par tout: this too; il n'y a rien dont un Favori, ou un premier Ministre, doive se metre plus en peine, que de bien connoitre l'humeur de son Prince: this too; un Prince dépouillé de ses Etats ne reste pas volontiers entre les mains de celui qui s'en est emparé. All this is trite, void of force and instruction.

THE Spanish Translation by DON ALAMOS DE BARRIENTOS, is accompanied with numerous Annotations, by him stiled *Aforismos*, which are as indifferent and impotent as the Translation it self is good and strong. His observation upon, *cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa, nomine principis sub imperium accepit*, is, *Quando alguno se viniere a hazer Señor de una grande, y poderosa ciudad libre, lo mas ordinario será despues de una larga guerra civil*: “the opportunity for any one to “become master of a great and powerful free City, is most commonly “at the end of a great civil war.” TACITUS says, that AUGUSTUS left the first Lords of the Senate his heirs in the third degree, tho’ most of them were hated by him: *plerosque invisos sibi, sed jactantia gloriaque ad posteros*. DON ALAMOS observes upon this: *El principe muchas vezes haze honra a las personas que aborrece, para ganhar fama de modestia y sufrimiento*: “a Prince often confers honours on those he “hates, purely for the reputation of moderation and temper.” TACITUS says of GERMANICUS, *anxius occultis in se patrum aviaque odiis, quorum causse acriores quia iniquae*: *El hombre inocente y bueno*, (says DON ALAMOS, by way of Annotation) *de ninguna cosa recibe tanta congoxa, como de los secretos aborrecimientos que sabe le tienen sus parientes, sin merecerlo*: “a worthy and innocent man feels so much “anguish from nothing as from the secret hate which he knows “his parents bear him, without deserving it.”

OF small value are such reflections, and small thought they cost to produce them: the less is the wonder that DON ALAMOS has vented such a myriad. CANINI, an Italian, has however translated them into his own language, with high encomiums, and published them with the Italian Translation of POLITI, a Translation which reads well, but hampers the thoughts of TACITUS, and from an affectation to be as concise as the original, loses much of its weight and spirit. DON ALAMOS, on the contrary, opens the sentiments of TACITUS fully, often over-fully, by supplemental parentheses, that are sometimes perfectly needless, and always marr and embarrass the reading.

THESE are the only Spanish and Italian Versions which I have seen of TACITUS. There are more of the former, by SUEYRO and COLOMA, both well esteemed; and as many more Italian by DATI and DAVANZATI not at all commended. Of French Translations there are five or six, all except two, good for little, some of them good for nothing. These two are by Mr. d'HARLAY DE CHANVALLON, who has done the whole, and Mr. AMBLOT DE LA HOUSSE, who has only gone as far as the thirteenth Annal: the former is vigorous and just, like that of a man of sense and observation; nor has the latter

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any advantage over him, save that his French is more modern, if that be any. ABLANCOURT is likewise one of the French Translators of TACITUS, a man of name and of a flowing stile; but if he has abused other Authors as he has abused and transformed TACITUS, 'tis fit they were all done over again. There is some life in him, and harmony, but no justness nor strength. All the force and fine ideas of TACITUS are lost in ABLANCOURT.

Sect. XIII. *A Conjecture concerning the modern Languages; more largely concerning the English.*

OF the French Tongue it self I may venture to say after better judges than my self, that from a laxness and effeminacy essential to it, it cannot naturalize the strong expressions of the Ancients, without spreading and weakning them considerably: it has a number of relatives, particles and monosyllables that return incessantly, and flatten the sense and tire the ear. The English Language has indeed many words more harsh than the French; but it has likewise many more spirituous and sounding: and tho' it be also loaded with relatives, particles and words of one syllable, yet I think not to the same degree, nor do those we have return so often; and we can frequently drop the particles, and leave them to be understood, as well as the relatives.

IN this respect the Latins had an advantage over the Greeks; as those two Languages have over every other that is now in the world, or perhaps ever was. We are infinitely behind them in significancy and sound, and with all our adventitious words and refinements, are still crude and gothick to them. Nearest in Language to the Ancients come the Spaniards and Italians, though still far behind; yet they stand over the heads of the English and French, and walk while we creep. The Spanish is the more sonorous and lofty; the Italian the more sweet and gliding; and both excell in harmony, numerosity, and the pomp of words. The Italians seem to have spoiled their Tongue, by wild hyperbolas, and phrases of mere sound and complement: whether it be from the turn of the nation to Love and Musick; whether it be from the Legends of their Saints, and their extravagant Panegyricks upon them, or from their Slavery to Churchmen, or the Severity of their Government, or from what other cause I do not pretend to determine.

THE French profess to have greatly refined their Tongue; and it is indeed brought to be exceeding glib and perspicuous; but whether the refiners have not pared away its strength to make it more shapely and regular, has been doubted. Some refinements we also have made in ours, perhaps by imitating the French; tho' I hope we have better preserved its force. Easy writing has been studied to affectation; a sort of writing, which, where the thoughts are not close, the sense strong, and the phrase genteel, is of all others the most contemptible. Such were the productions of SIR ROGER L'ESTRANGE, not fit to be read by any who have taste or good breeding: they are full of technical terms, of phrases picked up in the street from apprentices and porters, and nothing can be more low and nauseous. His sentences, besides their grossness, are lively nothings, which can never be translated (the only way to try language) and will hardly bear repetition: *between hawk and buzzard: clawed him with kindness: alert and friskie: guzzling down tipple: would not keep touch: a queer putt: lay cursed hard upon their*

their gizzard: cram his gutt: conceited noddie: old chuff: and the like, are some of SIR ROGER'S choice flowers. Yet this man was reckoned a Master, nay a Reformer of the English Language: a man who writ no Language; nor does it appear that he understood any; witness his miserable Translations of CICERO'S Offices and JOSEPHUS. That of the latter is a Version full of mistakes, wretched and low, from an easy and polite one of Monsieur D'ANDILLY.

SIR ROGER is one amongst the several hands who attempted TACITUS, and the third Book of the Histories is said to be done by him. He knew not a word of it but what he has taken from SIR HENRY SAVILL, and him he has wretchedly perverted and mangled. Out of the wise and grave mouth of TACITUS he brings such quaint stuff as this: *to cast the point upon that issue:—sneaking departure of VITELLIVS:—at the rate of a man at his wit's end:—sottish multitude never went beyond bawling:—an Emperor lugg'd out of his hole:—the sexton of the Capitol:—the Government dropt into VESPASIAN'S mouth:—not cut out for a soldier:—went not a sneaking way to work:—VALENS in the interim with his dissolute train of capons:* [into this senseless cant word SIR ROGER elegantly changes that of *Eunuchs* used by SIR H. SAVILL, for I dare say he neither saw nor knew the original, *agmine spadonum*]: *the Emperor guzzling and gormandizing like a beast.*

SUCH jargon is hardly good enough for a Poppet shew. SIR ROGER had a genius for buffoonry and a rabble, and higher he never went: his stile and his thoughts are too vulgar for a sensible artificer. To put his Books into the hands of youth or boys, for whom chiefly ESOP by him burlesqued was designed, is to vitiate their taste, and to give them a poor low turn of thinking; not to mention the vile and slavish principles of the man. He has not only turned ESOP'S plain Beasts, from the simplicity of nature, into Jesters and Buffoons; but out of the mouths of Animals inur'd to the boundless freedom of air and deserts, has drawn doctrines of servitude and a defence of Tyranny.

THE taste and stile of the Court is always the standard of the publick. At the Restoration, a time of great festivity and joy, the formal and forbidding gravity of the preceding times, became a fashionable topic of ridicule: a manner different and opposite was introduced; jest and wagery were encouraged; and the King himself delighted in drollery and low humour. Hence the Language became replete with ludicrous phrases; archness and cant grew diverting; the writings of witlings pass'd for wit; and if they were severe upon the Sectaries, as the fashion was, they pleas'd the Court. By this means L'ESTRANGE got his character. It is very true that there appeared at the same time men of just wit and polite stile; but it cannot be denied but that the other manner was prevalent; the greatest wits sometimes fell into it.

THIS humour ended not with that Reign nor the next, but was continued after the Revolution by L'ESTRANGE, TOM BROWN, and other delighters in low jests, their imitators: and such witlings have contributed considerably to debauch our Tongue. If we go so high as Queen ELIZABETH'S time, we shall find that a good stile began then to be us'd, agreeably to the good sense of that Princess and her Court; and we have the Language of that age in SIR WALTER RALEIGH, whose genius was too just and strong to go into the miserable

rable pedantry of the next reign. Many of the productions then, and particularly the Royal productions, are wretched beyond measure; (I wish the honour and politicks of those days had been better :) nor could so considerable a man as SIR FRANCIS BACON escape the infection.

THE next Prince affected a high and rigid gravity, and a pomp and solemnity of stile became common: yet the Language began to recover, when the cant and enthusiasm ensuing, gave it a new tincture insipid and distasteful enough. But between the reign of King JAMES and the Restoration, several Writers appeared eminently happy in their stile: such particularly was Mr. CHILLINGWORTH, whose language is flowing, and free as his own candid spirit. The same character is due to the excellent Lord FALKLAND, and Mr. HALE of Eaton. Mr. HOBBS's English is beautiful almost, if not altogether, beyond example: nothing can be finer than his way of expressing his thoughts: his stile is as singularly good, charming and clear, as many of his principles are dangerous and false. Under this character of his stile I do not comprize his Translation of THUCYDIDES; as it does not, however just it be, resemble his other Works. Hence I am inclinable to believe what I have heard, that it was done by some of his disciples and by him revised; yet it far excels most of our Translations. MILTON's English Prose is harsh and uncouth, tho' vigorous and expressive. The stile of SELDEN and HAMMOND is rugged and perplexed.

Sect. XIV. *A conjecture concerning the present state of the English Tongue, with an account of the present Work.*

OF the Character of Writing in our own time, were I to give my opinion, I should be apt to say, that in general it comes too near to talking; a method which will hardly make it delightful or lasting: no words upon paper will have the same effect as words accompanied with a voice, looks and action; hence the thoughts and language should be so far rais'd as to supply the want of those advantages; but indeed this is impossible, and therefore there is the greater cause for heightening the stile: now because labour'd periods are offensive, and flat ones are insipid, the excellency lies between pomp and negligence. Let it be as easy as you please, but let it be strong; two advantages that are very compatible, and often found in the same Writer. LIVY is remarkable for both: it is his eloquence and ornaments which have preserved him in such esteem, as much as his matter and good sense. The late Lord SHAFTSBURY, though he has been perhaps too anxious and affected in forming his phrase to easiness and fluency, has yet had good success: since it is manifest that his soft alluring stile has multiplied his Readers, and helped powerfully to recommend his Works. Dr. BURNET of the Charter-House wrote with great eloquence and majesty, yet easy and unaffected. Dr. TILLOTSON's stile is plain and pleasant, enlivened too with fine images and strong sense: yet many, while they strove to imitate him, have written very poorly. This has happened to some of our Divines, who studying his manner, but wanting his genius, have uttered a flow of words, which sound not ill, but lack spirit and matter. I have looked over whole pages of Bishop BLACKALL's Sermons, without finding any thing which offended the ear, or pleased the imagination, or
informed

informed the understanding. I cannot help mentioning here another Writer, who has gained great reputation for Stile, without deserving any: I mean Dr. SPRAT Bishop of Rochester. His expression is languishing and insipid, full of false pomp, full of affectation. He is always aiming at harmony and wit, but succeeds ill; for his manner is starched and pedantick. With much greater justice has the Stile of Dr. ATTERBURY his successor been admired.

OUR Tongue is naturally cold, and the less force our words have, the more they must be multiplied: this multiplying of words is tedious; thence the remedy is as bad as the disease. The Latin phrases on the contrary are short and lively, and a few words convey many images. These difficulties with many others I found in this Translation very sensibly. I wanted new words, but have rarely coin'd any, as the creating of words is generally thought affected and foppish: yet I have sometimes ventured upon a new phrase, and a way of my own; upon drawing the English idiom as near as possible to that of the Latin, and to the genius of my Author; by leaving the beaten road, dropping particles, transposing words, and beginning a sentence where it is usual to end it. I have studied to imitate the spirit, eloquence and turns of TACITUS, as far as I could, assisted by a Language weak in its sounds, and loose in its contexture. This manner of writing, I own, would be strange and even ridiculous in plain and familiar subjects; but where the subject is high and solemn, there must be a conformity of stile.

IN the political Discourses following, I have likewise taken a method of my own, in reasoning largely upon topics which to me seemed of the most moment to this free Nation, and giving an idea of the Politics of the Cæsars; of the *vis, artes, & instrumenta regni*, as by TACITUS they are called. I have vindicated the principles of civil Liberty; I have examined the defences made for CESAR and AUGUSTUS; I have displayed the genius of these Usurpers; the temper and debasement of the people; with the conduct and tyranny of their successors, to the end of the *Annals*. When I publish my Translation of the *History* I shall have more to say. I have little troubled my self with the strife and guesses of Commentators, and various Readings. I have chosen the best editions, and where the meaning was dubious, taken the most probable: for, after all, there is a good deal of guess-work and uncertainty; difficulties not peculiar to TACITUS.

I was persuaded to this undertaking several years ago by a friend of mine a Gentleman of Letters in the City; for then I had never seen the English Translation, and knew not but it was a good one. Mr. TRENCHARD approved the design with his usual zeal for every thing which favoured public Liberty. My Lord CARTERET, who understands TACITUS perfectly and admires him, was pleased to think me not unfit for it, and gave me many just lights about the manner of doing it; that particularly of allowing my self scope and freedom, without which I am satisfied every Translation must be pedantic and cold. A Translation ought to read like an Original. The Duke of ARGYLE espoused it generously, with that frankness which is natural to him, agreeable to his knowledge and taste of polite Learning, and to his sincere love of Liberty. So did my Lord TOWNSHEND: and SIR ROBERT WALPOLE encouraged me in the pursuit of it in a manner eminently to my credit: and to many Gentlemen of my acquaintance I am much obliged upon this occasion. I own I have

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been long about this Translation: that I was so, is to be ascribed not so much to idleness, as to diffidence. It was done a long while before I put it to the press: after all my care and many revises, I continued apprehensive that much fault might be found, and many objections made; a misfortune which I still doubt I shall not be able to escape, and wish I may not deserve. I therefore rely more on the candour of my Readers, than on my own sufficiency. Those of them who understand TACITUS in the Original will easily make allowances for the difficulty of making him speak any other Language. I have been chiefly careful not to mistake the sentiments of my Author about human Nature and Government; and I will venture to say that no man who has not accustomed himself to think upon these two subjects, can ever make tolerable sense of TACITUS, let him be as learned in other things as he will. For the same reason, no man that is merely Learned, can ever be pleased with a free Translation however faithful and just; for his chief attachment will ever be to Words and Criticism. Who had more Learning than SIR H. SAVILL? 'tis plain he abounded beyond most men; but I suppose Learning was his chief accomplishment; and thence his Translation is a very poor one. The fault cannot be ascribed to the time; for at that time the polite world wrote and spoke well; and if SIR WALTER RALEIGH had then translated it; no body I believe would have ever attempted to mend it.

OF the former Translations of the remaining Books of TACITUS, that is to say, his *Histories*; his *Account of Germany*; and his *Life of Agricola*; I shall give some account when I publish my second Volume.

DISCOURSE III.

Upon CESAR the Dictator.

Sect. I. *Of CESAR's Usurpation, and why his Name is less odious than that of CATILINE.*

NOTHING has been hitherto found a sufficient check and barrier to the exorbitant passions of men; neither kindness nor severity; nor mulcts nor pain; nor honour; nor infamy; nor the terrors of death. A proof this, how far human malice or ambition is an over-match for human wisdom; since Laws and Constitutions framed by the best and wisest men, have first or last become the sport and conquest of the worst, sometimes of the most foolish. Could wise Establishments have ensured the stability of a State, that of Rome had been immortal. Besides adopting all the best Institutions of the free States of Greece, *accitis quæ usquam egregia*, her principal struggle and employment for some Centuries, was the subduing of foreign enemies by Arms, and the securing of domestick Liberty by wholesome Laws; and for Laws and Arms she was the wonder and the glory of the earth. But she, whose force and policy no power could withstand, not that of Greece nor of Carthage, nor of the World, fell by the corruption and perfidiousness and violence of her own Citizens. The only sword that could hurt her, was her own; with that she trusted CESAR, and that he turned unnaturally upon his own mother, and by it enslaved her.

CATILINE'S

CATILINE's Conspiracy and crime every man detests: yet CESAR accomplished what CATILINE only intended. Had he better qualities than CATILINE? he was so much the worse, and able to do higher mischiefs. See how infatuation prevails! the same men who abhor CATILINE, admire CESAR, who actually did more evil than ever the wicked heart of CATILINE had conceived. But CATILINE had no success, nor consequently flatterers. Had he succeeded, had he entailed Rome upon his race, and such as would have been concerned to have guarded his fame, there would not have been wanting flattering Poets and Historians to have echoed his Praises and Genius divine, his Eloquence, Courage, Liberality and Politics, and how much the degeneracy of Rome wanted such a Reformer, with every other topick urged in defence of CESAR. But CATILINE failed, and is owned to have been a Traitor: CESAR's iniquity was triumphant, so was his name; and after-ages have continued to reverence him by the force of habit, and of superstition which swallows every thing, examines nothing. When popular opinion has consecrated a man or a name, all that man's actions, however wicked or foolish, and every thing done under that name, are sure to be consecrated too: the force of authority is irresistible and infatuating, and reason and truth must yield to prejudice and words.

Sect. II. *Of the publick Corruption by CESAR promoted or introduced; with his bold and wicked Conduct.*

WAS the Commonwealth become disjointed and corrupt; as in truth it was deeply and dangerously? who had contributed so much as CESAR to that wicked work? From his first appearance in the world he confederated with every publick Incendiary, with every troubler of the peace of the State, with every Traitor against his Country: insomuch that he was divested of the dignity of Pretor by a solemn Decree of Senate: and when he solicited for the Consulship, his ambition and violent designs were so much apprehended in that supreme Office, *nihil non ausurum eum in summo magistratu*, that to check him with a proper Colleague, the Senators contributed a great sum of money; nor did even C A R O deny but that such contribution, however against Law, was necessary then to save the State; *ne Catone quidem abnuente eam largitionem e Rep. fieri*.

He began that Office with violent acts of power: by violence disposed his Colleague of all share in the Administration; and during the whole term, he raised and pulled down, gave and took away by mere will and power, whatsoever and whomsoever he would; terrified some, imprisoned others; forged plots, suborned lying accusers, and then murdered them, and trampled upon all Faith and Law.

To escape punishment for all these outrages, he corrupted and bribed the people, to chuse his own creatures into the Magistracy, or bribed the Magistrates after they were chosen. He went so far as even to engage some of them, by oath and writing, never to call him to account, nor suffer him to be called.

By the same wicked methods he got for his lot the Province of Gaul, and kept it for ten years, committing fresh treason every day; making war of his own head, right or wrong, upon friend and foe; insomuch that it was proposed in Senate to deliver him up to the enemy:

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my: but faction and bribery saved him, and from the most extensive rapine he derived his power of bribing. He feasted the people, he gave them largesses; he gained the Senators by money, the soldiers by donatives, nay the favorite servants and lowest slaves of considerable men, were bribed by him. Every prodigal, every expensive youth, every man indebted and desperate, every criminal, found in him a ready support and protector; and when their expences, debts, and crimes, were so excessive as to admit of no relief from him, to such he was wont to preach the absolute necessity of a Civil War.

NOR did foreign Kings and Nations escape his court and gifts: upon them he bestowed aids, and arms, and captives, all belonging to the Roman people, and without their authority; thus to purchase foreign friendship against a day of usurpation and need. To do all this he robbed the Provinces, plundered Towns, pillag'd Temples, even the Capitol he plundered; whence he stole a vast quantity of gold, and placed so much gilt brass in the room of it, and put whole Kingdoms and Provinces under contribution to his privy purse.

How many thousand deaths did this man deserve, even before he had committed his capital iniquity? It was he who thus principally corrupted the State, and embroiled it, and unsettled it in all its parts.

HE offered indeed to disband his forces, if POMPEY would do so too; but even this offer was giving law to Rome. The Senate was to judge, and not CESAR, what armies were to be disbanded, what to be retained. Besides, even that proposal was justly suspected to have been faithless and hollow; since had he executed the same, it had been easier for him to have re-assembled upon occasion his veteran soldiers, than for POMPEY his troops lately levied.

HAD there been no corruption in the State, such a man was enough to introduce it. From his infancy he was thought to have meditated the enslaving of his Country, and in order to enslave it, created corruption or improved it: to commit the blackest treason and iniquity that the malice of man could devise, he stuck at no other, but by a Babel of crimes accomplished the highest.

Sect. III. CESAR *might have purified and reformed the State; but far different were his intentions. His Art, good Sense, and continued ill Designs.*

DID the State want reforming? why did not CESAR reform and restore it? This would have been true Glory, the only true use of his absolute power, and the only amends for having assumed it. The work too was practicable: the wisest and greatest men in Rome thought it so, even after all the poison and depravity introduced by him. BRUTUS, CICERO, and the Senate thought so; else he would never have been put to Death by those who did it. If the State had been deemed irretrievable, and an Usurper a necessary evil, they could not have had a better than CESAR. But they judged otherwise, and for some time Liberty was actually restored: why it subsisted no longer, was owing to casualties and the faithlessness of OCTAVIUS. No human wisdom can take in all incidents and possibilities at one view; to see them by succession is often to see them too late; and against what is not foreseen no remedy can be provided. CICERO who swayed the Senate, in hatred to ANTHONY, trusted OCTAVIUS

V I U S too much, and raised him too high, and was by that false creature given up to the slaughter, to satiate the vengeance of ANTHONY, to cement their late union, and to begin the bloody Tragedy which they had meditated against their Country and her Liberty, by the murder of so signal a Patriot. What followed was horrible, continued massacres and the rage of the sword, the people armed against one another, two thirds of them destroyed, and AUGUSTUS established Sovereign over the rest. He too thought it possible to resettle the old free State, by proposing once or twice to resign: however insincere he were, it was a confession that he thought it to be deemed practicable: and DRUSUS, his wife's son, declared his own purpose to effect it; nay it was what TIBERIUS, after he was Emperor, pretended to do.

CESAR was said to have foretold the publick Calamities and Civil Wars to ensue. Why did he not prevent them? By his Dictatorial power he might have removed what enormities, and made what regulations he would, suppressed the insolence of particulars, revived the force of the Laws, and reduced the Commonwealth to her first principles and firmness. Instead of this, he continued, more and more to break her remaining ballance, to weaken and debauch the people, and to destroy every Law of Liberty.

LIBERTY and the Republick were a jest to CESAR; he treated the very name with ridicule and contempt: *nihil esse Rempublicam; appellationem modo sine corpore ac specie*. He punned upon SYLLA for resigning his usurped power. He had nothing in his head or heart but absolute rule, a Diadem, the title of King, and controuling the world according to his lust; *nullos non honores ad libidinem cepit & dedit, spreto Patriæ more*: nay to have his very words go for Laws; *debere homines pro Legibus habere quæ dicat*: and as a proof that he meant to entail all this pompous Dominion upon his Race, he had a Law ready to be proposed for a privilege of taking as many Wives as he thought fit, and of what quality and condition he thought fit. His acts of Tyranny were indeed so many, so high and insupportable, that even his dear friends the populace, notwithstanding all his bounties, his feasts and shews, and all his other arts to sooth and debauch them, grew fullen and discontented: they declaimed against such usurpation, in their houses and in the Forum; they called aloud for avengers, and gave him publick affronts.

By the Laws of Rome the Dominion of one, and consequently the dominion of CESAR, was detestable and accursed, and any man was warranted to slay the Tyrant: *eum jus fasque esset occidi, neve ea cædes Capitalis noxa haberetur*. Nor was there any valid reason against killing CESAR, but that somewhat as bad or worse was to follow: now the best and ablest Romans judged otherwise, as I have shewn, and who was better qualified to judge? As to CESAR's prophecy of worse times, it was deciding in his own favour, and not to be credited; and there was policy in it as well as vanity.

THE accomplishments of CESAR, the mildness of his administration, and mercy to his enemies, have been much magnified. 'Tis certain he had exquisite abilities and address: but how did he apply them? Was it not to be the Master of mankind? and was not this interest and self-love? What could be more interested, what more selfish, than to take the world to himself? CESAR had good sense and experience: he knew that particular acts of cruelty and revenge were odious, even

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more odious than the slaughter of thousands under the title of war and conquest, however unprovoked and unjust: so much more quarter from the world has ambition than cruelty, tho' the former is often the more mischievous passion. He knew that while general acts of blood would pass for Heroism, fit to be distinguished with praise and Laurels, a particular life taken away in anger, would pass for barbarity. Such fallacy is there in sounds and in the imaginations of men! We judge not of evil by its quantity, the true medium of judging, but by its name and the quality of the doer or sufferer: hence the foolish causes of popularity without merit and innocence. Acts of rage, the execution of particulars, and a vindictive Reign, would have diminished the Hero, and tarnished his fame, as much as his generosity to enemies, his noble contempt of fear and offenders, blazoned his glory and begot admirers.

Sect. IV. *The probability of his waxing more cruel, had he reigned much longer.*

THE generous, the forgiving temper of CESAR, was no sure warrant, that he would not have broke out into personal cruelties; for of his publick cruelty, Rome and the world were the Theatre and the witnesses: he must have acted agreeably to the necessities and jealousy of power, broken those necks which would not bend, and destroyed such as he could not but constantly fear. I own there came after him some Emperors who reigned without many acts of blood: but the sovereignty was then thoroughly established, and they had no high spirits to fear, bred in the notions and possession of Liberty, as were all the Romans in his time. Nor, even after servitude had been begun, and for some time suffered under CESAR, could the second Triumvirate think themselves secure, till they had destroyed at once by Proscription a whole army of illustrious Romans, such as they conceived would oppose and even extirpate their domination. Nor did this tragical precaution and general barbarity, put an end to barbarity in particular instances: AUGUSTUS, for the first years of his Reign, was making almost daily sacrifices of noble blood to his fears and safety.

POWER of it self makes men wanton, distrustful and cruel: CESAR lived not long enough in purple to shew what he would prove: five months were but a short term for trial; *retinuit famam sine experimento*. It would be rash to assert, that he who had shed the blood of Nations and Armies, without provocation, without authority; he who had violated Liberty and Law, and put chains upon his Country and the race of men, would have spared particular lives, when from particular lives he came to apprehend danger and revolt. He that could be piqued even to folly and ridicule, because AQUILA the Tribune did not rise as he passed by; he who could not put up this, nor forget it, nor cease mentioning it upon every occasion for a long while after, nor even forbear scolding at it, must have been capable of carrying his resentment very far, as well as of sudden anger; nay, been full of capricious and childish humours. How far such humours and vanity and anger might have carried him, he lived not to shew. But he had amply shewn, that his Ambition was dearer to him than Rome and the whole earth, and to this private passion of his,

every publick regard had yielded: the genuine mark this of a Tyrant, who rules the State for his own sake, and, rather than not rule it, enthralls it! CESAR, who had committed all wickedness to gain power, would have committed more to have kept it, as soon as he found more to be necessary: *nemo enim unquam imperium flagitio quaesitum bonis artibus exercuit.*

WHAT avails the fair behaviour of one who may do what he pleases? What avail his fair promises, which he may break when he pleases? The worst of the Roman Emperors began their Reigns well; many of them excellently well; as NERO, CLAUDIUS, CALIGULA, DOMITIAN: *nihil abnuentem dum dominationis adipisceretur.* Some of them reigned well for some years. CESAR was generous, magnificent, and humane to affectation, but *cunctis affectibus flagrantiorum dominandi libidinem*; every passion, every sentiment must yield to the ardent lust of reigning. Had it not been for his great and acceptable qualities, he could not have introduced publick bondage: the Hero, the Orator, and the fine Gentleman, hid the Usurper, and palliated at least the Usurpation.

LET any man consider CESAR as a Subject of the State, altogether private; one who never bore Office or Authority; as a Physician, a Scribe or an Artist, or as one just started out of obscurity, or come from another Country; and then ask himself, what has this man, this private unknown man, to do with governing all men against Laws established by all? His being once Consul, his commanding of Armies, and appearing in a great publick light; gave him no more right to do what he did, than the quality of an Artist, a Scribe, Physician, Upstart, or Stranger, would have given him: publick trusts betrayed were aggravations of his crime, horrible aggravations! so were his excellent parts impiously applied.

SECT. V. CESAR no lawful Magistrate, but a publick Enemy.

OF CESAR, his Usurpation and Death I have reasoned largely elsewhere^a, and shall here abridge part of that reasoning. “ He
“ had no sort of Title, but success gained by violence and all wicked
“ means. The acquiring and exercising of Power by force is Ty-
“ ranny, nor is success any proof of right. If the person of CESAR.
“ was sacred, so is the person of every Usurper and Tyrant: and if all
“ the privileges and impunity belonging to a lawful Magistrate, do also
“ appertain to a lawless Intruder and publick Oppressor, then all these
“ blessed consequences follow: There is an utter end of all right and
“ wrong, publick and private: Every Usurper is a lawful Magistrate;
“ every Magistrate may be a lawless Tyrant: It is unlawful to resist
“ the greatest human evil: The necessary means of self-preservation
“ are unlawful: Tho’ it be lawful and expedient to destroy little Rob-
“ bers, who are so for subsistence, ’tis impious and unlawful to op-
“ pose great Robbers, who destroy Nations out of lust and ambition:
“ Public mischief is defended by giving it a good name, since Tyranny
“ may be practised with impunity, if it be but called Magistracy; and
“ the execrable Authors of it are sacred, if they but call themselves
“ Magistrates: Tho’ it be unlawful to be a public destroyer, yet it is
“ unlawful

^a See CATO’s Letters, Vol. II.

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“ unlawful to destroy him, and to prevent or punish that which is
 “ most impious and unlawful: In fine, any man who has wickedness
 “ and force enough to destroy or enslave the whole world, may do
 “ it and be safe.

“ If CESAR was a lawful Magistrate, every powerful villain may
 “ make himself one, and lawful Magistrates may become such by
 “ mere force and iniquity. But if lawful Magistracy be not acquired
 “ by violence and butchery, CESAR was none; if he was not, how
 “ came he by the rights and impunity of such?

“ AGAINST lawless force every man has a right to use force:
 “ CESAR had no more right than ALARICK, ATTILA, or BRENNUS,
 “ who were foreign Invaders: his crime was greater, as to that
 “ of usurpation he added those of ingratitude and treachery. It is
 “ owned that when he first made war upon his Country, his Country
 “ had a right to make war upon him: how came that right to cease,
 “ when he had heightened that iniquity by success? Is it lawful
 “ to resist a Robber before he has robbed you, but not after? Is a
 “ wickedness lessened by aggravations? CESAR had forfeited his life
 “ by all the Laws of Rome: was it not as lawful to take it away by
 “ thirty men as by thirty thousand; in the Senate as in the field?

“ A private man in society, even capitally injured, must not be his
 “ own judge, but leave revenge to the more impartial Law: but a capital
 “ offender against all, who sets himself above Law and Judgment,
 “ is a publick enemy; and violence is the proper remedy for
 “ violence, when no other is left. In a State of Nature, every man
 “ has a right to vindicate himself: when Society is dissolved, the same
 “ right returns. Men can never be deprived of both publick protection
 “ and private defence.

“ CESAR had violated every tie that can bind the human soul;
 “ Oaths, Trust, and Law: he had violated every thing dear to human
 “ kind, their Peace, Liberty, Rights and Possessions. He did all this
 “ by means the most black and flagitious; by Plots, Faction, Corruption,
 “ Robbery, Devastation, Sacrilege, and Slaughter.

“ WHAT was left to the oppressed Romans to do, under the bonds
 “ of the Oppressor with his sword at their throat? Law and Appeals
 “ were no more; a Tyrant was their Master; the Will of a Tyrant
 “ their Law. Because he had slaughtered and destroyed one half
 “ of the people, had he thence a right to govern the rest? There
 “ was no publick force to oppose him; he had destroyed many of the
 “ Armies of the State, and appropriated the rest to himself against the
 “ State: it would have been madness to have thought of judicial
 “ process. In short there was no other way of abolishing his Tyranny,
 “ but by dispatching the Tyrant.

Sect. VI. *Of the share which Casualties had, in raising the
 Name and Memory of CESAR. The Judgment of CICERO concerning him.*

PEOPLE suffer their own imaginations to abuse and mislead them:
 the sound of CESAR's Name; the superstitious reverence paid
 to it, his great employments, great victories, and even his great usurpation;
 all these pompous images dazzle the eyes, and give a false lustre
 to the blackest iniquity and imposture. Nay it proved an advantage

tage to the fame and defence of CÆSAR, that he was affaffinated. Hence fo much popular pity and lamentation for him; hence fo much rage and obloquy upon the Tyrannicides. A violent death or violent sufferings, often pafs for great merit, often atone for great crimes; and in the compaffion for the doom of criminals the abhorrence of their villanies is often extinguifhed: malefactors the moft barbarous, who never fhewed any mercy in their lives, are bewailed at their execution, only becaufe they are executed.

THERE were circumftances alfo in his Death favourable to his fame: he died with decency and a manly fpirit, and he fell by the hands of his friends. Thefe circumftances, and his bloody fhirt display'd to a mob, with an artful melting fpeech from ANTHONY, inflam'd them with sorrow and fury; two grofs paffions which do not reason but feel. The fame topicks have ever fince furnifhed undifcerning Declaimers with big words and vehemence, in behalf of fo fine a man, flain for no fault but that of Ufurpation and Tyranny: a fmall crime, that of being the enemy of human kind!

As to the glory and prosperous fortune of this mighty Conqueror, CICERO fays with great truth, “ that Felicity is nothing elfe but good “ fortune affifting righteous Counfels: nor can he whole purpofes are “ not upright, be from any fuccels efteemed in any wife happy: hence “ ’tis that from the impious and abandoned purfuits of CÆSAR, no “ true felicity could flow: happier in my judgment was CAMILLUS “ under exile from his Country, than MANLIUS his co-temporary “ had been, tho’ he had acquired over his Country that Tyranny “ which he lufted after” *Epift. ad nepot.* The fame wife man fays elfewhere, “ that he would have preferred the laft day of AN- “ TONIUS the Orator, tragical as it was, to the ufurped rule of “ CINNA, by whom that worthy Roman was barbaroufly murdered.” I cannot admire CÆSAR’s ambition: he would rather have been Lord of a poor Village than the fecond man in Rome. To me it appears more glory to be the Member of a free State, efpecially of the greateft State upon earth, than a Lord of Slaves, the biggeft Lord.

Sect. VII. *How vain it is to extol any Designs of his for the Glory of the Roman people.*

IT is faid that CÆSAR was meditating great and glorious things for the Roman people, when he was cut off. He might indeed have gathered empty Laurels for himfelf by more wars at the expence of the people; but how this would have redounded to their advantage I cannot fee. I can eafily fee that all the future ftrength he could have acquired muft have been acquired to himfelf and over them; and every acceffion of power muft, by raifing his Tyranny higher, have funk them lower, and ftreighten’d their chains. He wanted to fight the Parthians, but firft he wanted to be King; and for this purpofe a Prophecy was forged, that none but a King could conquer them: was this impudent forgery too and the defign of it, for the glory of the people who were abufed by it? In fhort he could have done nothing beneficial or glorious for the Roman people, but to have reftored them to their ancient and fubftantial Glory, that of their Liberty and Laws. This too would have been the higheft glory of his own Life, which to

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those who consider things as they are, stript of foolish fair names and disguises, is without this all over black and infamous.

No man's life can be said to be detestable, if his was not: seeing all the malefactors condemned since there were men and crimes, did not half the mischief which he did. It was even currently believed (and what worse could be believed of him than he had done?) that he meant to translate the seat of Empire, with all its strength, to Ilium, or to Alexandria; and having exhausted all Italy by great levies, (that she might never recover her self) he would have begun, probably, a new sort of Sovereignty upon his own model, exempt from the names and appearances of the old Constitution and Laws, which still had reverence paid them at Rome, and consequently were so many grievances to him. Rome he intended to have left to the dominion of his creatures. It is probable he thought himself not safe at Rome, nor in any place which had ever known the governance of Laws, nor any where but at the head of Armies. He had reason for his fear: the severest oppressor can never tie the hands of all the oppressed, nor put chains upon their resentments.

Sect. VIII. *Of his Death; and the rashness of ascribing to divine Vengeance the fate of such as slew him.*

IN the midst of his farther designs, whatever they were, a bloody doom overtook this man of blood, and he was lawfully slain; tho' not by the forms of Law: *abusus dominatione & jure cæsus existimaretur* (Sueton.): his lawless power had made this impossible. It is true they who slew him were themselves slain. The righteousness of a cause does not always ensure its success; too seldom, God knows: but they who perish in defence of the Laws, are slain against Law: such was the difference between his death and theirs. They were vanquish'd and slain in a great Civil War, at a time when Courage, and Virtue, and Patriotism were capital and proscrib'd.

DID none of those who destroy'd CÆSAR die a natural death? no more did not CÆSAR, who destroyed the State. If this was not a judgment upon him, why should theirs be one upon them? What rule have we to know a judgment, but from the justice or iniquity of a cause? If so, CÆSAR fell by the appointment of Heaven; BRUTUS and his brethren by the malice of Men. But if there be no rule, or if judgments, like parties, take different sides; how dare we pronounce? How many of the Cæsars his successors died naturally? Not one, if we will believe the Historians and probability, from CÆSAR the Dictator to the Emperor VESPASIAN. AUGUSTUS was poisoned by LIVIA his wife; TIBERIUS smothered by MACRO his favorite, to make way for CALIGULA, who was slain with the sword by the officers of his guard: AGRIPPINA poisoned her husband CLAUDIUS: NERO stabbed himself: GALBA was murdered by the soldiers, so was VITELLIUS: OTHO fell by his own hands.

DISCOURSE IV.

Upon OCTAVIUS CESAR, afterwards called
AUGUSTUS.

Sect. I. *Of the base and impious Arts by which he acquired the Empire.*

BY the death of the Ufurper, Liberty was restored, but lasted not; *libertate improspere repetita*; and OCTAVIUS succeeded CESAR, by no superiour genius, by no military prowess or magnanimity; for tricking and deceit constituted his chief parts, and tho' he was bold in Council, he was a coward in the field: but he usurped the Empire by methods so low and vile, as brought disgrace even upon Usurpation; by a thousand frauds, and turns suddenly made, without the common appearances of decency or shame; by thousands of murders deliberately committed, without the appearance of process or provocation; by multiplied treacheries, assassinations, and acts of ingratitude; by employing Ruffians and being himself one; and by destructive wars conducted by the bravery of others.

HE levied forces without authority; and under a lying pretence of defending Liberty, got to be employed by the State against ANTHONY. He then robbed the Commonwealth of her Armies; and was thought to have murdered both her chief Magistrates, the Consuls HIRTIUS and PANSA, the former by his own hand in the hurry of battle, the other after it, by causing poison to be pour'd into his wound by GLYCO his Physician. It is certain the Physician was suspected, seized, and even doom'd to the torture, but saved by the credit of his master OCTAVIUS; whose villany had these farther aggravations, that he was generally believed to have been a Pathick to HIRTIUS for hire; and PANSA had ever a tender regard for him, a regard superior to that which he owed his Country, as he manifested by the advice he gave him before he expired under agonies caused by the hardhearted contrivance of that his beloved and perfidious friend.

WITH this very Army of the Commonwealth he turned head upon the Commonwealth, marched in a hostile manner to Rome, and sent a deputation of Officers to his Masters the Senate, to demand the Consulship in the name of the Legions; and upon some hesitation shewn by that venerable Body, one of these armed Embassadors laid his hand upon his sword, and told them, "If you will not make him Consul, this shall." For his first credit with the Senate he was beholden to CICERO, at whose suit he was trusted with command in conjunction with the Consuls, and dignified with the title of Propretor. We see how he requited the Senate, we see how he served the Consuls: and CICERO his father in Counsel, and the father of the Republick, he deliver'd up to be murder'd and mangl'd by his implacable enemy.

Sect. II. *Of the vindictive spirit of OCTAVIUS, and his horrid Cruelties.*

IN the Battle of Philippi, OCTAVIUS was beaten out of the field, his Camp seized, and but for the fortune and valour of ANTHONY, the day must have been lost. After the victory he shewed as much insolence and cruelty, as he had wanted courage in it. He could not forbear shewing cowardly spite to the dead body of BRUTUS, before whom he had a little before fled for his life, and sent the head of that excellent person to Rome, to be laid ignominiously at the feet of the Statue of CESAR. Different was the treatment shewn by ANTHONY, who had saved OCTAVIUS and beat BRUTUS: ANTHONY beheld his Corpse with grief and tears, cover'd it with his own armour, and treated it with respect and tenderness. OCTAVIUS had not greatness of heart enough for such generous humanity; but treated every illustrious captive with bitter words and cowardly insults, and put them to death without mercy: *in splendidissimum quemque captivorum non sine verborum contumelia sævit*, says SÆTONTIUS. To one of these imploring the privilege of burial, the base Tyrant answered, "That the fowls of the air would soon regulate that matter." When a father begg'd mercy for his son, and the son for the father, the merciful OCTAVIUS commanded the father and son to fight for the survivorship: this barbarous fight he beheld, beheld the son slay his father, and then himself for having done it. Had not the remaining Prisoners reason, when they were brought before ANTHONY and him; to salute the former with the honourable title of, *Imperator*, and the latter with invectives and contempt?

WITH the same cruel spirit he behaved himself after the siege of Perugia. All who applied to him, whether they pleaded innocence, or begged mercy, had one and the same merciless answer, *moriendum esse*: "death is the lot of you all;" and they had it. Three hundred of the chief, comprizing their Nobility and Magistrates, were carried in chains to an Altar raised to JULIUS CESAR, and there butcher'd like cattle, as victims to his ghost, upon the Ides of March, the Anniversary of his Assassination. The City it self he deliver'd to the lust and plunder of his soldiers, contrary to articles, and his faith given. Never was a more tragical and horrible scene: after killing, robbing and ravishing; what the sword could not destroy, the fire did; and that great and beautiful City, one of the fairest in Italy, was reduced to ashes. There were Historians, who asserted, that the quarrel between him and LUCIUS ANTONIUS, who had shut himself up in that City, was all feigned, and a contrivance between them for two reasons; first to try who were real friends and who cover'd enemies; and then by the conquest and confiscation of such, to find a fund for paying the Veterans their promised largesse.

FROM the Citizens of Nursia he took all that they had, their substance and even their City, and sent them forth to wander and starve; for no other crime but that for their fellow Citizens, slain at the siege of Modena, they had rais'd a Monument with an Inscription, "that they died for the publick Liberty;" tho' he had but just before fought and declared for the same side.

It is impossible to paint the horrors of the Proscription: by it every considerable man in the Roman world, who was disliked, or suspected by the Triumvirate to disapprove their Tyranny, was doom'd to die; it was death to conceal or to help them, and rewards were given to such as discover'd and kill'd them: many were betray'd and butcher'd by their slaves and freedmen; many by their treacherous hosts and relations; and many fled with their wives and tender children to the howling wilderness, and liv'd or perish'd amongst woods and wolves. Nothing was to be seen but blood and slaughter: the streets were covered with carcases: the heads of the illustrious dead were exposed upon the Rostras, and their bodies upon the pavement, denied the mercy of burial, other than such as they found in the entrails of devouring dogs and ravenous birds. This looked like dooming Rome to perish at once: and when the other two were satiated with so many butcheries; OCTAVIUS, who, never had blood enough, still persisted to shed more. No sort of men escape his cruelty, nor Nobles, nor Knights, strangers nor acquaintance, nay nor his confidents, and favorite freedmen; nor even his old companion and tutor, TORANIUS, no one knows why, unless for being an honest man and a lover of his Country.

THESE victims continued daily for a course of years; the slightest suspicions, the vilest forgeries, were grounds for slaughters, for illustrious slaughters. Nor could the great quality and venerable station of QUINTUS GELLIUS the Pretor, nor his innocence, exempt him from the bloody hands of the executioner; nor was execution the worst part of his doom: he was by a band of soldiers seized in his seat of justice, hurried away and subjected to the torture, like the meanest slave; but confessed nothing: nor did all this injustice and barbarity satisfy the gentle AUGUSTUS, so much renowned for moderation and clemency: he had the brutal baseness to dig out the eyes of that Magistrate with his own hands, before he allowed him the mercy of being murdered outright. One of his favorite Ministers shewed his sentiments of the clemency of AUGUSTUS plainly enough, upon the following occasion: that Prince was judging some criminals, and giving himself over to revenge and bloody decrees, without check or compassion, when the Minister who abhorred to see him engaged in such feats of cruelty, sent him a note, told him, "he was a butcher," and bad him "come down from his Tribunal."

Sect. III. *Of the treachery, ingratitude, and further cruelties of OCTAVIUS: that the same were wanton and voluntary.*

THE conduct of OCTAVIUS in regard to ANTHONY, was like the rest of his conduct, all one train of perfidiousness. First he made court to ANTHONY, then suborned rogues to murder him; then made war upon him with the arms of the State: then joyned with him against the State: then by the bravery of ANTHONY he conquered the Empire, and then by plots and the valour of AGRIPPA he conquered ANTHONY: then he was devising ways to destroy AGRIPPA, and but for an expedient offered by MECENAS, had destroyed him.

WAS it strange that against such a Prince conspiracies were frequent? As he was an Usurper he could not escape some: his falshood and cruelties begot others; and from considerations publick as well

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as personal, there was abundant cause for many. To punish one plot with exceeding violence, is a sure way to produce more; and when there is no safety found in innocence, further methods will be tried.

IT is a poor defence for AUGUSTUS, to say, that it was from necessity, and to serve himself, that he shed so much blood: for, besides that his cruelty was natural, wanton and unnecessary; why did he seek to be in a station where acts of blood were necessary? why did he usurp the state? why did he make himself a mark for publick and private vengeance? was it not by ambition, was it not by treachery, that he assumed Sovereignty; was he not a publick Traytor? and was it not his choice to be so? why did he wilfully commit crimes so flagitious, that in their defence he must commit more? Can one horrible iniquity efface another? Is a subject justified, who, because he has deserved the pains of treason, raises a rebellion against his Prince, nay kills him, to be safe? No villany ever was, or ever can be perpetrated, which such reasoning will not justify.

WHEN some were bold and honest enough to talk to OLIVER CROMWELL about his excesses and usurpation, he asked them, what would you have one in my station to do? He was well answered: *Sir, We would have no body in your station.* To vindicate murder from the necessity of committing it, in order to conceal robbery; is to argue like a murderer and a robber: but 'tis honest Logic, to reply; "do not rob, and then you need not be tempted to murder; but if you will do one and consequently both, remember that punishment does or ought to follow crimes, and the more crimes the more punishment: if by a repetition of crimes you become too mighty to be punished, you must be content to be accursed and abhorred as an enemy to human race: you must expect to have all men for your enemies, as you are an enemy to all men; and since you make sport of the lives and Liberties of men, you must not wonder, nor have you a right to complain, if they have all of them memories and feeling, and some of them courage and swords."

Sect. IV. *Of the popular Arts and Accidents which raised the Character of AUGUSTUS.*

MANY things concurred to favour the fame of AUGUSTUS, and to obliterate his reproach. He reigned very long, and established a lasting peace; a special blessing and refreshment after a Civil War so long and ruinous: *cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa, sub imperium accepit.* For, tho' that war was the child of his ambition, yet in a series of ensuing tranquillity, it was forgot: nay the greatness of the publick Calamities was a reason for forgetting them: the generation who felt them, were almost all cut off by them; and the next generation, which had not suffered, did not remember: *juniores post Actiacam victoriam, etiam senes plerique inter bella civium nati:* what the people had not seen, they did not lament: when he died there were scarce any living who had beheld the old free State: *quotusquisque reliquus qui Rempublicam vidisset?* The people too were deceived into a belief that they still enjoyed their old Government, because their Magistrates had still their old names, tho' with just as much power as he thought fit to leave them. This was the advice of MECENAS, that to the Officers of State, the same names, pomp and ornaments should be

be continued, with all the appearances of authority without power: *eadem magistratum vocabula sua consulibus, sua prætoribus species.* They were to have no military command during their term, but to possess the old jurisdiction of adjudging all causes finally, except such as were capital; and tho' some of these last were left to the Governor of Rome, an Officer newly created by the Emperor, yet the chief were reserved.

Moreover AUGUSTUS paid great Court to the people: the very Name that covered his Usurpation was a complement to them: he affected to call it the Power of the Tribuneship, an Office first created purely for their protection, and as the strongest effort and barrier of popular Liberty: 'twas for their sake and security, he pretended to assume this power, tho' by it he acted as absolutely as if he had called it the Dictatorial power; such energy there is in words! The Office itself was erected as a bulwark against Tyranny; and by the name of it Tyranny is now supported. In the same manner he used and perverted the Consulship; another Magistracy peculiar to the Commonwealth, but by him abused to the ends of his Monarchy.

HE likewise won the hearts of the people by filling their bellies, by cheapness of provisions, and plentiful markets. This has infinite effect: if people have plenty at home, they will not be apt to discover many errors or much iniquity in the publick, which will always be at quiet when particulars are so. But famine or the fear of it, children crying for bread, mothers weeping for their children, and husbands and fathers unable to stop their tears, and find the necessaries of life for themselves and such dear relations; all these are terrible materials for tumults, sedition, and even for revolutions: but people in ease and plenty are under no temptation to be enquiring into the title of their Prince, or to resent acts of power which they do not immediately feel.

HE frequently entertained them with Shews and Spectacles: a notable means to produce or continue good humour in the populace, to beget kind wishes and zeal for the author of so much joy, and to make them forget Usurpation, Slavery and every publick evil. These were indeed used for the ends of corruption and servitude: they rendered the people idle, venal, vicious, insensible of private virtue, insensible of publick glory or disgrace; but the things were liked, and the ends not seen, or not minded, so that they had their thorough effect: and the Roman people, they who were wont to direct mighty wars, to raise, and depose great Kings, to bestow or take away Empires, they who ruled the world or directed its rule, were so sunk and debauch'd, that if they had but bread and shews, their ambition went no higher.

By the same arts Cardinal MAZARIN began to soften and debase the minds of the French; and after his death the like methods for promoting of idleness and luxury were pursued: shews, debauchery, wantonness and riot were encouraged and became common; and after the Restoration, England adopted the modes of France, her worst modes. There were some, too many, who unworthy of their own happiness and Liberty, came to admire her Government and misfortune, and laboured with the spirit of Parricides, tho' without their punishment, to bring ours to the model of that.

I cannot omit observing here, that by the same means that CESAR and AUGUSTUS acquired the Empire, they destroyed its force. In
the

the Civil Wars great part of the people perished; and the rest they debauched: they had utterly drained or corrupted that source of men which furnished soldiers who conquered the earth: henceforth the *plebs ingenua* became a mere mob, addicted to idleness and their bellies, void of courage, void of ambition, and careless of renown: armies were with difficulty raised amongst them; when raised not good, or apt to corrupt the rest: it was such who excited the sedition in the German Legions, after the death of AUGUSTUS: *vernacula multitudo, nuper acta in urbe delectu, lasciviae sueta, laborum intolerans, implere ceterorum rudes animos; venisse tempus, &c.* An. 1. C. 31: “the recruits lately raised
“ in Rome, men accustomed to the softness and gayeties of the City;
“ and impatient of military labour and discipline, inflamed the sim-
“ ple minds of all the rest by seditions, infusions, and harangues, &c.” Indeed the Roman Armies (so chiefly in name) were mostly composed of foreigners.

To engage new creatures and dependences he created many new Offices: as the multitude of Offices in France is reckoned a great support of the Authority Royal. He raised many publick buildings, repaired many old, and to the City added many edifices and ornaments. He attended business, reformed enormities, shewed high regard for the Roman name; was sparing in admitting foreigners to the rights of Citizens; preserved publick peace; procured publick abundance, promoted publick pleasure and festivity; often appeared in person at the publick diversions, and in all things studied to render himself dear to the populace. In truth, when he had done all the mischief he could, or all that he wanted and more, he ceased his cruelty and ravages: this too was imputed to him for merit. He was reckoned very good, because he began to do less mischief. It was a rational saying of that madman CALIGULA, “that calamitous and tragical to the Roman
“ people were the boasted Victories of his great grand-father AUGUSTUS;” and therefore he forbade them to be solemnized annually for the future.

Sect. V. *Tho’ AUGUSTUS courted the people and particular Senators, he continued to depress publick Liberty and the Senate.*

BUT amidst all these acts of popularity and beneficence, and this plausible behaviour of AUGUSTUS, the root of the evil remained and spread; the bulwarks of Liberty were daily broken down, and having lulled the publick asleep, he was sowing his tares: the best of his Government was but the sunshine of Tyranny: *ubi militem donis, populum annonâ, cunctos dulcedine pacis pellexit, insurgere paulatim, munia Senatus, Magistratum, Legum, in se trahere:* AUGUSTUS was become the center and measure of all things; he was the Senate, Magistracy and Laws: the arms of the Republick he had wrested out of her hands; those who had wielded them for her, he had slain; *Bruto & Cassio cæsis, nulla jam publica arma.* The armies of the State were now the armies of AUGUSTUS, and every Province where Legions were kept or necessary, he reserved to himself: such as were unarmed he left to the Senate and people: in kindness forsooth to them, for he studied to relieve them from all anxiety and fatigue, and to leave them nothing to do; but would take all the care and trouble to himself. Italy, the

original foil of Liberty and Freemen, he utterly disarmed, agreeably to the Maxims of absolute Monarchy: the Roman people and the Roman Senate he had reduced to cyphers and carcasses: *patres & plebem, invalida & inermia*. Hence all the submission and duty formerly paid to the free State, were with her power, transferred to the Emperor, and certain wealth and preferment were the rewards of ready servility and acquiescence: *quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus & honoribus extollerentur*.

THIS shews that however he depressed the power of the Senate, he paid great court to particular Senators: and 'tis too true, that as men generally love themselves better than their Country, they too easily postpone the publick interest to their own.

Sect. VI. *What Fame he derived from the Poets and other flattering Writers of his time.*

THE Renown of AUGUSTUS was also notably blazon'd by the Historians and Poets of his time; men of excellent wit, but egregious flatterers. According to them AUGUSTUS had all the accomplishments to be acquired by man, the magnanimity of Heroes, the perfections and genius of a Deity, and the innocence peculiar to the primitive race of men. After so many instances of his cruelty, revenge, selfishness, excessive superstition and defect in courage; after all the crying calamities and afflictions, all the oppression and vassalage, that his ambition had brought upon his Country and the globe, one would think that such praises must have pass'd for satyr and mockery: but *nihil est quod credere de se non possit cum laudatur Diis æqua potestas*. Ambition, successful ambition is a credulous passion; or whether he believed such praises or no, he received them graciously, and caress'd the Authors. Hence so much favour to VIRGIL and HORACE, and to such other wits as knew how to be good Courtiers: and hence every admirer of those charming Poets, is an admirer of AUGUSTUS, who was so generous to them, and is the chief burthen of their Panegyrics.

SUPPOSE he had miscarried; suppose the Commonwealth restored and him punished as a Traytor instead of gaining the Sovereignty; would not the Historians, would not the Poets have then spoke as the Law spoke, that Law by which he had certainly forfeited his life? would not BRUTUS and CASSIUS have then filled their mouths with Panegyrics, as the Saviours of the State? would they have lamented that the Usurpation failed, and extolled the Usurper? Is CATILINE extolled, or are the Usurpations of CINNA, SYLLA, or MARIUS? nor was the conduct and domination of either, half so barbarous and tragical as was that of AUGUSTUS for a course of years. The truth is their Tyranny was short lived, unsuccessful, or resigned.

INIQUITY unprosperous or punished, no man praises; but wickedness exceeding great and triumphant, almost all men do, as well as decry virtuous attempts defeated. CESAR and AUGUSTUS succeeded; and their flattery continued, because their government and race did: *semper magnæ fortunæ comes adest adulatio*; Sycophancy is ever a constant attendant upon greatness, says PATERCULUS, who was himself a scandalous flatterer, and has in his History, miserably perverted truth, or utterly suppressed it, that he might lie for the Cæsars.

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fars. When Truth was treason who would venture to speak it? and when Flattery bore a vogue and a price, there were enough found to court it, and take it. Hence the partiality or silence of Poets and Historians; *gliscente adulatione deterrentur*.

Sect. VII. *Of the false Glory sought and acquired by AUGUSTUS, from the badness of his Successors.*

ANOTHER signal advantage to the name and memory of AUGUSTUS, was the badness of his Successors; and for his posthumous lustre he was indebted to the extreme misery of the Roman people: in proportion as TIBERIUS, CALIGULA, &c. were detested, AUGUSTUS was regretted: yet who but AUGUSTUS was to be thanked for these monsters of cruelty? They were legacies by him entailed upon that great State, and he was even suspected to have surrendered the Roman people to the Tyranny of TIBERIUS, purely to enhance his own praise with posterity, by the comparison and opposition of their Reigns: *comparatione deterrima sibi gloriam quæsisse*. He sought renown from a counsel for which he deserved abhorrence. He had made a feint or two to abdicate the Sovereignty; had he been in earnest, he might at least have contrived, that his Usurpation should last no longer than his life, and have left for a legacy to the Roman people that Liberty of which he had robbed them; that dominion over themselves, which none but themselves had any right to exercise. The truth is, his power and name were dearer to him than the Roman people or human race: he made provision by a long train of successors against any possible relapse into Liberty: *provixit etiam hæredum in Rempublicam opibus*. When he had no longer any heir of his own blood, or none that he liked, he adopted the sons of his wife, and even the worst of them was destined to the succession; *ne successor in incerto foret*.

IF it be said that by such adoption he fortified himself, and considered heirs as *subsidia dominationis*, the stays and security of his domination; this still shews what was uppermost in his views, that he meant to perpetuate slavery. If he had studied the good of Rome, why was not TIBERIUS, whom he knew to be tyrannical and arrogant, postponed; why was not his brother DRUSUS, the most accomplished and popular man in the Empire, preferred? or (after his death) GERMANICUS his son, one equally deserving, and equally beloved? It is even said that he loved DRUSUS, loved GERMANICUS, and was suspected to have hated and despised TIBERIUS: yet TIBERIUS was preferred, and had the world bequeathed to him. Was it done to please his wife? then he loved her better than the Roman people, nay preferred her caprice to the felicity of human kind. DRUSUS had declared his purpose to restore the Commonwealth: the same intention is supposed to have been in GERMANICUS: this perhaps was the reason for setting them aside; *quippe illi non perinde curæ gratia presentium, quam in posteros ambitio*; as was said of TIBERIUS.

Sect. VIII. *The Character of AUGUSTUS.*

AS to the Character of AUGUSTUS; he was a man of Sense and Art; his courage below his capacity, his capacity below his fortune, yet his fortune below his fame; because his fame was the child

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of able flattery as well as of propitious fortune: he was a cunning man, not a great genius; dextrous to apply the abilities of others to his own ends, and had ability enough to be counselled by such as had more: his designs rather incidental and progressive, than vast and conceived at once; and he cannot be said to have mastered fortune, but to have been led by it. In the times of the Republick he would have made but a midling figure; in the station and pursuits of JULIUS CESAR, none at all: 'tis not in the least likely that he would have thought or attempted what CESAR accomplished. He wanted CESAR's masterly spirit, the eclat of that consummate Warrior, his boundless Liberality, his enchanting Eloquence: for the Eloquence of AUGUSTUS, which was easy and flowing, such as became a Prince, was quite different from that torrent of Language, and power of speaking necessary to agitate and controul the spirit of Republicans, and came far short of the talent of JULIUS, who stood in rank with the most distinguished Orators. I know not whether the vices of the Dictator had not more popular charms than the virtues of AUGUSTUS: CESAR made his way to the Throne, AUGUSTUS found it already made, or where difficulties occurred, was conducted by the superiour lights and force of others, whom he rewarded with all the meanness of ingratitude and even cruelty, and did many things which the great heart of CESAR would have scorned. No great mind ever delighted in petty mischiefs; tho' to do mighty evil an elevated genius is not always necessary.

Sect. IX. *Of the Helps and Causes which acquired and preserved the Empire to AUGUSTUS. His great Power and Fortune, no proof of extraordinary Ability.*

THAT AUGUSTUS acquired the Empire, is not a proof of talents grand and surprizing: a thousand things concurred to it, times and accidents, friends and enemies, the living and the dead, fought and contrived for him; CESAR, ANTHONY, the authority of the Senate, the folly and corruption of the people, the eloquence and abilities of CICERO, seasonable conjunctures, the opposition of some, the compliance or intoxication of others, nay the charms of CLEOPATRA, and his own treachery and fears: all these co-incided to push him forwards, and to hoist him into Sovereignty; nor indeed wanted he dexterity to improve opportunities, for he was a notable man, judged well, and had a turn for business.

NOR did it require much genius to hold the Empire, when he had got it. All who could oppose him were slain or subdued. He had Armies and Guards; and the people were disarmed and enslaved; the State was so thoroughly mastered, the Roman spirit so entirely broken, *verso civitatis statu, nihil usquam prisce & integri moris*, that any the most contemptible wretch amongst men, provided he were but vouch'd by the Armies and called CESAR, might rule, insult, and lay waste the Roman world at his pleasure: *omnis exuta aequalitate jussa principis aspectare*. What was CALIGULA, what were NERO and CLAUDIUS? were they not monsters, who but for shape and speech, were utterly disjoined from humanity? and yet were not these monsters suffered, nay adored, and deified, while they were wallowing in the blood of men, and making spoil of the creation? Nor were the savages cut
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off by any effort of the Roman people, but by the instruments of their own cruelty, their wives, soldiers, and slaves.

THUS it was possible to be Masters of mankind, not only without common sense, and common mercy and compassion, but even armed with intense and settled hate against the race of men, and daily exerting it. The rule and havock of a Lion or any other beast of prey, would have been less pernicious, and less disgraceful to the Roman people, tho' he had required for his sustenance a vessel of human blood every day. Nay had the Imperial Lion kept about him a Court and Guard of subordinate Lions, for his Instruments and Counsellors, they could not have worried and devoured faster than did the Accusers, Freedmen, Poisoners, and Assassins of the Emperors. Cruelty inspired by hunger, ceases when hunger is asswaged; but cruelty created by fear and malice is never satiated, nor knows any bounds: so much less dangerous and pernicious are the jaws and rapaciousness of a Tyger, than the jealousy and rage of a Tyrant, his flatterers and executioners.

Now where was the difficulty to AUGUSTUS, where the necessity of high wisdom, to maintain the Sovereignty, when such despicable wretches could maintain themselves in it for a course of years? The Romans who were masters of mankind, were become the tame property, the vassals and victims of creatures equal to no office in a State, even the meanest and most contemptible office; creatures void of understanding, void of courage. Such, without aggravation, were the Lords of Rome for several successive Reigns: such as were a scandal to human Nature, trod upon the necks and wantoned in the blood of human kind; nay delegated this work, and the disposal of the Romans, life and property, to the vilest of their domesticks and dependants, their spies, informers, and bond slaves.

DISCOURSE V.

Of Governments free and arbitrary, more especially that of the CESARS.

Sect. I. *The Principle of God's appointing and protecting Tyrants, an Absurdity not believed by the Romans.*

I Do not find that a Servitude so beastly and ignominious was borne by the Romans out of Principle. Their Religion, as vain and superstitious as 'twas, had never offered such an insult to common sense, as to teach them that their Deities, as capricious as they thought them, warranted Tyranny and sanctified Tyrants; that the brutal and bloody CALIGULA, was the beloved and Vice-gerent of Jove, almighty, all-wise and all-merciful; that the worst of men had a commission from Heaven to oppress all men, and to destroy the best; that murder, rapine and mis-rule were Government, and such lawless and bloody robbers were Governors divinely appointed; that Society had no remedy against devouring lust and the raging sword, which were destroying all the ends of Society and Society it self. These are Absurdities below Paganism and all its chimeras: even the Superstition of Pagans never broached such blasphemies and indignities

to God and Man; never propagated Doctrines which would have turned men into idiots, destitute of reflection and feeling, nay into beasts of burden, and beasts for sacrifice; turned the Deities into Devils; human society into a chaos of blood and carcases, and this earth into a place of torments. It never entered into the heart of a Greek or a Roman, nor into any heart which felt the sentiments of virtue and humanity, that it was unlawful to defend Law; a crime to ward against murder, barbarity, and desolation; and an impiety to do the most godlike action which can be done on this side Heaven, that of disarming a Tyrant, and saving ones Country from perishing. It is true that the Romans flattered their Tyrants, as Tyrants ever will be flattered; but as the names and appearances of the old Government still subsisted, they pretended to believe that none but the old Laws were exercised; and by the old Laws the Emperors still pretended to act. For several generations after the State was enslaved, and even during the Reigns of the worst of the CÆSARS, the Romans expressed high contempt for Nations who were avowedly slaves, and for Kings who were avowedly arbitrary; and it then continued usual, to behold foreign Monarchs attending the levee and train of the Roman Magistrates and Governors of Provinces; nay they were sometimes denied access and treated with great scorn.

GOVERNMENT is doubtless a sacred thing, and justly claims all reverence and duty; but in the idea of Government is implied that of publick Protection and Security; that it is the terror of evil doers, and the encouragement of such as do well; but when what was Government ceases; and what is called Government, is in reality general oppression, havock, and spoil; when a power prevails which is swayed by evil doers to the destruction of all who do well; when law and righteousness are banished, lust and iniquity triumph; property is violently invaded, and lives are wantonly destroyed; is this Government too? If it be, I should be glad to know what is not Government.

SECT. II. The reasonableness of resisting Tyrants asserted, from the ends of Government and the Nature of the Deity. Opinions the most impious and extravagant, why taught and how easily swallowed.

IT is certainly unlawful to resist Government; but 'tis certainly lawful to resist the deviation from Government, to resist what destroys Government and men: to resist the abuse of Government, is to assist Government. 'Tis allowed to be just to help our protectors; but it is equally just to oppose our enemies, madmen and spoilers. Now what was NERO, what CALIGULA and CLAUDIUS? one a bloody idiot, the other an inhuman madman; the first like the second, and all of them publick robbers and butchers. If their course of cruelties and oppression was Government, so are plagues, tempests and inundations: but if their lives and actions were altogether pernicious and detestable; the exterminating of such monsters from amongst men, would have been a service to the whole race. Was TARQUIN half so black and odious? yet who has ever blamed his expulsion? was the Insolence and Tyranny of TARQUIN the Ordinance
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of God? what then was the succeeding Government of the People and Senate? if this was the Ordinance of God too; then every Government good and bad, or rather Mis-government as well as Government, publick robbery and ruin as well as publick security and protection, may be equally said to be his Ordinance; and there are Ordinances of his that combat one another, like the two Angels contending in one of the Prophets. But if the Tyranny of *TARQUIN* was, and the establishing of the free State was not the Ordinance of God, then are not the Patrons of this opinion obliged to say, and to maintain this gross and blasphemous absurdity, that the divine Being disapproves of good Government, Equity and Laws, and delights in injustice, cruelty and confusion; not in the rule of equal justice, but in the ravages of lust and iniquity.

To say that all Governments, the good and the bad, are alike to him, equally inviolable, is to say that he takes no cognizance of things below; and at this rate, there is, in his sight, no such thing as guilt and innocence. To alledge that that Government which is best for men, is disliked by him; and the rule of lust is preferable to that of Laws; is to make him worse than indifferent, the patron of wantonness and oppression; a foe to order and benevolence, fonder of one man's caprice and violence than of the happiness of millions; nay a professed advocate for iniquity, a professed adversary to all publick righteousness. If it be said, that he approves not of Tyranny himself, and yet would not have it resisted by others; this is nonsense added to prophaneness; since what he neither checks nor allows to be checked, he may be said to approve. If I see a man going to commit murder, and by terrible threatening and penalties restrain such as would restrain him, will it not be construed, that I chose to have the murder perpetrated? It makes him besides a hard hearted being, who forbids to remedy the highest human evil, nay wilfully dooms human kind to the severest misery.

I never heard that he has forbid under any penalty the use of Medicines against the Plague, and I think I have found the reason why I never heard it: the Plague has no treasures, nor dignities to recompense flatterers. Had it been worth while to have made such prohibition a Doctrine of Religion; that is, had it been pleasing to power and the way to favour, I doubt not but it would have gained ground, and many followers, as other Doctrines equally absurd have done, where the gain and craft of a few have been followed and defended by the superstition and zeal of many; witness Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Auricular Confession, blind Obedience under the rod of Tyranny, &c. The Turks out of bigotry to that of Predestination, forbear all precautions against the Plague, when raging on every side of them. It is impossible to invent a Doctrine so monstrous and mischievous, but 'twill meet with partizans and admirers, provided the inventors have convenient names and habilements, without which the most illustrious and benevolent truths will hardly pass with a multitude bewitched with the magick of words and superstition.

It is impossible for the hearts of men to contrive a Principle more absurd and wicked, than that of annexing divine and everlasting vengeance to the resisting of the most flagrant mischief which can possibly befall the sons of men; yet it has found inventors and vouchers. 'Tis plain from this instance, and from a thousand more, that there

is no wickedness of which the hearts of men are not capable, and that the wretchedness of the whole race weighs not so much with them as their own profit and pleasure. It would seem from hence, as if we had lived in the dregs and barbarism of time, since to the late age (at least here in Christendom) was reserved the infamy of hatching a Monster so horrible, that to its birth was sacrificed all Sense and Humanity, all the considerations and even the essence of Truth, Order and Liberty.

THE advocates for this impious tenet, which represents the great and good God as incensed with men for striving to remove their chains and sorrows, are, by defending Tyranny, so much worse than Tyrants, as a Scheme of Barbarity coolly and deliberately contrived or defended, is more heinous than particular acts of barbarity committed in the heat and hurry of passion, and Murder a greater crime than Manlaughter.

WHAT avail Laws and Liberty, ever so excellently framed, when they are at the mercy of lawless rage and caprice? If we are forbid by God to defend Laws, why do we make them? Is it not unlawful to make what it is unlawful to defend? What else is the end of Government, but the felicity of men; and why are some raised higher in Society than others, but that all may be happy? Has God ever interposed against the establishment of Society upon a good foot? If he has not, but wills the good of Society and of men, how comes he to interpose against the defence of an Establishment which he no where forbids, and against that good which he is said to will? What more right had NERO to take away the lives of innocent men than any other Assassins; what more title to their fortune than any other Robber; what better right to spill their blood than any Tyger? And is it unlawful to resist Robbers and Assassins and Beasts of Prey? Did the Almighty ever say of that beastly Tyrant, "Touch not NERO my Anointed, nor do his Ruffians any harm?" Did NERO's station lessen or abrogate his crimes?

WHAT idea does it give of God, the Father of mercies and of men, to represent him screening that enemy to God and man, as a person sacred and inviolable, and holding his authority from himself; the merciful and holy Jehovah protecting an inhuman Destroyer! What more relation could there be between God and NERO, than between God and an Earthquake, God and a Conflagration or Massacre? The very sound of the phrase is shocking to the soul! Is such representation likely to make the name and nature of God amiable to men, likely to excite them to love and reverence him? SATAN is said to be delighted with the miseries and calamities of men; and, to suppose that wicked Being concerned for the security of a Tyrant, whose office 'tis to debase and afflict human race, is natural and consistent with his Character: but I wish men would not father upon the Author of all good such counsels and inclinations, as can only suit the father of cruelties and lies.

SECT. III. *The danger of slavish Principles to such as trust in them, and the notorious insecurity of lawless Might.*

NEITHER have Tyrants and Oppressors been much obliged to this enslaving Doctrine, which has generally filled them with
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false confidence and security: it has always made them worse, seldom safer; and, without doing them any good, been the cause of much evil to their poor subjects. The Turks hold it as an Article of Faith, and 'tis one worthy of Turkish grossness and barbarity! yet where has the deposing and murdering of Princes been so common as in Turkey? The Monarch is told he may do what he pleases; their Religion tells him so, the holy Mufti who explains it tells him so, and from God he tells him so: but notwithstanding all these holy Authorities, this person so sacred, and guarded with securities human and divine, is often butchered with less form than a common malefactor, and even with the Mufti's consent and assistance. Thus it has happened to several in a Century: had not their power been so great, their security would have been greater.

NUNQUAM *satis fida potentia ubi nimia*; an absolute Prince is of all others the most insecure: as he proceeds by no rule of Law, he can have no rule of Safety: he acts by Violence, and violence is the only remedy against him. Now violence which is confined to rule, but as various and unlimited as the passions and devices of men, can never be parried by any certain provision or defence. His acts of cruelty upon particulars, whether done for revenge or prevention, do but alarm other particulars to save themselves by destroying him. Men who apprehend their lives to be in danger, will venture any thing to preserve them; or if they do more than apprehend and be already become desperate, we know to what lengths despair will push them. Thus CALIGULA, thus DOMITIAN and COMMODUS, were slaughtered by those whom they had doomed to slaughter. Nor Armies nor Guards can prevent the machinations and efforts of a secret enemy: even amongst his Armies and Guards such a one may be found, nay in his Household, in his Bed-chamber, amongst his Kindred; nay amongst his Children.

WHEN Princes act by Law, in case of hardship upon particulars, there is a remedy to be sought from the Law; and when the Law fairly administered will afford none, they will acquiesce; or if they blame any thing, they will blame the Law: but a remedy they will be apt to seek; and when they suffer not from Law, but from mere violence, they will have recourse to violence. Neither can a people be ever so sunk or deadened by Oppression, but much provocation, some management, and a skilful leader, will find or raise some spirit in them, often enough to accomplish great Revolutions: witness Sicily under the French, Switzerland under the Yoke of Austria, and the Low Countries under that of Spain; nay the most consummate and professed slaves, those of Turkey, often rouse themselves, and casting their proud rider to the earth, trample him to death.

INDEED slaves enraged are the most dangerous populace; because having no other resource against oppression, they repell violence with outrage: a little spark often raises a great flame, and a flame soon spreads to a Conflagration, where materials are prepared, as they almost eternally are in Governments that are absolute or aiming to be so. The Commotions at Paris, during the Minority of the late King, were followed by others all over France, tho' the whole Kingdom had been for a great while before, by the Tyranny of the Administration, frightened, despairing, and even lethargic: but the resentment and convulsions that followed this false calm, had like to have overset the

the Monarchy: nor can any publick calm be certain, or any Government secure, where the people are pillaged and oppressed. People that are used like beasts, will act like beasts; and be mad and furious, when buffeted and starved.

Sect. IV. *Princes of little and bad Minds, most greedy of Power: Princes of large and good Minds chuse to rule by Law and Limitations.*

IT is a poor and contemptible ambition in a Prince, that of swelling his Prerogative, and catching at advantages over his People: it is separating himself from the tender relation of a Father and Protector, a Character which constitutes the Glory of a King; and assuming that of a foe and an ensnarer: *non dominationem & servos, sed rectorem & cives cogitaret.* This is what a Prince of a great and benevolent spirit will consider; not himself as a lordly Tyrant, nor them as his Property and Slaves; but himself and them under the amiable and engaging ties of Magistrate and fellow Citizens. Such was the difference between a Queen ELIZABETH and a RICHARD the second: how glorious and prosperous the Reign of the one, how infamous and unhappy that of the other! what renown accompanies her memory, what scorn his! It is indeed apparent from our History, that those of our Princes who thirsted most violently after arbitrary rule, were chiefly such as were remarkable for poor spirit, and small genius, Pedants, Bigots, the timorous and effeminate.

THE French Historians observe that the worst and weakest of their Kings were fondest of Dominion, and their best and wisest contented with stinted Power and the rule of Laws. LEWIS the eleventh, says Cardinal DE RETZ, was more crafty than wise: he was in truth a genuine Tyrant, he trampled upon the Laws of the Kingdom and the lives of his Subjects, pillaged and oppressed all manner of ways, and followed no counsel but that of his Lust and Caprice. But what advantage or content, what security or fame did he draw from his exorbitant encroachments and power? no man ever lived under a blacker series of fears, and cares, and suspicions, or died in greater misery and terrors; and in his life, and death, and memory he is equally detestable^b. LEWIS the thirteenth, a man naturally harmless but silly, was jealous of his authority, purely because he was ignorant about it: but HENRY the fourth, who was born with a Soul great and generous, never distrusted the Laws, because he trusted in the uprightness of his own Designs: *il ne se desoit pas des loix, parce qu'il se fioit en lui même*, says DE RETZ. Another French Monarch of great name, loved and enjoyed unbridled Dominion, but had no greatness of mind or genius answerable to the measure of his ambition. He had a sort of stiffness and perseverance, by his flatterers stiled Fortitude and Firmness, but in reality arising from arrogance or obstinacy; qualities found in the weakest women, and eminently in his mother. In Religion he was a bigot; in Politicks false, suspicious, and timid; in Government insolent and oppressive; the property of his Mistresses, the Pupil of his Confessors, the Dupe of his Ministers: a sore Plague to his Neighbours; a forer to his own People: vainly addicted to War without the

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^b *Vid. PHIL. DE COMINES and MEZERAY.*

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talents of a Warriour; a dishonourable Enemy; a faithless Ally; and, with small Abilities, a great Troubler of the World.

It was natural to such an Imperial Wolf as CALIGULA, to delight in power as savage as his own bloody spirit, and to boast that he had an unlimited privilege to do whatever his will or fury suggested; *omnia sibi in homines licere*: but worthy of the benevolent and human heart of TRAJAN, were the words by him used to his chief Officers, when he presented them with the sword: *pro me; si merear, in me*: “this sword, this badge of Authority, you hold from me, “but turn it, if I deserve it, against me.” Now, did the challenging and exercise of this monstrous power secure CALIGULA; or did the disavowing of it lessen the security of TRAJAN? quite otherwise: the former was abhorred and assassinated as a Tyrant: the latter was adored living, and died lamented, as a publick Father and Guardian. TRAJAN knew no other purpose of Imperial Prerogative, but that of protecting the People; nor indeed is there any other use of Emperors and Prerogatives upon earth.

Cardinal D E R E T Z says, that with all the arguments and pains he could use, he could never bring the Queen Regent to understand the meaning of these words, *the Publick*: she thought that to consult the interest of the People, was to be a Republican, and had no notion that the Government of a Prince was any thing else but Royal Will and Authority, rampant and without bounds. Was it any wonder that the people of France gasped under Oppressions and Taxes, when the Government was swayed by such a Woman, herself blindly governed by MAZARIN, a publick Thief if ever there was any; one convicted to have stolen from the Finances nine millions in a few years; one who had spent his younger years in low rogueries; who had no maxims of rule but such as were adapted to the severest Tyranny in Italy, that of the Pope; and one, who in the highest post of first Minister, could never help shewing the base spirit of a little Sharper. *Le vilain cœur paroissoit toujours au travers*, says D E R E T Z: the Duke of Orleans called him *un Scelerat, & Ministre incapable & abhorré du genre humain; un Menteur sieffé*.

Sect. V. *The Wisdom and Safety of ruling by standing Laws, to Prince and People.*

IT was a fine answer that of THEOPOMPUS King of Lacedæmon to his wife, who reproached him that he would leave the Kingship diminished to his sons, by creating the Ephori: *yes*, says he, *I shall leave it smaller, but I shall leave it more permanent*. VALERIUS MAXIMUS explains this by a very just reflection: “THEOPOMPUS’s reason was full of pertinency and force: for, in reality, “that Authority which bounds it self, and offers no injuries, is exposed “to none. The King therefore by restraining Royalty within the just “limits of Laws, did as much endear it to the Affections of his “Countrymen, as he pruned it of all Licentiousness and Terror^a.”

It is as rare for a Prince limited by Laws and content with his power, to reign in sorrow, or to die tragically, as ’tis uncommon for those

^a Optime quidem; ea demum tuta est potentia, quo longius à licentia retrahit, hoc propius ad quæ viribus suis modum imponit. Theopompus benevolentiam civium admovit, Val. Max. L. 4. igitur legitimis regnum vinculis constringendo, C. 1.

those who have no bounds set them, or will suffer none, to escape a miserable Reign and unbloody end. The power of the Roman Kings was, from the first establishment, very short: they had no negative voice in the Senate, and could neither make War nor Peace. What TACITUS says of ROMULUS, *nobis Romulus ad libitum imperitaverat*, can only mean his administering justice, as the chief Magistrate, between man and man, or perhaps his encroachments upon the Senate towards his latter end, for which 'tis thought he paid dear.

WHERE the Government is arbitrary and severe, the oppressed people will be apt to think that no change can make their condition worse; and therefore will be ready to wish for any, nay to risque a Civil War, risque fresh evils and calamities, to get rid of the present, and to be revenged on their Oppressor: such was the temper of the Romans upon the revolt of SACROVIR: they even rejoiced in it, and, in hatred to TIBERIUS, wished success to the publick enemy; *multi odio præsentium, & cupidine mutationis, suis quisque periculis lætabantur*. People will be quiet and patient under burdens however heavy which Law lays on; for they suppose that Laws are founded upon reason and necessity: but impositions the most reasonable will be apt to appear unreasonable and tyrannical, where they proceed from the will of one. Mere will is supposed to act without reason, and to be only the effect of wantonness: hence the acquiescence of a free people however taxed, and from their acquiescence, the safety of their Governors. Hence too the industry and wealth, and consequently the peaceableness of the country: for industry and wealth are things exceeding quiet and tame, and only aim at securing themselves; whereas idleness and indigence are uneasy, tumultuous, and desperate. Besides, he who pays twenty shillings in a free Government, and pays it cheerfully, would not perhaps, were the Government changed, pay willingly ten, nay perhaps be unable to pay it, tho' by the change no new taxes were added. While the Law requires it, he will imagine that no more than enough is required; and as the same Law leaves him all the rest to himself, he will be industrious to acquire more, and as much as he can: but when the quantity of his Tax depends upon the caprice or avarice of one, when the more he is worth, the more he will be taxed, or even fancies that he will be, he will grow idle, discontented and desponding, and rather live poor and lazy, than labour to make his Tax-master rich. Not to mention the furious Monarchies of the East destructive of all diligence and Arts; the COMTE DE BOULAINVILLIERS in his *Etat de la France*, says, that in some Provinces in France the soil is left uncultivated, and several trades and professions are disused; because the labour of the Husbandman, and the skill and application of the Artist, are rendred abortive by rigorous impositions: they choose rather to starve in idleness, than to work and starve.

SECT. VI. *The Condition of free States, how preferable to that of such as are not free.*

NO arbitrary Prince upon earth could have raised from the States of Holland the fifth part of what they have, as a free State, paid to their own Magistrates, nor have found whence to have raised it. I will venture to say the same of England. Under a Monarchy of the late King JAMES's model, was it possible to have supported

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two wars so long and consuming as the two last, or to have raised sums so immense to carry them on? It would be madness to assert it: by this time numbers of our people would have been driven from their Country, much of our Soil been waste, many of our Manufactures laid aside, our Trade sunk, our Wealth fled, and the condition of England have resembled that of France, as well as our Government theirs, and for the same reason. It is in vain boasted of the House of Medicis, that in a long course of years they had laid no new tax upon a country where their power was absolute; since the Cities and Territories under their Sovereignty are by it reduced from great wealth and populousness to such miserable desolation and poverty, that 'tis downright oppression to oblige them to pay any considerable part of the old, much more all.

To reason from experience and examples, is the best reasoning; *quia pauci prudentia, honesta ab deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis discernunt; plures aliorum eventis docentur.* Compare any free State with any other that is not free: compare the former and present condition of any State formerly free; or once enslaved, and now free: compare England with France; Holland with Denmark; or the seven Provinces under the States, with the same seven Provinces under Philip the second; you will find in these and every other instance, that happiness and wretchedness are the exact tallies to Liberty and Bondage.

FLORENCE was a Commonwealth ill framed at first, and consequently subject to frequent convulsions, factions, parties, nay subdivision of parties: yet by the mere blessing and vigour of Liberty, She flourished in people, riches and arms, till with her Liberty she lost all spirit and prosperity; and became languishing little and contemptible under a small Prince with a great name: she has been long cured of all her former frolicks and tumults, by an effectual remedy, servitude; and beggary, the child of servitude; and by depopulation, the offspring of both: *instrumenta servitutis & reges habuere.* All arguments for absolute Power, are confuted by facts: no Country governed by mere will was ever governed well: passion governs the will, the will becomes the measure of right and wrong and of all things, and caprice the ballance of the will: and I know not but it may be maintained that a free State the worst constituted, as was that of Florence, is with all its disorders, factions, and tumults, preferable to any absolute Monarchy, however calm: *solitudinem faciunt, pacem vocant.*

Sect. VII. *The Misery and Insecurity of the Cæsars from their overgrown Power.*

THESE Emperors of Rome, who had sacrificed their Country and all things to their supreme power, found little ease and security from its being supreme. From CESAR the Dictator, who had sacrificed publick Liberty, and was himself sacrificed to her *manes*, till CHARLEMAIN, above thirty of them were murdered, and four of them murdered themselves: the soldiery were their masters, and upon every pique put them to death. If the Prince was chosen by the Senate, this was reason enough for shedding his blood by the Armies; or if the Armies chose him, this choice of their own never proved an obstacle against shedding it: 'twas the soldiers that dispatched the Empe-
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FOR PERTINAX, after he had been forced to accept the Empire. These lofty Sovereigns having trod under foot the Senate, People and Laws, the best supports of legitimate Power, held their Scepter and their lives upon the courtesy of their masters the soldiers: he who swayed the Universe, was a slave to his own mercenaries.

Tho' AUGUSTUS had reigned so long, and so thoroughly enfeebled or extinguished the maxims of Liberty, and introduced and settled those of Monarchy; TIBERIUS his immediate Successor, thought himself so little safe, that he lived in perpetual vassalage to his own fears: by making all men slaves, he could not make himself free, and was only the most overgrown and gaudy slave in the Empire; so much do Princes gain by being above Law! They who will be content with no terms of reigning, but such as make all men fear them, will find reasons to fear all men. TIBERIUS did so, and the many sacrifices which he made to his fear, far from lessening did but encrease it, as such sacrifices did but multiply enemies and terrors.

FIRST he dreaded AGRIPPA POSTHUMUS, and murdered him: but the murder ensured not his repose, even from that quarter; for a slave of that Prince personated his Master, and alarmed TIBERIUS more than AGRIPPA had done: he dreaded GERMANICUS, and when that excellent person was dead (by no fair means, 'twas supposed) he dreaded AGRIPPINA his wife, and her little children; and when by all manner of treachery and cruelty he had oppressed them, he was seized with new dread from SEJANUS, the greatest and justest of all; nor ceased his dread after the execution of SEJANUS, so that he commanded a general Massacre of all his Family, Friends, and Adherents: next, his fears still continuing, he doomed to the most barbarous death his own grandsons by GERMANICUS; for their being already under miserable imprisonment and exile, did not suffice; and when the Family of GERMANICUS was destroyed; he had remaining fears from the Friends and Dependants of that House: these were the next objects of his Vengeance, which he executed fiercely. Nor small was the Terror which he entertained of his own Mother; and when she was gone, he let loose his rage upon the Favourites and Adherents of his Mother.

Now after all these precautions, so many, and so bloody, did his suspicions abate? No; they were rather whetted and inflamed; *irritatus suppliciis*: of the great Lords of the Senate he was under perpetual apprehensions, and making daily victims: their wealth and race, nay their poverty, names, and qualities frightened him: he feared friends and enemies. Those who advised him in counsel, those who diverted him at his leisure hours; his Confidants, Counsellors, and Bottle-companions, were all Martyrs to Jealousy and Fury. He was so afraid of considerable men, or giving them employments which made them so, that some who were appointed Governors of Provinces, were never permitted to go thither, and great Provinces, for a course of years, left destitute of their Governors: and tho' he dreaded stirr and innovations above all things, *nihil æque Tiberium anxium habebat quam ne composita turbarentur*; yet he suffered the loss and devastation of Provinces, the insults and invasion of Enemies, rather than trust any one with the Power of avenging the State, and repulsing the publick foe. Thus he left Armenia to be seized by the Par-

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thians,

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thians, Mœsia by the Dacians and other barbarians, and both the Gauls to be ravaged by the Germans; *magno dedecore Imperii, nec minore discrimine*, says SÜETONIUS.

Sect. VIII. *A representation of the Torments and Horrors under which TIBERIUS lived.*

WHAT joy, what tranquillity did TIBERIUS reap from his great and unaccountable Sovereignty? Did it exempt him from disquiet, or could all his efforts, all the terrors of his Power, prevent or remove his own? Did his numerous Armies protect him from the assaults of fear and apprehension? Did he sleep the founder for his Pretorian Bands? Did the Rocks of Capreæ, hardly accessible to men, keep off those horrors of mind which haunted him at Rome, and on the Continent? Or rather, with all the eclat of Empire, with all his Policy and all his Guards, was he not the most miserable Being in his Dominions? Doubtless he was: other particulars, the most obnoxious and threatened, had but some things and some persons to fear; TIBERIUS dreaded all men and every thing: was his Power unlimited? so was his Misery: the more he made others suffer, the faster he multiplied his own torments. He himself confest, that all the anger of the Deities could not doom him to more terrible Anguish than that under which he felt himself perishing daily.

IMAGINE this great Prince, this Sovereign of Rome, in hourly fear of secret Assassins; daily dreading and expecting the news of Armies revolted, a new Emperor created and himself deposed: imagine him fixt upon a high rock, and watching there from day to day, with a careful eye and an anxious and boding heart, for signals from the Continent, whether he must stay or fly: imagine him every moment ready to commit himself to the waves and tempests, and to escape whither he could for life and shelter: imagine him, even after a Conspiracy suppress'd, lurking for nine months together in one lodge, under such terrors as not to dare to venture an airing even in his beloved Capreæ, however walled with Rocks and defended with Guards: in short he feared every thing but to do evil, which yet was the sole cause of his fears. Such was his situation and life, and such the blessing of lawless Might! "To TIBERIUS not his Imperial fortune, not his gloomy and inaccessible solitude could ensure repose, nor keep him from feeling nor even from avowing the rack in his breast and the avenging furies that pursued him." His Death too was like his Life and Reign, tragical and bloody.

Sect. IX. *The terrible Operation of lawless Power upon the Minds of Princes; and how it changes them.*

TIBERIUS was an able man: he had talents for Affairs; he had eminent sufficiency in War: during the Commonwealth he would have well supported the Dignity of a Senator, he would have filled the first Offices of the State: he would have probably been zealous for publick Liberty: he had even under AUGUSTUS, while he was yet a Subject, acquired a signal name and estimation: nay 'tis likely he might have

have left behind him a high reputation and applause; for he had Art enough to have hid or suppressed the ill qualities which were naturally in him; so that he might have lived happy and admired, and died in renown. But being, unhappily for himself and his Country, invested with Power without controul, he let loose all his Passions, and he who might have proved an excellent and useful Member of a free State, became a Prince altogether merciless and pernicious; a terrible Tyrant, void of natural affection for his own Blood and Family, void of all regard and tenderness for his People, and possessed with intense hate towards the Senate and Nobility. One of his discernment was not to be deceived by Flattery: he knew that whatever submissions and even prostrations were made him, the Yoke of Sovereignty was grating and grievous to the Romans, and he sought revenge upon their persons for hating his Usurpation: this conduct made him more hated, and this hatred enraged him so, that at last renouncing all shame, and throwing away his beloved Arts of Diffimulation, he commenced as 'twere an open Enemy to his People, surrendered himself over to every act of Cruelty, and to every Abomination, even to Rapaciousness and Plunder, a vice to which for a long time he seemed to have no bias.

BUT what is not to be apprehended from Power without controul, and who is to be trusted with it, when a man of such strong parts and long experience as TIBERIUS, was so entirely mastered and perverted by it? 'Tis a task too mighty for the soul of man, and fit for none but God, who cannot change, cannot act passionately, cannot be mistaken and is omnipresent. There are few instances of men who have not been corrupted and intoxicated with it, and many of whom the highest hopes were conceived, have degenerated notoriously under it. When men are once above fear of punishment, they soon grow to be above shame: besides, the genius and abilities of men are limited, but their passions and vanity boundless; hence so few can be perfectly good, and so many are transcendently evil: they mistake good fortune for great merit, and are apt to rise in their own conceit as high at least as fortune can raise them. GALBA was in the opinion of all men worthy of Empire, and that opinion would have ever continued, had he never been tried; and VESPASIAN was till then, the only instance of an Emperor by power changed for the better: *solusque omnium ante se Principum in melius mutatus est.*

Sect. X. *The wretched Fears accompanying the Possession of arbitrary Power, exemplified in CALIGULA and other Roman Emperors.*

NOR was this anguish and these fears peculiar to TIBERIUS: his Successors felt them eminently; as did every one who reigned as he reigned. CALIGULA was so haunted by inward horrors, and his Imagination so terrified, that he became almost a stranger to sleep, and used to roam about the Palace while others slept, afraid of the night invoking the return of day: upon an alarm from Germany, he prepared to run away from Rome; and was always provided with exquisite poison against an exigency. CLAUDIUS scarce lived a moment of his Reign free from affrights and suspicions: nor was there any accident so trivial, or any Man, Woman, or Slave, or Child so contemptible, as not to dismay him and set him upon sanguinary precautions

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cautions and punishments; he was several times almost frightened out of his Sovereignty, and willing to creep away into safety and solitude: even before the Senate, which upon the sight of a dagger, he had summoned in great haste and earnestness, the poor unmanly wretch burst into tears and howling, bewailed his perillous condition, that in no place or circumstance could he be out of the way of danger. His whole life was governed by fears, and his fears by his wives and freedmen; hence his excessive cruelty, according to the measure of his own timidity, or of their ambition, vindictiveness, and rapacity. The Horrors of NERO's guilt never forsook him: they were sometimes so violent, that every joint about him trembled; he dreaded his Mother's Ghost as much as he had her living Spirit, and made doleful complaints, that the Furies pursued him with Stripes, and Rage, and burning Torches; and that he was alarmed with horrid shrieks and groans from his Mother's Tomb. What else did HELIOGABALUS think of but a violent death, when he went always provided with a filken halter and a golden poignard, as expedients to escape death by the hand of an Enemy? For the like purpose CARACALLA made himself a copious provision of poisons. This barbarous Parricide was wont to complain that the Ghost of his Father, and that of his Brother by him murdered, terrified and pursued him with drawn swords. So sorely did the bloody Horrors of their Crimes and Infamy, haunt these men of Blood, and became their Executioners! What availed their Power and Armies against the alarms of their Conscience? Could all their Titles and Might, all the Guards at their gate, scare away reflection, or rescue them from the agonies and gorings of their own breasts?

Sect. XI. *What it is that constitutes the Security and Glory of a Prince; and how a Prince and People become estranged from each other.*

WHAT then is it that a Prince may rely on for the security of his Person and the quiet of his Soul? Hear the opinion of a great and a good Prince, MARCUS ANTONINUS, delivered to his Friends and Counsellors just before he expired: "Verily 'tis neither
 " the influence of Revenue and Treasures, nor the multitude of Guards,
 " that can uphold a Prince, or assure him of obedience, unless with
 " the duty of obedience, the zeal and affections of his People do con-
 " cur. Surely, only long and secure is the Reign of such a one as by
 " actions of benignity stamps upon the hearts of his People the im-
 " pressions of love; not those of fear by acts of cruelty." He adds,
 " that a Prince has nothing to fear from his People, as long as their
 " obedience flows from Inclination, and is not by Servitude constrained;
 " and that Subjects will never refuse obedience, when they are not
 " treated with contumely and violence. See *Herodian. in Marc. Antonin.*

A man who means no ill would not seek the Power to do it, and he who seeks that Power, or has it, will be eternally suspected to mean no good: now the only way to obviate such suspicion, is to act by known rules of Law: he who rules by Law rules by consent, he who rules by consent is obnoxious to no blame: such restraint may probably at some times keep a just Prince from doing good, but it cer-
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tainly withholds a bad one from doing much greater mischief: an arbitrary Prince who can do what he will, is for ever liable to be suspected of willing all that he can; hence his people mistrust him; hence his indignation for their mistrust, and hence the root of eternal jealousy and uneasiness between him and them.

THE People likewise expect complaisance from the Prince, expect to have their sentiments and humours considered; while the Prince probably thinks that they have no right to form any judgment of publick matters, or to make any demands upon him; but on the contrary requires of them blind reverence and obedience to his Authority; and acquiescence in his superior Conduct and Skill; that all his doings should pass for just; himself for a person altogether sacred and unaccountable; and his words for Laws. If their behaviour towards him do not happen to square exactly with these his sovereign notions and high conceit of himself, he will be apt to think, or some officious flatterer will be ready to persuade him, *spretam voluntatem Principis, describisse populum: quid reliquum nisi ut caperent ferrum?* “his Royal Authority is set at nought, the People are revolted; and what remains but that they take Arms?” To punish therefore their Disobedience, he proceeds to violence, and exercises real severity for imaginary guilt: mischief is prolifick; violence in him begets resentment in them; the People murmur and exclaim, the Prince is thence provoked, and studies vengeance; when one act of vengeance is repented and expos’d, as it ever will be, more will follow: thus things go on: affection is not only lost but irrecoverable on either side; hatred is begun on both; and Prince and People consider themselves no longer as Magistrate and Subjects, but one another as Enemies. Hence perhaps CALIGULA’s inhuman wish, that he could murder all his People at a blow. The sequel of all this is easy to be guessed: he is continually destroying them; they are continually wishing him destroyed.

Sect. XII. *How nearly it behoves a Prince to be beloved and esteemed by his Subjects. The terrible Consequences of their mutual Mistrust and Hatred.*

HOW much does it import Princes to preserve the good opinion of their People! when it is once lost, it is scarce ever to be recalled. When once they come to believe ill of their Prince, there is nothing so ill that they will not believe; as in the instance of TIBERIUS, of whom things the most improbable and horrid were believed. It is hardly possible for any merit, the most genuine and exalted, to preserve popular favour for a long time: accidents and disasters will be falling in, to sour the spirits of the populace; or some fresh merit, more new or more glaring, may appear and lessen or intercept their admiration of the other; or the same person may not always have the same opportunities to oblige them; so that the best care and conduct can only serve to retain it to a certain degree: and this by good conduct is certainly and always to be done. But when the reputation of the Prince with his Subjects is entirely gone, something worse than the bare want of it will ensue. Between a Prince’s forfeiting the publick Affection and his incurring the publick Hatred, there is scarce

any medium, and even that medium is a terrible one, since to be scorn'd is not much better than to be hated, and often infers it.

WOULD a Prince live in security, ease and credit? let him live and rule by a standard certain and fix'd, that of Laws, nor grasp at more than is given him: many by seeking too much have lost all, and forfeited their Crown through the wantonness and folly of loading it with false and invidious ornaments: while nothing would serve them but lawless Power, even their legitimate Authority grew odious and was rent from them. They set their People the example of assuming what was none of theirs, to do acts of violence in defense of violated Laws, to judge for themselves, and to sanctify by the title of Right whatever they could accomplish by force. Rather than live upon bad terms, people will be apt to make their own terms, and think no fealty is due where no faith is kept. Who would not rejoice more in a free gift than in plunder; for such is the difference between Power conferred and power usurp'd? What new Prerogative acquir'd to the Crown, or what new Revenue can make amends for the Hearts of the People estrang'd and embitter'd? This is such a loss as no acquisition; no pomp of power whatsoever, can atone for. We have seen under what gloom, affright, and despair the Cæsars liv'd and sway'd, tho' their sway was without check and bounds. MACHIAVEL says that when a Prince has once incur'd the publick hate, there is no person nor thing which he ought not to dread.

HE who does no ill, fears none: but such as are continually creating terrors and calamities to others, have abundant reason to be under continual apprehensions themselves. How much more desirable, how much more just and easy and safe is the condition of a Prince, who lives and rules by Laws over a free People by their own consent? both People and Laws are his guard, and what secures them secures him. They feel that he loves them; and he is conscious that they ought to love him. This is Government and the effects of it: not the triumph of boundless arrogance or folly; not the insults of one over all, nor consequently his distrust of them, nor their slavish dread of him; but the equal administration of eternal Right, Righteousness, and stated Laws; an endearing intercourse of fatherly care and protection, and of filial gratitude and duty. How amiable must it be, how refreshing to a generous Spirit, to oblige and solace a whole People, to have a whole People adore and bless him! What master of Slaves, even the highest and most unbounded master, can boast so much of himself and his slaves? The Grandeur of such a Prince is all false and tinsel, painted and hollow: he is never secure because he is not innocent; he is not innocent because he is an Oppressor.

To rule by mere Will, is to rule by Violence, and violence is War: he who puts himself in a state of Hostility with his Subjects, invites Hostility from them, as did the late King JAMES, who having no Confidence in the Laws, which he had violated, nor in his People whom he had oppress'd, put himself in a posture of War against his Subjects; so that when they too had recourse to arms, they did but stand in their own defence. They had no quarrel to that King JAMES, who had taken an Oath to rule by Law: but when that King assumed another person, and in spite of Oaths and Laws would oppress and spoil, they who owed this man of violence no Allegiance, oppos'd Might to Might, since he would abide by no Law. 'Twas not their
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Prince therefore that they resisted, but their Enemy and Spoiler: he in truth, had no more Right to what the Law gave him not, than the great Turk had; they opposed not an English Monarch, but an Invader and a Tyrant. Nor do I know of any People who threw off their Monarchy wantonly; and if they did it through Oppression, the Oppressor might blame himself: *quidam, postquam regum pertæsum, leges maluerunt.* Had he conquered his Subjects what would he have gained, but the detestable Glory of a triumphant Oppressor; of seeing a rich Country reduced by servitude into poverty, and of bearing the curses of a free People oppressed? Whoever has beheld the condition of a great neighbouring Kingdom, naturally the finest in Europe, has seen in the condition of the Inhabitants, poor, pale, nasty, and naked, what genuine Glory their Princes have reaped, by reducing all the Laws of their Country into one short one, that of Royal Will and Pleasure.

Sect. XIII. *Publick Happiness only then certain, when the Laws are certain and inviolable.*

IT is allowed that amongst the Roman Emperors, there were some excellent ones. But was not all this chance? They might have proved like the rest, who were incredibly mischievous and vile. They had nothing but their own Inclinations to restrain them; and is inhuman Society to depend for security and happiness upon uncertain Inclination and Will? They were good by conformity to the Laws, as Laws are the only defense against such as are bad. The bad ones had almost sunk the Empire to a chaos, before there appeared one Prince of tolerable capacity and virtue to retrieve it. Insomuch that VESPASIAN declared it to be absolutely necessary to raise a fund of above three hundred millions of money (of our money) purely to save the State from absolute ruine, and dissolution, *ut Respublica stare possit.* After DOMITIAN there succeeded five good Reigns, during which Law and Righteousness prevailed, and the Emperors took nothing, neither power nor money, but what Laws long established gave them, and professed to derive every thing from the Law, and to occupy nothing in their own Name. But as the Emperor might still be a Tyrant if he would, that wild Prince COMMODUS resumed the old measures of violence, and becoming a second CALIGULA, dispatched and overturned in a few years all the treasure, wife provisions and establishments, contrived and gathered by his Predecessors during the best part of a Century.

To conclude, if Princes would never encroach, Subjects would never rebel; and if the former knew that they would be resisted, they would not encroach. Every Subject knows that if he resists against Law, he will die by Law. 'Tis certain mischief to both Prince and People, to assert slavish Doctrines, and no security to either; since nature oppressed will depart from passive principle: but to assert the reasonableness of vindicating violated Laws, is no more than asserting that Laws ought not to be violated, as they ever will be where there is no penalty annexed. The least attempt upon publick Liberty is therefore alarming: if 'tis suffered once, it will be apt to be repeated often; a few repetitions create a habit; habit claims prescription and right. Such also is the nature of man, that when publick Affairs are once
disconcerted,

disconcerted, 'tis hard, sometimes impossible, to restore them to their first firmness: numbers become engaged in the corruption, and will be trying all their Arts and Power to support it: where it grows extensive and general, the publick Authority will probably espouse and defend it; and even where that authority is against it, the torrent may be so strong as to bear down Authority itself. How many great and good men have fallen themselves while they strove to restore the State? attempts to reform the soldiery, to reform the Clergy, to reform the Civil Administration, have often drawn down a tragical Doom upon the Authors of them. It is much easier to prevent than to cure.

DISCOURSE VI.

Of the old Law of Treason by the Emperors perverted and extended.

Sect. I. *The antient Purpose of that Law: the Politicks of AUGUSTUS in stretching it.*

I Proceed now to shew by what Arts and Supports the Tyranny was preserved and exerted; how the old Laws, especially that of Treason, were perverted, and to explain the *instrumenta regni*. "This Law, says TACITUS, in the days of our Ancestors, had indeed the same Name, but implied different arraignments and crimes, namely those against the State; as when an army was betrayed abroad, when seditions were raised at home; in short, when the publick was faithlessly administered, and the Majesty of the Roman People was debased: these were Actions, and Actions were punished, but Words were free: AUGUSTUS was the first who brought Libels under the penalties of this wrested Law^a."

IN that sense of this Law (and doubtless 'tis the true sense) the Emperors were the criminals; they who had enslaved Senate and People, usurped and destroyed the State, but they had got the Power of interpreting Laws, or of directing those who did, and consequently were become the Law-makers: as Laws observed had defended Liberty; Laws wrested secured the Usurpers. Hence the old Law of Treason was degraded and perverted to involve in its penalties the Authors of Lampoons and Pasquinades. This Law of Majesty was so much and so long prostituted and abused; so much bloodshed and oppression was committed by the succeeding Emperors under its name, that at last every sentence and punishment, however just, which was pronounced by virtue of it, was thought unlawful and cruel; so that out of detestation to this abused Law, many other good Laws perished.

DOUBTLESS Reputation is a tender thing, and ought no more to be violated than property or life; and they who attack and blacken it, are as vile Offenders as they who rob and steal. But there was no better pretence for making it treasonable, than for construing any other

^a Legem Majestatis reduxerat (Tiberius); cui nomen apud veteres idem, sed alia in judicium veniebant: si quis proditiōe exercitum, aut plebem seditionibus, denique male gesta Re- pub. Majestatem populi Romani minuisse. Facta arguebantur, dicta impune erant. Primus Augustus cognitionem de famosis libellis, specie legis ejus tractavit.

other offence against particulars, to be an offence against the publick. In truth, AUGUSTUS could have no other view in this, than the suppressing of that Freedom of Speech which was an effect of the freedom of the antient Government, and inconsistent with his Usurpation. When words were made Treason, it was time to be wary of ones expressions; especially when the construction of them was merely arbitrary, and the Law that made them so, was utterly silent about them: there remained no sort of rule to know when they were otherwise; nor had he who was to be judge any rule but his own suspicion, anger and partiality. For every word, for every action, men were involved in process for Treason, provided there appeared but an informer to charge him, and call it so.

It is to no purpose to say that AUGUSTUS sometimes overlooked or pardoned invectives against himself: it was all grimace and false generosity; since, after this Law was so terribly inverted, there was little likelihood that men would run such capital risques: if contumelies upon private persons were high Treason; what must it be to meddle with the Prince or his Administration? He took care of himself without seeming to do so; he found his own sanctuary in providing one for others; and regulations made for his own defence and gratification, had an appearance of a spirit altogether publick and disinterested. But it was a downright insult upon the sense of mankind, to convert a petulant imagination and a few wanton words, into a crime against the State: he who exposed the gallantries of a Lady of Quality, or the faults and foibles of a Patrician, was forthwith deemed to bear hostile purposes against the Commonwealth: for this is the construction of Treason by the Lawyers: yet AUGUSTUS himself had made obscene Libels, particularly upon FULVIA the wife of ANTHONY. This multiplying of Treasons from Words and Writings, had a melancholy aspect: for, besides that Treasons multiplied are the bulwarks and engines of Tyranny; looks at last became treasonable, as did natural sympathy and sorrow, nay sighs and silence.

AUGUSTUS was cunning enough to know the advantages of Treasons multiplied to his own domination; and wrested adultery also into a crime of State. His daughter and her daughter were prostitutes, and all their Gallants according to this merciful Monarch, were Traytors: and because these sort of Traytors were very numerous, as well as considerable for quality and credit, he had here a good pretence to get rid of many considerable Romans, who gave him uneasiness and jealousy. With death or banishment therefore he punished their Gallants. For to a crime common between men and women, he gave the grievous name of Treason and Sacrilege, and trod upon the moderation of Antiquity. Nor was this sort of Treason limited to the Reigning-House and the blood of the Cæsars: it was universal, and every Adulterer was a Traytor: by which he made himself the greatest Traytor in Rome, as he was the most universal Adulterer; nor were his own severe Laws any check upon him, no more than the sacred ties of friendship; for he spared not the wife of his own Favourite and faithful Counsellor, MECENAS. This was not extreme prudence in so great a Politician, to be daily violating institutions of his own making, especially when by the rigour of the penalties, and the formidable name he had given to the crime, he had shewn how important and unpardonable he thought it;

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unless, like the Princes of Italy in MACHIAVEL's time, he broke penal Laws, to encourage others to do so, on purpose to ensnare delinquents and gain confiscations.

Sect. II. *The Deification of the Emperors, what an engine of Tyranny, and snare to the Roman People.*

THE Deification of AUGUSTUS and his usurping even in his life-time the Attributes and Prerogatives of a Deity, was another snare for Power and Crimes. Henceforth every offence offered to this new Deity was high Treason against the Gods; for he was a God as well as the best of them, and indeed more to be dreaded than all of them. It became a high crime to swear falsely by his name, the same as if the name of Jupiter had been falsified; nay to sell his Statue in the sale of a House or Gardens: and the Citizens of Cyzicus, notwithstanding their faithful adherence and strenuous services to the Romans, in the Mithridatick War, were bereft of their freedom for neglecting the worship of the deified AUGUSTUS. The name of APIDIUS MERULA was razed from the list of Senators, because he had not sworn upon the Acts of the deified AUGUSTUS: one of the articles charged against C. SILANUS, Proconsul of Asia, was that he violated the Deity of AUGUSTUS. VARILIA, in the opinion of TIBERIUS, deserved to be condemned, if she had uttered ought irreligiously concerning the deified AUGUSTUS; for this was Treason and Blasphemy. Such was the awe and reverence paid to this fresh Deity; and such care had he taken to tie up the tongues of men from censuring him living or dead: he was *instar omnium deorum*; you might say what you would of other Gods, but beware of injuring a deified Emperor. He had done more mischief, committed higher oppressions, spilt more human blood than all the men in the world, and was made a Deity!

NOR was it out of any principle of Superstition, that TIBERIUS guarded the fame and Godhead of AUGUSTUS with such severe fancies: for he little mattered the Gods and godly Rites, being himself a Fatalist, and only infatuated with notions of Astrology: neither was it from any regard to AUGUSTUS (who was suspected to have been poisoned to make way for him) and whose Blood and Posterity he was daily destroying; a proceeding inconsistent with the adorations and sacrifices he affected to offer him, as AGRIPPINA truly told him: but he did it to promote Superstition in others, and rivet the publick Slavery, since in religious devotion paid to a Prince, civil submission was included and enforced. It in truth imported him nearly to have all the Laws and doings of AUGUSTUS pass for sacred, and to set an example himself that he thought them so: he had left him (as he pretended) his Successor, and it behoved him that AUGUSTUS should pass for a Prince of consummate wisdom; for had he erred in other great counsels and events, he might have erred in that; besides AUGUSTUS was a popular Prince, and it would have been unpopular to have neglected him, or rescinded his deeds.

NERO too acquired the Sovereignty by the murder of CLAUDIUS, and, to keep it, murdered his Children and Kindred: yet he at first treated his memory with high regard, vindicated the Reign, and even extolled

extolled the parts and prudence of this deified fool; for CLAUDIUS too was lifted amongst the Gods, he who had been the most stupid, cowardly, and bloody Idiot that could possibly wear and disgrace a Diadem. This strange animal or human monster, just begun by nature, but never finished, as his mother used to say, was utterly unfit for any office in the Empire or private life, yet came to be an Emperor and a God. So that to bear sovereign rule, or to be exalted to a God, no qualification at all was necessary. His grandmother LIVIA contemned him even to loathing; she could not bear to speak to him: his nephew CALIGULA, when he had butchered many of his kindred, saved CLAUDIUS purely to keep him for a laughing stock: he was held in the same scorn by his sister LIVILLA, by AUGUSTUS and all his family. He was the jest of the Court; *tum Claudius inter ludibria aulæ erat*. The kindest word AUGUSTUS gave him was that of *misellus*, wretchling.

Sect. III. *The Images of the Emperors, how sacred they became, and how pernicious.*

AS flattery begot servitude, so it was by servitude propagated, and whatever tended to sink and debase the spirit of the people, as sycophancy did, exalted the Tyrants: nay, their Images and Statues became sacred and rever'd; and any villain or profligate might offer what outrage he pleased to every worthy man, every slave insult his Lord, every criminal escape justice, by sheltering himself under the Emperor's Statue, or by carrying his Effigies about him: nor could so considerable a man as a Senator of Rome, even in the face of the Tribunal, and in the very portal of the Senate, escape the insults and menaces of a profligate woman, who thus defended herself with the Image of TIBERIUS, tho' he had legally convicted her of forgery; so far was he from daring to bring her to judgment. So that in this impious reverence to a silent stone, all Law and punishment and protection was swallowed up. This gives probability to what PHILOSTRATUS tells us in the life of APOLLONIUS TYANEUS, that a master was condemned, as one sacrilegious and accursed, for having chastized a slave, who happened to have about him a small coin impressed with the Effigies of TIBERIUS. So vastly had servitude grown upon the Romans so early as the Reign of TIBERIUS, and in the best part of his Reign, even while he yet kept tolerable measures with Law and Liberty, and warily avoided all excesses of power and cruelty: yet in his second year, GRANIUS MARCELLUS being arraigned of high Treason, it was one of the articles, that the Statue of MARCELLUS stood higher than that of the Cæsars, and from that of AUGUSTUS the head had been taken off and the head of TIBERIUS put on: at the recital of this he waxed into such a flame and fury, that departing from his wonted caution and silence, he cried aloud, he would vote in this cause himself under the tie of an oath. He was excellently answered by CNEIUS PISO, who asked him; "In what place, CÆSAR, will you chuse to vote? if first, I shall have your example to follow; if last, I fear through ignorance, I may happen to differ from you." Hence the reflection of TACITUS, that there even then remained some faint traces of expiring Liberty: *manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis libertatis*.

IT is not strange, however hideous, to find afterwards these Statues, these dead representatives of the dead, invested with such extravagant and inviolable sanctity, that it was death without redemption for a master to chastise his slave near the picture or image of AUGUSTUS; death, to change ones garments there; death, to carry a coin or a ring with his Image into the Privy or into the Stews; death, to drop a word that seemed to censure any action or any saying of his: and death was the portion of that unhappy man, who suffered some publick honour to be decreed him by his Colony, on the Anniversary of the same day, when AUGUSTUS had once publick Honours decreed to him.

THE execrable CALIGULA, who was a professed foe to the human race, a Monster gorged with blood and died in it, assumed God-head as well as the rest, and claimed all the apparatus of Divinity, a Temple and Altars, Worship and choice Sacrifices: it is incredible what dreadful punishments he inflicted upon many even of principal fashion, for no other crime, than that they had never invoked his celestial Genius by an Oath. This was capital, it was Majesty violated; and for it the offenders, after they had been first torn and mangled with stripes, were doomed to the mines, or to the drudgery of mending the publick roads, or to be thrown to wild beasts; and some were sawed asunder. A bloody Deity this! Had he been omnipotent, the race of men must have been extinct: all his own murders, all the efforts of his malice and rage, were not able to accomplish it, and he wished to derive the Glory of his Reign from some signal Calamities happening in it, as if the monster himself had not been curse and calamity enough! He envied AUGUSTUS the happiness of an Army massacred, and TIBERIUS the sad disaster at Fidenæ, where fifty thousand souls were maimed, or perished outright by the fall of the Amphitheatre there. Hence he longed passionately for the blessing of some publick Calamities great and dreadful, the Slaughter of great Armies, Famine, Pestilence, Conflagrations and Earthquakes. The acclamations of the crowd in the Theatre differing from his, he uttered a godlike wish, "that the whole Roman People had but one common neck; for then one execution would have dispatched them all." To complete the Character of this benevolent Deity, he boasted that of all his great qualities, none delighted him so much as his defiance of all shame: *nihil majus in natura sua laudare se ac probare quam adiutresciv.*

THESE celestial Titles and Worship divine, were sometimes bestowed upon the wives of the Emperors, their sisters, harlots, and infants. CALIGULA was wont to swear by the Divinity of DRUSILLA his sister and concubine: CLAUDIUS had divine Honours decreed to LIVIA his grandmother. NERO's daughter by POPPEA was deified; Worship, Priest, and Chapel were assigned her; and 'twas one of the crimes imputed to THRASEA PETUS, that he did not believe POPPEA herself to be a Divinity: nay it would seem as if NERO's Voice had been created a Divinity, since I think, 'twas Treason never to have sacrificed to it; a crime imputed to the same THRASEA. DOMITIAN likewise adjudged himself a God, and proved much such another as CALIGULA.

Sect. IV. *What a destructive Calamity the Law of Majesty grew, and how fast Treasons multiplied under its Name.*

I Have said so much of this humour of deifying Princes living or dead, not so much to expose it, as to shew the wicked effects it had upon Liberty and the State: it opened a new Source of Flattery, and accusations, and punishments, and strengthen'd the hand of Tyranny; of this I have given sufficient instances, and many more might be given, all manifestly proving with what impudence and cruelty the Law of Majesty was stretch'd and embitter'd. In this Law all Laws were swallow'd up, and therefore all crimes brought under the article of Treason, as Treason was the highest crime, *cuncta quaestione majestatis exercita*: as in the case of C. SILIUS, whose chief offence was overmuch service done to TIBERIUS; thence that refined observation of TACITUS; "that benefits are only so far acceptable, as it seems possible to discharge them; but when once they have exceeded all retaliation, hatred is return'd for gratitude." Under TIBERIUS, says Suetonius, every fault pass'd for capital, even that of words however few and undefining. When C. SILANUS was arraign'd for male-administration in Asia, TACITUS says, that besides all the other methods of artifice and violence, manifold and barbarous, us'd to destroy him; that none of his relations might dare to aid him and plead for him in his trial, articles of Treason were subjoin'd, a sure bar to all assistance, and a seal upon their lips. One of the great charges against LIBO DRUSUS was, that he ask'd the fortune-tellers, whether he should not one day be immensely rich. This too was the sin of Majesty violated, and for it he was pursued to death and his estate seiz'd. Note that these were two men of high quality, akin to the Cæsars, and obnoxious to TIBERIUS. This seems to have been their real crime. CESIUS CORDUS was accused of rapine in his Government of Crete; but to make sure of the criminal, he was likewise charg'd with the crime of violated Majesty: a charge, says TACITUS, which in those days prov'd the sum and bulwark of all accusations whatsoever.

It was Treason in CREMUTIUS CORDUS to have inserted in his History the praises of BRUTUS; Treason, to have stil'd CASSIUS the last of the Romans, tho' in doing it he only quoted the words of BRUTUS: Treason in TITIUS SABINUS to have been a follower of GERMANICUS, and after his death, a faithful friend to his wife and children: Treason in POMPEIA MACRINA, Treason in her Father and Brother, the former an illustrious Roman Knight, the latter once Pretor, to have been descended from THEOPHANES of Mitylene, a noble Greek, in great confidence with POMPEY the Great: Treason in L. ENNIUS a Roman Knight, to have turned the Effigies of the Emperor into money: Treason in LUTORIUS PRISCUS, another Roman Knight, to have composed during the illness of DRUSUS, a Poem for an Elegy, in case he died: Treason in MAMMERCUS SCAURUS, an illustrious Orator nobly born, that in a Tragedy by him composed, there were certain Verses capable of two meanings: Treason in TORQUATUS SILANUS, a Nobleman of the first rank in Rome, to live splendidly, and entertain several principal

pal fervants; another SILANUS his Nephew died soon after for the very same sort of Treason. In another Nobleman 'twas Treason, to have preserved the Image of CASSIUS amongst those of his Ancestors: Treason in the two brothers surnamed PETRÆ, both illustrious Roman Knights, to have dreamed something about CLAUDIUS: Treason in APPIUS SILANUS, that MESSALINA the Empress, and NARCISSUS the freedman, had forged a dream concerning him: and to add no more, it was Treason, it was Majesty violated, for a poor distressed Lady to have bewailed the blood of her son, spilt to satiate an implacable Tyrant incensed by his gay raillery. This was FUSIUS GEMINUS, lately Consul; and his ancient mother was murdered for bewailing the murder of her Child: *femina ob lacrymas incusabantur; necataque est Vitia Fusi Gemini mater, quod filii necem flevisset.*

DISCOURSE VII.

Of the Accusations, and Accusers under the Emperors.

Sect. I. *The pestilent Employment of these Men, their Treachery and Encouragement.*

FROM Law thus perverted there arose encouragement more than enough for Informers and Accusers, and a plentiful harvest: a sort of men these, says TACITUS, born for the destruction of mankind, and by no terrors or penalties ever sufficiently restrained: yet by the Emperor such sons of perdition were sought out and invited by great rewards. TIBERIUS had the front to tell the Senate that these insects, enemies to Law and Liberty, were the Guardians and Defenders of the Laws: they were his Defenders, if he pleased; the Champions of Imperial Violence and Lust; but the pests of the Publick; dogs of prey thirsting after the blood and fortunes of every worthy and every wealthy man. That Prince who does not punish Informers encourages them, said DOMITIAN; but this he said in the beginning of his Reign, while he yet retained the appearances of benevolence and humanity: afterwards when the Disguise was taken off, and he followed the bent of his brutal nature, it was enough to ruin any man, if he were but charged to have done some deed, or spoke some word, no matter what, against the Majesty of the Prince. Men were then capitally arraigned, and the Estates were seized of both the living and the dead, for any fault whatsoever, upon the credit of any Accuser whatsoever; and inheritances, to which he could have no possible title or pretence upon earth, were usurped by him, if there was but one Person, one Informer, who could say, that he heard the deceased declare CESAR to be his heir. The same pretence served CALIGULA; nay when people had out of fear named him amongst their heirs, he wondered at their impudence to keep him out of his share by living afterwards, and for that offence poisoned many such. In short the chief and most frequent incidents in the Reigns of almost all the Cæsars, were but the bloody efforts

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forts and success of the Accusers; and the ground-work and support of all accusations, was the perverted Law of violated Majesty, which came to signify every thing which the Accusers averred and the Emperors disliked.

IN the beginning of TIBERIUS's Reign, L. PISO, one of the boldest men then surviving, owned himself so much intimidated by the merciless pursuits of the Impleaders, who breathed nothing but terror and accusations, that he threatened in open Senate to relinquish Rome and retire into some distant corner of the earth. He had reason for his complaint and fears: he was afterwards marked out as a victim and prey by one of the Tribe, and arraigned for certain words secretly drop'd against the Majesty of the Prince. These accusations were no other or better than the cruel Proscription continued: by the latter Senators and Knights, Patriots obnoxious to the Usurpers, were butchered in the lump; afterwards, under the process of the Accusers, they perished piece-meal, but were incessantly perishing, *quem diem vacuum pœna, ubi inter sacra & vota, vincla & laqueus inducantur?* often a great many at a time. Every Law of the old free State, and every man who loved his Country and her Laws were repugnant to the reigning Tyranny: hence as the Republick was swallowed up in the Sovereignty of the Cæsars, all her Laws were made to center in that of Majesty, and all men who adhered or were suspected to adhere to the ancient Constitution, were either destroyed by this new Law (rather an old Law turned into a new snare) or at the mercy of its Guardians and Accusers. And all this new violence was committed under old names and constitutions; *proprium id Tiberio fuit, scelera nuper reperta prisca verbis obtegere*: so that the Commonwealth was made to cut her own throat; just as cruel and ambitious men justify Persecution and Oppression by the authority of the Gospel, which abhors it: the Church of Rome calls every thing that displeases her, Heresy and Blasphemy: this is the *Lex Majestatis* of some Churchmen, and by cruelties committed under that name they have more than vied with your NERO's and DOMITIAN's. Thus after a solemn murder committed by the Senate, to gratify TIBERIUS, he sent them a Letter of thanks, for punishing a person who was an enemy to the Commonwealth; as if the Republick had been then subsisting and vindicating her own wrongs.

THE Accusers were the agents and tools of Tyranny, and by the Tyrants upheld and animated with open countenance and high rewards; their business was to hunt down and destroy every man signal for blood, or wealth, or dignity, or virtue; because all such men were obnoxious to Imperial Jealousy and Displeasure. Had a noble Roman sustained publick Offices? he was a dangerous man; had another refused to bear them? he was equally dangerous; and for publick Offices either exercised or declined, he was sure to be attacked as a criminal of State: and if he were conspicuous for any notable ability or virtue, his doom was inevitable: *nobilitas, opes, omissi gestique honores, pro crimine; & ob virtutes certissimum exitium*. VALERIUS ASIATICUS perished because he had delightful Gardens, which tempted the avidity of MESSALINA; as did STATILIUS TAURUS for the same reason by the avarice and subornation of AGRIPPINA: so did SEXTUS MARIUS for his immense Wealth and gold Mines, under TIBERIUS. This gives one an idea of the terrible spirit of the

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the Emperors as well as of the Accusers : how much the former feared and hated, and how fast they destroyed every thing that was noble, good, or amiable amongst men; and what a pestilent employment was that of an Accuser! Was it any wonder that to carry on so detestable a trade, they were to be tempted with lucrative earnings? In truth, their recompences were so publick and ample, that they were detested not more for their Iniquities than for the Wages of their Iniquities.

THESE Pests of Rome were for being so, frequently raised to the highest Offices in the Roman State; and that Imperial City, the Mistress of the Earth saw her publick Dignities, those of the Pontificate, and of the Consulship, bestowed as spoils upon Parricides for spilling her best blood and tearing her vitals. With the Prince their credit was high as their merit was infamous: some were preferred to be Governors of the Provinces, others taken to be his chief Confidants and Counsellors in the Palace. And thus vested with credit and sway, exerting all their terrors, and pursuing their hate, they controuled and confounded all things: *agerent, verterent cuncta, odio & terrore*. After the tragical Death of LIBO DRUSUS, procured by execrable Artifices, Falshoods, Horrors and wrested Laws, all the substance of that noble Patrician was divided amongst his Accusers; and such of them as were Senators were created Pretors, even without the regular method of election. The four Senators who ensnared TITIUS SABINUS, by trepanning, lurking, feigned friendship, and by a series of treachery the most infamous and cruel that could be practised amongst men, and afterwards accused him, engaged in all this meritorious villany purely to gain the Consulship, to which there was no possible access but through SEJANUS, nor without villany was the favour of SEJANUS to be sought or purchased.

BUT besides rewarding of the Accusers out of the fortune of the accused, (for where they had not all, they still went shares with his children) they had frequently excessive sums out of the publick Treasury; CAPI TO COSSUTIANUS had near a hundred and thirty thousand Crowns, for accusing THRASEA PETUS: EPRIUS MARCELLUS had as much, for the same good service; for NERO after he had long wallowed in the blood of eminent men, and butchered them without number, was in hopes by the murder of THRASEA and SORANUS, to extirpate Virtue, name and essence, from the face of the earth: OSTORIUS SABINUS, the Accuser of SORANUS, had indeed a less reward in money, that of thirty thousand Crowns; but the reward was enhaunced by the ornaments of the Questorship presented with it. “ These Incendiaries were animated, “ and such crying calamities to the Publick were excited by the Ministers of the Court, who as it were sounded the trumpet to Arraignments and Confiscations; on purpose, that out of the fortunes of “ the condemned they might raise or increase their own;” says AM. MARCELLINUS. AQUILIUS REGULUS, an Upstart and a mischievous Accuser under NERO, was distinguished with two Consulships, and the dignity of Pontiff, and had premiums in money to the value of more than two hundred thousand Crowns; as if he had been burying the Commonwealth, and for this merit had afterwards gathered her spoils, says TACITUS.

Sect. II. *The traiterous Methods taken to circumvent and convict Innocence: The spirit of accusing how common, the dread of it how universal; and the misery of the Times.*

AS upon these bloody occasions, it was necessary to find or feign some crime; so any crime served the turn, as I have largely shewn: witnesses also must be had; but any witnesses were good witnesses; and where they did not offer themselves, they were bought with money or frightened with the torture: slaves were suborned against the life of their Lords; clients and freedmen against their Patrons; and he who had no enemy was betrayed and undone by his friends; *corrupti in dominos servi, in patronos liberti, & quibus deerat inimicus per amicos oppressi*. Now because, by the old Roman Laws, slaves could not be witnesses against their masters, the crafty TIBERIUS found a trick to evade that Law without seeming to violate it: he contrived to have the slaves upon such occasion sold; and then they might be evidence against their late Lord. This perfidious subtilty was begun by AUGUSTUS, as is largely shewn by DION CASSIUS. Nay, when a man had no other to accuse him, he was accused by his own son: dreadful times these! even all rewards and incitements apart, fear for themselves made men treacherous to others; falshood and cruelty reigned uncontrouled. If you would please the Prince, you must gratify his bloody spirit; to do that you must offer victims and exercise the trade of accusing: if you were ill with him, no man, no innocence could protect you; and to be well with him, you must make all other men detest you. To make your own fortune you must ruin that of others, and shed blood to get money.

To this vile employment men of the highest Quality descended, and men of the first note for Eloquence and Civil Accomplishments: such was COTTA MESSALINUS, a man nobly born, but the foremost in every sanguinary motion: such was PUBLIUS DOLABELLA, who sprung from Ancestors the most illustrious, yet debased his Nobility, and engaged in the occupation of an Accuser, even against those of his own blood. When men of such Quality set such example, what wonder if numbers followed it: many pursued it for money; others because they would not become obnoxious by appearing slack. The question was not about right or wrong, Law or Magistracy; but how to please and humour, to satiate the Emperor, and to escape his suspicion and fury. 'Twas the plea of the Accusers afterward, when they were brought to answer for their crimes, that they were obliged by the Emperors or their wives, to undertake and prosecute accusations: this SULLIUS pleaded, and urged the imperious orders of MESSALINA. Nay, men of figure were sometimes called upon by the Emperor in person to undertake Accusations. This, says TACITUS, was one of the most baneful and deadly evils of those times, that the first Lords of the Senate degraded themselves to the office of the vilest Informers; some impudently in the face of the Sun; others in the dark ways of treachery; no distinction of kindred from strangers, of friends from such as were unknown; none between things lately transacted, and such as were covered by a course of years in oblivion; for words

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spoken in the Forum, spoken at an entertainment, and about what subject soever spoken, the Speaker was accused; every one hastning to be foremost in the accusation and to prevent his fellows; some for their own safety, many as it were struck with the contagion, and smitten with the disease of accusing.

THIS universal treachery begot apprehension in all men equally universal. When villany was thus rewarded, or thus necessary, and thus every where practised by high and low, every man was fearful of finding every man a villain: hence the mournful anguish and terror which seized the City: people were afraid to converse, nay afraid to meet; they distrusted all alike, their acquaintance as well as the unknown; even things mute and inanimate were dreaded; and roofs and walls created terror and circumspection; nay, they were apprehensive that guilt might be found in these their apprehensions, and thence came to dread this very thing, that they had shewn dread; *id ipsum paventes, quod timuissent*.

Sect. III. *Plots feigned or true, an ample field for Accusations and Cruelty; and upon what miserable Evidence Executions were decreed.*

BUT the best market for Accusations, and the best opportunity for the Emperor to exert Tyranny and consume men, was the detection of any Conspiracy forged or real. How prodigious and merciless was the slaughter committed by CONSTANTIUS after the death of MAGNENTIUS, and by his bloody instrument PAULUS, firnamed *Catena* from his dexterity in calumny and accusations! Thus too upon the detection of the Designs of SEJANUS against TIBERIUS, who at one time for a course of years, had destroyed every man that was obnoxious to this execrable Favourite of his, and afterwards destroyed every man who had been well with his Favourite; thus when those of PISO against NERO came to be discovered, the whole business of the State was that of accusing, imprisoning and executing: Rome was dyed, deformed, and filled with blood and death and funerals; and as many as were hated, or disliked, or worth destroying upon any account, were sure to have been Conspirators, and to be doomed to the pains annexed to Conspiracy. TIBERIUS caused a general slaughter to be made of all that were in prison, under accusation of intelligence with SEJANUS. Any thing upon earth, the lightest the most fortuitous and foolish thing, served for proof of such intelligence: POMPONIUS SECUNDUS was arraigned of Treason, for that there were some signs (but not shewn by him neither) of friendship between him and AETIUS GALLUS, who was a friend to SEJANUS, who was a Traytor. GALLUS, upon the execution of SEJANUS had retired into the Gardens of POMPONIUS: this was all; yet this was the doughty argument used by his Accuser, for proving this worthy and accomplished man a Traytor, one who had violated Majesty: and yet his Accuser CONSIDIUS was a man considerable enough to have been Pretor: 'twas thus, I suppose, he shewed how well he deserved Imperial Favour, and one of the highest Dignities in the State.

THE Emperor CONSTANTIUS was as cruel and as credulous: with him 'twas death to be accused, and every Accusation, however doubtful,

doubtful, or false, or even whispered, was convincing proof of guilt; nay the least rumour, however groundless, the smallest hint, however spiteful, created Treason and death without redemption; and by no better proof men of the first Quality and merit were doomed to confiscation, or banishment, or execution: the bare saying that such a one was in the Conspiracy, or a friend to the Conspirators, was conviction in abundance for taking away Estates and Lives. NERO whose chief and only purpose was to afflict and destroy, created guilt wheresoever he found distaste. His own hatred or fear was crime enough, and reason sufficient to destroy the object. Some were sacrificed without being once accused, or named; some punished e'er they knew they were accused; and the least defamation was full conviction: nothing was more common than to charge any great man, doomed beforehand to destruction, with designs against the State: this was the charge upon LIBO DRUSUS. All the guilt that could be proved upon him, tho' to prove it, and indeed to create it, the most villanous Arts were used, was, that he had consulted the Fortune-tellers and dealt in Charms. This was conspiring against the State, 'twas Treason; and because the Romans were much addicted to such sort of Superstition, this became a very convenient Treason and very fertile; yet TIBERIUS himself was, as much as any, addicted to Astrology. In the accusations particularly against great Ladies, who for blood or wealth or beauty, merited Imperial Wrath, it was a constant article; that they had dealt with the Chaldeans, or practised the rites of Magic: and for this many great Ladies were doomed to death: *ob hæc mors indicta.*

Sect. IV. *What ridiculous Causes produced capital Guilt.*
The spirit of the Emperor CONSTANTIUS; with some-
what of his Father CONSTANTINE.

THIS humour of consulting the Astrologers, still increasing with Superstition and Tyranny, administered an inexhaustible fund of crimes and accusations: the noise of a Mouse in a wall, or the sight of a Weasel, became matters of omen and consultation, and consequently matters of Treason and Blood: so did the use of an old Woman's Charm for aches: so did the counting the Vowels upon ones Fingers, as a remedy against the Cholick: so did the wearing of an Amulet for an Ague: so did the casual dropping of any Word or Joke, that bore any analogy to the Empire or the Emperor's name, or to any matter of State and Power: so did the frequenting of Sepulchres, and carrying away the bones or habiliments of the dead: so did any Dream dreamt about any such subject, or construed to be so dreamed.

Under CONSTANTIUS there was one MERCURIUS, a Persian, who was a favourite of the Emperor, and a spy for Dreams; inso-much that he had the title of *Somniorum comes*. This blessed instrument, a fellow of a malicious spirit, and fawning behaviour, used to creep into all companies and banquets, to fish out Dreams from particulars, and whatever he there learned of this kind, after he had with all his invention dressed it up in ugly and formidable colours, he carried instantly to the Emperor, whose ears were ever open wide to such mischievous infusions; and this Dreaming, thus represented, was a crime to be expiated only by the blood of the Criminal, I should say, Dreamer,

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Dreamer, and so a terrible process was formed. This terror spread so much, that people, far from telling their Dreams, durst scarce own that they slept: nay it was lamented by some, that they had not been born upon Mount Atlas, where, according to tradition, people never dream.

To complain too of the badness of the times was high Treason; for this was arraigning the Government, and punished capitally. But Death itself, however unjust, was not always the most formidable woe. The accused were often not allowed the benefit of Death, till they were first barbarously racked and mangled by torture; and to gratify the inhuman Vengeance of the Prince, their Agonies were continued as long as life could continue under them: *mortemque longius in puniendis quibusdam, si natura permitteret, conabatur extendi*. This is testified by AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS of CONSTANTIUS the second Christian Emperor, more cruel than NERO and CALIGULA; a consideration which confirms what I have said before, that where the Government is bad, even the best Religion can do little good. CONSTANTIUS was a Christian and even zealous in Church Matters and Religious Disputes, and by fostering them did miserably afflict Christianity and the Empire. But he was so far from being improved or bettered by this zeal, that the most cruel Tyrants that went before him, such monsters as CALIGULA, DOMITIAN, and COMMODUS, were but babes to him in cruelty: *Caligulae, & Domitiani, & Commodi immanitatem facile superabat*: says the same AMMIANUS.

I wish much better things could be boasted of his Father, the first Emperor who embraced Christianity, the same stiled CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. All the Princes, even the persecuting Princes who went before him, hurt not Religion so much as he did; by blending it unnaturally with Politicks and Power, by laying the foundations of a spiritual Tyranny, and enabling the Bishop of Rome and other great Prelates, to exert the domineering spirit, which before they had but ill concealed: a spirit which has almost extinguished that of the Gospel. In his Civil Administration, he was rapacious, profuse, and oppressive; and in his Family barbarous and sanguinary: however his partial and flattering Historian, EUSEBIUS, has extolled him, and concealed the iniquities of his Reign. But, in barbarity and the excesses of Power, his son and Successor CONSTANTIUS exceeded him. What just reason had AMMIANUS to say, that under the lying pretence of guarding Imperial Majesty, numerous and horrible were the butcheries then committed: *per simulationem tuendae Majestatis imperatoriae multa & nefanda perpetrabantur*!

Sect. V. *The black and general carnage made under CONSTANTIUS, by his bloody Minister PAULUS CATENA, for certain Acts of Superstition and Curiosity.*

CONSTANTIUS surrendered at one time a great part of the Roman World to the merciless hands of Accusers, Torturers and Executioners: and certain causes, in themselves frivolous and contemptible, but magnified with the swelling imputation of Majesty violated, produced all the uproar and calamity attending a great Civil War: the trumpets sounded to try and slay: *ad vicem bellorum civilium inflabant*

flabant litui quædam colorata læsæ Majestatis crimina — materiam autem in infinitum quæstionibus extendendis dedit occasio vilis & parva.

AN Egyptian Deity, named *Besa*, was noted for uttering Oracles and telling fortunes, and thence much frequented, adored and consulted by all the Countries round about. As many consulted him in person, others did it in writing: this occasioned, that several of the billets thus sent, continued in the Temple after the answer was returned, some of these were maliciously transmitted to the Emperor, a Prince of a poor spirit, suspicious, and bitter. He now waxed fierce and wrathful, and instantly dispatched his execrable instrument, PAULUS CATENA, into the East, armed with Powers equal to those given to some famous Captain for carrying on a mighty war: PAULUS was authorized to hear and determine discretionally, and proceeded to his charge; breathing nothing but rage and bloody zeal. Universal accusation and calumny being thus licensed and encouraged, numbers of all degrees were dragged from far and near, as it were out of the several quarters of the world, to this barbarous Tribunal, and exposed to the mercy of a butcher, who only pursued blood and prey. Some came with their joints excoriated with fetters, others crushed and spent in carts made for carrying criminals; no distinction made between the noble and vulgar: the process was long and tragical; in short, confiscations, exiles, tortures worse than death; death under tedious torments, and every evil painful or destructive to human nature, was there exerted and suffered. As for PAULUS, the lives and fortunes and fate of multitudes depended upon his nod; a man skilled in the Arts of cruelty, and openly professing them; a savage who made a market of the rack and the wheel; one fed as it were with human carcases mangled, and crucified by butchery and rapine; a fellow who avowed the trade of accusing and killing, and studied to ensnare and devour innocence, lives, and property: this was the man in high favour and trust under the pious CONSTANTIUS. It will be a relief to the Reader to know that this monster, bloated with blood and crimes, was burnt alive under JULIAN, a Prince of different parts and spirit.

SECT. VI. *The Ravages of the Accusers continued; their Credit with the Emperors; yet generally meet their Fate. The Falshood of these Princes: the melancholy State of those Times.*

THE Reigns of these following Princes, CONSTANTIUS, CONSTANS, GALLUS, VALENTINIAN, VALENS, were spent in a continual war upon their people, under colour of their Majesty's being violated.

CRYING and tragical were the ravages committed at Rome by that bloody man MAXIMINUS, where under pretence of Majesty violated, poisonings, and acts of lewdness, some few real, more imputed, were used as a stale for killing, torturing, and destroying: every man, or woman, that was obnoxious to him or the Accusers, was put to death; and to private malice or rapaciousness a sea of Roman blood was spilt. I think it was this MAXIMINUS, who persuaded certain persons accused to confess and discover others, and in that case pro-

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mised they should undergo no punishment either by sword or fire: they did so, trusting to his faith, and confessed crimes never committed; he then, for a salvo, doomed them to die under leaden hammers. He was executed himself under GRATIAN.

AGAINST the defence of innocence accused, against the most evident truth and justice, and all honest information, the ears of the Emperor were eternally shut: but calumny whispered by any malignant, had equal weight with real crimes proved by authentick witnesses; says AMMIANUS. Falshood and flattery, envy and rapaciousness passed for evidence; justice was converted into cruelty, and judgment into rage: the Tribunals erected for justice and preservation of life and property, were become shambles, and what had the names of pains and penalties, was in truth robbery and assassination.

As there was never any lack of Accusers, there was none of Criminals; and the accused, the more they were destroyed, the faster they multiplied; like witches in former days, daily executed and daily increasing: they were the food and revenue of the Accusers, who, while they could speak and lie, could never want occupation or wages, as long as there were Tyrants and men. MARCELLUS was charged with having uttered disaffected words concerning TIBERIUS, and the Accuser collecting every thing which was detestable in his manners, alledged the same imputations of the accused. A large field for accusations this, and well cultivated by the Accusers! you could say nothing of these Emperors that was true, but what was Treason; such bloody monsters were they all! and the worst you could have said being actually true, you were easily believed to have actually said it. What a blessed lot it must have been, that of living in those Reigns, under monsters unchained, and rogues let loose; when virtue and property were proscribed, villains caressed and guarded!

THE persons of Accusers came to be considered as sacred and inviolable; the more they were detested by the publick, the more they were protected by the Emperor, and in proportion as they merited death and ignominy, had countenance and preferment. Their vilest forgeries, convicted and owned, against the lives and fortunes of the greatest men, drew down no doom or penalty upon them: the crimes charged upon FONTIUS, late Proconsul of Asia, by SERENUS, were proved to have been by him forged; yet he escaped punishment: nay the more the man was abhorred by all men, the more TIBERIUS considered and protected him. This SERENUS was a villain of exalted merit; he had falsely accused his own father of Treason, an old man and already an exile: but TIBERIUS owed him a spite, and the son studied to oblige TIBERIUS, who had been offended with the elder SERENUS for once upbraiding him with some wicked service unrewarded; nor had an interval of eight years pacified the Prince. Yet it generally so happened, that their reign was but temporary; first or last most of them found the genuine wages of their fraud and iniquity, and suffered the same doom which they had made others suffer; a doom much more bitter, as 'twas just, accompanied also with universal hatred of their persons, and with a guilty and upbraiding conscience; this the fate of SUILIUS, CASSIUS SEVERUS, and others.

Now as it was the custom, to find high Treason in harmless words, impertinent vanities, and even in ridiculous follies, deserving rather
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pity than punishment, such as were those charged upon LIBO; so it was the purpose and policy of the Emperor never to prevent any guilt of this kind: on the contrary he was glad of guilt, and when he knew it was begun, let it run on, till it was ripe, and evidence and Accusers were ready. TIBERIUS knew that LIBO dealt with the Astrologers, with every thing done or said by him: yet at no time had he carested LIBO more, than at the time when he was meditating his destruction. He preferred him to the Pretorship; he entertained him at his table; shewed no strangeness in his countenance, no resentment in his words; so deeply had he smothered his vengeance; and when he might have restrained all the dangerous Speeches and Practices of LIBO, he chose rather to permit them in order to know them. The crafty Tyrant did not only lull asleep his destined victim by these excessive civilities; but meant by them to deceive the world, as if LIBO's crimes were a surprise upon him, at a juncture when he would seem to have meant all kindness to LIBO. But he was mistaken, and his diffimulation only served to heighten the opinion of his malice; for craft discovered is worse than folly, as folly never creates hatred: cunning is only then complete, when it cannot be detected, which seldom happens. NERO carested and flattered SENECA, while he was devising all methods to destroy him: when he meant to murder his mother, never was there such a scene of false fondness as that which he played. He was formed by nature, says TACITUS, and by habit nurtured to hide his hate under insidious blandishments. DOMITIAN used to treat with the utmost good humour and tenderness such as he intended to murder; nor was there any warning or interval between his caresting you and delivering you to the Executioner; nor a more certain sign that a tragical doom awaited you, than the Prince's gentle behaviour towards you. Well might Suetonius say, that his cruelty was not only excessive, but sly and instantaneous.

Now under such a torrent of Accusations, under Laws perverted, Informers busy, employed, protected and rewarded, when all things were crimes, and all men were feared, nay when fear itself was a crime, (for when CALIGULA murdered his brother, he gave it for a reason, that the youth was afraid of being murdered) when servants and neighbours, nay acquaintance and kindred, were all justly to be suspected; we need not admire that all offices of friendship and compassion were suspended amongst men, and compassion itself as it were extinguished. When LIBO DRUSUS so often already mentioned, upon his arraignment for Treason, went in mourning from house to house to solicit the interposition of his relations (as all the great families in Rome were so) and to pray their aid, when his life and all was at stake; they all declined it to a man, each alledging a reason of his own, but every one in reality from the same cause, namely their fear of the Emperor; *abnuentibus cunctis, cum diversa prætenderent, eadem formidine.*

PEOPLE must not only shew no sorrow or sympathy for their murdered relations, but they must testify joy; unless they had a mind to be murdered themselves: as under NERO, many whose nearest relations had been murdered by him, repaired to the Temples with thanksgiving and offerings, and when the City was filled with corps, so was the Capitol with victims. In that mighty carnage made by TIBERIUS of the friends and followers of SEJANUS at once; when
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the pavements were covered with single carcases or filled with carcases in piles, those of every sex and age, many that were noble, many that were mean, all cast abroad promiscuously; neither their acquaintance nor kindred were allowed to approach them, or to bewail them, or even at last to behold them: about the coarſes ſpies were placed, to watch countenances and the ſigns of ſorrow: and when after they became putrified and noiſome, and were thrown into the Tiber, whether they floated in the ſtream, or were caſt upon the banks, none would touch them, none durſt bury or burn them. The force of Fear had cut off all the commerce and offices of Humanity; and the more Tyranny raged, the more human compaſſion was extinguished: *interciderat ſortis humane commercium vi metus, quantumque ſævitia glifceret miſeratio arcebatur*. Even the outrageous CALIGULA had ſo well learned to hide his heart, that when by the cruelty of TIBERIUS, his mother and both his brothers were condemned and baniſhed, not a word eſcaped him; nor a groan; tho' all Arts were uſed to draw words and reſentment from him. OCTAVIA too, the wife of NERO, when her little innocent brother was murdered before her face, by the direction of the Tyrant her huſband, had even then learned, young as ſhe was, to ſmother all ſymptoms of tenderneſs and ſorrow, and every affection of the ſoul; nay AGRIPPINA, with all her courage and high ſpirit, labour-ed to hide her ſurprize and dread, and every other emotion, upon that occaſion.

Sect. VII. *The increaſe of Tyranny. Innocence and Guilt not meaſured by the Law, but by the Emperor's Pleaſure and Malice.*

ONE would think that Tyranny had by this time gone as far as it could go, and that after this, human cruelty and terrors could be ſtrained no higher. But this is a miſtake. Flatterers and Accuſers were ingenious villains, and Tyranny is a monſter never glutted: it is ſtill craving for new butchery and victims; its purveyors therefore are ever ſtudying to humour and pamper it: *metus principis rimantur, & ſævitia adrepunt*. Who could have imagined any thing upon earth more intenſely cruel than TIBERIUS? yet his Succeſſors exceeded him and one another in cruelties, for number and quality; and DOMITIAN committed ſuch as had eſcaped even the preceding monſters. Hence TACITUS ſays; “As our fore-fathers had ſeen the ultimate
“ point and laſt efforts of publick Liberty; it was reſerved to us of this
“ generation to behold the utmoſt weight and ſeverity of publick Bon-
“ dage; ſince by the terrors of State Inquiſitors, we were even bereft
“ of the common intercourſe of Civil Life, that of diſcourſing our-
“ ſelves, and of liſtning to the diſcourſe of others:” he adds, “we ſhould
“ have alſo loſt the uſe of memory, as well as the habit of ſpeaking;
“ had it been equally in our power to forget as to be ſilent.”

THE trial of perſons for Treafon went on generally in the old form, but in effect, was all reſolvable into the breaſt and good pleaſure of the Prince. According to hints from him, perſons were condemned or acquitted: ſometimes by his interpoſing the Tribunitial Power, they were not admitted to be accuſed; ſometimes Treafon was found in one man's words and actions, which in another were not allowed to be criminal. Thus men were ſentenced, or abſolved, or not accuſed, not
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according to their guilt or innocence, but to their degree of grace or dislike with the Emperor, who had the Prerogative to coin guilt and innocence, and invert one into the other, as he pleased. Thus *TRIBERIUS* pursued *VESTILIUS* to death, his brother's antient friend and his own, for suspicion of having lampooned his Nephew *CALIGULA*; but would not allow *CORTA MESSALINUS* to be a criminal for the same offence and for many more. But *CORTA* had merit, he was always foremost in every bloody Counsel; all his wickedness and crimes were so many services, and so much merit. In those days there was no sure guilt but that of worth and of virtue, and innocence; hence the security of all men egregiously mischievous. The known cruelty of the Prince, was no terror to those who took care to escape it, by the vileness of their lives; especially if they were active to feed his cruelty by noble sacrifices: like *HATERIUS AGRIPPA*, who meditated in the midst of his cups and harlots the destruction of illustrious men. The worst and vilest men in the Empire, became the securest, and often the highest, by destroying the best.

Sect. VIII. *What TACITUS means by Instrumenta regni.*

BESIDES the Accusers, who were the Imperial Bloodhounds, to hunt men down for words, conjectures, signs, and appearances, by ridiculous pleas, forced constructions, and wrested Laws; the Emperors had other pestilent tools called by *TACITUS Instrumenta regni*, the Instruments of Imperial Rule. These were your Poisoners and Assassins. When there was no room or pretence to accuse a person signal for worth or opulence, or on any account obnoxious, and thence fit to be destroyed; or when 'twas unsafe to accuse him; recourse was had to a dose or dagger. Such were *P. CELER*, and *ÆLIUS* the Freedman, they who poisoned *JULIUS SILANUS*, by the appointment of *AGRIPPINA*: such was *ANICETUS* who murdered *NERO's* Mother, by the direction of her son: such was *LOCUSTA*, who administered the poison to *CLAUDIUS*, a woman famous for many feats in poisoning, and long retained for this talent, amongst the implements of Court; 'twas she who prepared this poison as well as that which destroyed young *BRITANNICUS*: such was *XENOPHON*, Physician to *CLAUDIUS*; one who helped to dispatch his master: such were they who by the procurement of *LIVIA*, made away the descendants of *AUGUSTUS*. After the assassination of *CALIGULA*; in his apartment was found a chest filled with all sorts of poisons, so rapid that when they were thrown into the sea, they proved baneful to the fish; and numbers were by the tide cast dead upon the shore. Such also were the Tribunes and Centurions, and even the Captain of the Pretorian Guards; who whenever they were ordered to seize and kill, never failed to obey, without any reason but the word of command. Thus *POSTHUMUS AGRIPPA* was dispatched by a Centurion under *TRIBERIUS*: thus *GERELANUS* the Tribune, was, at the head of a band of soldiers, by *NERO* employed to see the execution of *VESTINUS* the Consul, a man charged with no guilt: but *NERO*, who hated and feared him, having neither crime nor accuser against him, and being therefore unable to assume even the false guise of a Judge, betook himself to the violence of a Tyrant.

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IN truth, the whole body of Pretorian Guards were kept by these Tyrants as their Assassins, to murder for them, or to secure others who did. The Turk too has his Mutes and Poisoners in the Seraglio, as well as soldiers, to execute his fury secretly, or openly. LEWIS the eleventh entertained other secret Ruffians to stab and drown, besides his trusty murderer the Provost TRISTAN. Queen KATHARINE and her son CHARLES the Ninth, kept an Assassin, to dispatch privately such men of rank as they could find no other means to destroy; and as dark as the proceedings in the Bastile are kept, 'tis known what helps have been administered to the miserable prisoners there, to get rid of life besides that of nature. Under the Reign of LEWIS the fourteenth the trade of poisoning was brought to great perfection; and was suspected, with too much appearance, to have been part of the Politicks of some French Ministers, as well as the bane of others.

SECT. IX. *How much these Emperors hated, and how fast they destroyed all great and worthy Men. Their dread of every Man for any Reason.*

THE destruction of every man who was great or good, was so common and almost certain in those tragical Reigns, that TACITUS reckons as a wonder the natural death of L. PISO, chief Pontiff: *per idem tempus L. Piso Pontifex, rarum in tanta claritudine, fato obiit.* Eminent men, and eminent merit, are the dread of Tyrants. That merit and those talents which, during the old Republick, would have certainly recommended a man to publick Favour and publick Honours, did afterwards expose him as certainly, to Imperial Jealousy and persecution, generally to ruin and death; and those pestilent Accusers, Instruments of publick Servitude, the sons of rapine and blood, who were now the men of fashion and favour, and clothed with the spoils of their Country, for afflicting and mangling her, and devouring her vitals, would have been then treated as publick Enemies and Beasts of Prey, and doomed to the pains of Murder and Treason, with universal consent and abhorrence.

SUCH a barbarous and unnatural inversion of all Order, Law, and Righteousness, accompanied the Sovereignty of the Cæsars. AUGUSTUS, reckoned the best and wisest of them, tho' he affected to love and countenance men of parts and accomplishments, yet limited his favours to such of them as were devoted to Flattery and the Usurpation. Hence the publick Honours conferred by him upon ATEIUS CAPITO, a new man, one of signal Abilities, but a notorious Flatterer: nay the Emperor raised him in opposition to ANTISTHIUS LABEO, one who excelled in the same acquirements; one who never departed from a laudable freedom of speech and spirit, and thence more applauded than the other, by the publick voice: whereas, the suppleness and submission of CAPITO rendered him more acceptable to those who bore rule. The latter by this merit gained the dignity of Consul; the other for having too much, was never suffered to rise higher than that of Pretor: how much must the spirit of Imperial Jealousy encrease afterwards?

EVERY thing gave these Tyrants fear and offence. Was a man nobly born and popular? He withdrew the affections of the People, rivalled the Prince, and threatened a Civil War: *studia civium in se verteret*;

teret; secessionem jam & partes, & si multi idem audeant, bellum esse. Was he akin to AUGUSTUS? He had his eye upon the Sovereignty: *nobilem, & quod tunc spectaretur, e Cæsarum posteris*. Had he a reputation for Arms? He was a living terror to the Prince: *Ostorius multa militari fama — metum Neroni fecerat, ne invaderet pavidum semper — missus Centurio qui cædem ejus maturaret*. Was a great man afraid of popularity, and lived retired? He gained fame by shunning it, and still was an eye-sore: *quanto metu occultior, tanto plus famæ adeptus*; and his best fate was to leave his Country: *consuleret quieti urbis; esse illi per Asiam avitos agros*: but where the exile was a considerable man, the executioner generally followed. Was he virtuous, and his life and morals exact? He was another BRUTUS, and by the purity of his manners, upbraided the vitious behaviour of the Emperor: *gliscere ac vigere Brutorum Emulos — rigidi & tristis, quo tibi lasciviam exprobrent*. Was a man sad? 'Twas because the administration prospered: *hominem bonis publicis mæstum*. Did he indulge himself in gayety and feasting? 'Twas because the Emperor was ill, and his end thought to be near; and *reddendam pro intempestiva lætitia mæstam & funebrem noctem, qua sentiat vivere Vitellium & imperare*. Was he rich? He was too wealthy for a subject, and great wealth in private hands boded ill to Princes: *Plautum magnis opibus — auri vim atque opes principibus infensas*. Was he poor? He was thence the more enterprizing and desperate: *Syllam inopem, unde præcipuam audaciam*. Was he a dull man, and unactive? He only put on the guise of stupidity and sloth, till he found room for some bloody purpose: *simulatorem segnitæ, dum temeritati locum reperiret*. Or had he a different Character, and was a lively and active man? Then it was plain he did not so much as feign a desire of private life and recess, but avowed a bustling Republican Spirit, and to be meddling with the State: *Plautum ne fingere quidem cupidinem otii, sed veterum Romanorum incitamenta præferre; assumpta etiam Stoicorum arrogantia sectaque, quæ turbidos & negotiorum appetentes faciat*. Did he live in pomp and magnificence? He studied to overshadow the Emperor in feats and grandeur; *hortorum amœnitate & villarum magnificentia quasi Principem supergrederetur*. Was he accomplished in science, a Philosopher, or master of Eloquence, and thence esteemed? The lustre of his Fame gave umbrage to the Prince: *Verginium & Rufum claritudo nominis expulit; nam Verginius studia juvenum eloquentia, Musonius præceptis sapientiæ fovebat*.

IN short, no man could possess any advantage or quality that rendered him acceptable to God or man, a blessing to his Country, to his friends or to himself, but such quality and advantage was sure to awaken the jealousy and vengeance of these Tyrants, and procure his doom; *omni bona arte in exilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret*.

SECT. X. *Reflections upon the Spirit of a Tyrant. With what Wantonness the Roman Emperors shed the blood of the Roman People. The Blindness of such as assisted the Usurpation of CÆSAR and AUGUSTUS.*

HOW miserable must be the reflections of a Tyrant, if he has any reflections, that numbers must be wretched (for what wretchedness

edness is not produced by Tyranny) that he may make a hideous figure, unsafe and detested? Every step he takes for his grandeur and security, renders him more contemptible or abhorred, and therefore more insecure; and the bloody end of most abundantly shews, that numerous Guards and Armies are so far from securing him, that from them his greatest dread accrues. What a curse it is upon a thinking Being, to consider himself as an obstacle to every thing lovely and desirable amongst men; to the Virtue, Liberty and Happiness of all men, to his own peace and stability, to his own innocence and true glory: that for every chain he puts upon his People he multiplies terrors and contempt upon his own head; and having forfeited their affections and living in distrust of those whom he ought chiefly to confide in, relies for his life upon hirelings, the sons of vice and idleness, or forced from their honest labour to be made so, and often picked out of streets and goals. He dreads every man who is great and brave; and one who fights for him, conquers for him, and saves him, does but expose himself to jealousy, indignity and martyrdom. His own slaves spiritless and cowardly cannot serve him, and a man truly valiant is undone by serving him. The people are apt to admire and magnify military virtue, and thence the Tyrant hates and dreads such as have it. CHARLES the fifth held it a greater honour, to be Count of CATALONIA, than King of the Romans: he had reason; the CATALANS were freedmen and valiant; the Romans poor monkridden slaves.

BUT I shall find another place in the course of these Observations to discourse more fully of Armies and Conquests: I shall here only observe with what wantonness these Tyrants shed the blood of Roman Citizens; Citizens whose lives were once so valuable, fenced and secured by Laws so numerous so sacred and strong; lives so precious that nothing against the life and fortune of the meanest Roman could be determined, but by the Romans in general, assembled in Centuries. These Romans who, while free, became the masters of mankind, were by losing their Liberty, become daily victims to their own domestick Traitors, and miserable Traitors they were; to a CLAUDIUS, a CALIGULA, a NERO. By the ancient Constitution and Laws of Rome, these Usurpers were the only persons liable to be put to death, without process, or form, or penalty. See the *Lex Valeria* in LIVY, and CICERO *Pro domo sua*.

HAD such as were Champions for the exaltation of CESAR and AUGUSTUS, foreseen what their race and descendants were to suffer under the Successors of these Usurpers, would it not have quenched their zeal, would it not have struck them with horror? Had they foreseen their offspring stooping and groaning under a beastly bondage, not to the Emperor only, but to his slaves and strumpets; living a precarious life at the mercy of sycophants; under continual terrors of the Accusers, or themselves exercising the execrable occupation of such; some endangered by the lustre of their name; some by that of their virtue and capacity, others from that of their wealth; many become Pimps, Pathicks, and Parasites to the Prince; several, upon his authority, prostituting their persons and quality upon the publick Stage; numbers doomed to exile upon desolate Rocks and Islands; numbers slain outright, the carcases exposed and denied the privilege of burial, their fortunes seized from their families; and all of them liable to the like tragical fate; their wives withal daily exposed to the lust of the Tyrant,

Tyrant, and afterwards made the subject of his Imperial Sport and Drollery, even before their injured and blushing husbands, nay prostituted in the Palace as in the publick Stews, and such as passed by invited in to lie with these illustrious Ladies as with common harlots, for money.

HAD the Partizans of Usurpation foreseen these woful consequences to their families from it, would it not have changed their hearts and their conduct? Yet what was easier to be foreseen than the fury and ravages of a madman or fool unlimited, where chance, and not Law, directed the blind Succession; as did blind will, and not reason, the Administration? But with the heat of party and present impulse, cool reflection and foresight are incompatible: it scarce ever happens, that for future considerations, however wise, the instant passion, however foolish, is smothered. The Adherents of CESAR and AUGUSTUS, had an immediate view of greatness, and would not disturb so pleasing an imagination by anxious care or fear for things future. All the world goes well, with those that are well; and before men can be brought to believe prophecies of misery, they must begin to feel it. What a child is Man; what a name is Reason! The most frequent use we make of it, is to reason ourselves out of it, and from it to borrow arms against itself: just as we have seen Laws quoted to vindicate the subversion of Law, and the Holy Gospel of Peace and Love urged in defence of Persecution and Enmity.

Sect. XI. *Why under such Tyrants, the Senate continued to subsist.*

IT may be inquired why Tyrants so jealous and precipitate, did not abolish the Senate: and it was once the purpose of CALIGULA, as it was afterwards that of NERO, to have murdered all the Senators: but in truth it would have been an enterprize of infinite difficulty and danger, to have attempted the suppression of that body. It is incredible what stubbornness and force there is in establish'd Names, Customs and Forms, which often are harder to destroy than realities and substances; and signs and titles frequently remain, when the things signified and denominated by them are gone. Thus Popery has extirpated Christianity, and is called Christianity; and Evangelical Humility and Forbearance are preached and extolled in the midst of Pride and Flames.

As the Popes pretend to derive all power from the Gospel, which they pervert and suppress, so did the other Roman Tyrants theirs from the Senate; as if the ancient free State had still subsisted, *tanquam vetere Republica*; and to have destroyed the Senate, would have been to have abrogated their own title to Sovereignty. They must likewise have destroyed the Consulship, which was still reckoned *summum Imperium*, the supreme Magistracy; with the Office of Pretor, and every Office great and small in the State, with the title and stile of every Law of Rome, and every Tribunal of Justice there: for, every Law and every Office depended upon the Senate, or upon the Senate and People. They must have abolished Learning, History, Records, all Process and Memory; nay the very Military Titles, and Laws of War and Negotiation; those about the Colonies and Provinces, Customs and Trade; and have introduced absolute Oblivion, a new Language and a new Creation.

Now what Power, what Genius upon earth, was equal to such a prodigious design, that of vacating at once regulations and usages so infinitely numerous, so long established, become a great part of the publick Language, grown as it were to the minds and memories of men, and essential to Speech and Conversation, as well as to business and protection; and then to supply such an immense void, with Ordinances, Offices, Terms and manner of Process, so as to answer all the ends of Society in so vast an Empire? This was not to be done, nor was it needful: they found their account sufficiently in breaking the Power and Spirit of the Senate, in reducing it to a skeleton and a name, and in exercising under that name all their own violences and exorbitances. The Senate and the People had a venerable sound, and served as a cloak for power when they themselves had none, and the Emperor had all: *cuncta Legum & Magistratum in se trahens Princeps*. The registering of Edicts by the Parliament of Paris is become a matter of form; but without that form, the Court, as uncontrouled as it is, does not care to execute an Edict. The Romans still preserved a veneration for their Senate and Magistrates, and the same was often found in the Armies; insomuch that as late as the Reign of COMMODUS, the soldiers were so enraged at the insolence of PERENNIS, his Favourite and Minister, for discharging from their military commands such as were Patricians and Senators, and for placing in their room others of Equestrian Rank, that they cut him in pieces.

TIME however, with the continuance of Tyranny, and Barbarity its inseparable companion, cancelled by degrees the old names and forms, after the essence had been long cancelled; and introduced a cloud of offices and words, of rumbling sounds, and swelling titles, suitable to the genius of absolute Rule, and as different from the purity of the old Republican Language, as are Liberty and Politeness from grossness and bondage.

SECT. XII. *How the unrelenting Cruelty of the Emperors hastened the Dissolution of the Empire. The bad Reigns of CONSTANTINE and CONSTANTIUS. The good Reign of JULIAN. The indiscreet behaviour of the Christians. Continued Tyranny; and end of the Empire.*

TO resume once more the subject of Accusations and the abused Law of Majesty; they were cankers in the heart of the Empire, which at last hastened its Dissolution. The Emperors to gratify their own cruelty, were continually wasting the publick Strength by sacrifices noble and many; and, to satiate their avarice or that of their creatures, encouraged endless seizures and confiscations. This crying Oppression was by the Emperor CONSTANTINE, before mentioned, carried higher than any of the Pagan Emperors had ever carried it. Besides his own rapine, which was merciless and excessive, he glutted his Favourites and Grandees with the spoil and fortunes of others: *proximorum fauces aperuit primus Constantinus*, says MARCELLINUS. His son CONSTANTIUS followed his example, and was a more consuming Tyrant than the Father. I have already said something of his Character and Reign, which was chiefly conducted by inhuman villains, whose heads and hands were eternally engaged

gaged in the plunder and blood of his People. Such were his Counsellors, such his Governors of Provinces, which were sucked and devoured to the bone, and might say with truth, what a noble Dalmatian once told TIBERIUS; "instead of sending us Shepherds to protect our flocks, you send us Wolves to devour them." How many Governors in all Countries have deserved to be hanged, before they reached their Governments, because they went with design to rob and oppress?

THESE depredations were restrained during the Reign of JULIAN, who had as much capacity, as many virtues and accomplishments, as could well adorn private life or a crown: he was brave, generous, wise and humane; a Hero, a Philosopher, a Politician, a Friend and Father to mankind. 'Tis pity such an amiable Character should have any blots; his had two: he was superstitious even to weakness, and had conceived an aversion to the Christians altogether unsuitable to his remarkable candour and equity; an aversion which they themselves improved too much, by a behaviour unworthy of so great a Prince, much more unworthy of so meek a Religion: they indeed treated him with eminent spite and outrage, traduced him, libelled him, and even mobbed him: nothing could be a sharper Satyr upon them, for such brutish conduct, than the singular meekness with which he bore it. The truth is, the Christians were then strangely degenerated from the primitive peaceableness and purity, become licentious and turbulent to the last degree, and perpetually instigated by the arrogance and ambition of the Bishops, who were come to contend with arms as well as curses, for the possession of opulent Churches. It was not uncommon with these ambitious men, to affront and revile the Emperors to their faces, to publish Invectives against them, to break the publick Peace and to raise frequent Tumults and Seditions. As they were the most complaisant Courtiers when pleased; so they were the most implacable Incendiaries when disgusted. All this was enough to alarm any Prince, and to awaken resentment in the most flegmatick. Moreover a great part of the wealth and revenue, which used to go towards the publick Charge, particularly to defend the Frontiers against the Barbarians, was diverted and appropriated to maintain the grandeur and pomp of the great Prelates: *Sacerdotes specie religionis fortunas omnes effundebant*, as TACITUS says, upon another occasion.

As some parts of the behaviour of that great Prince, one wise and good in most things, but mistaken and even unjust in others, chiefly towards the Christians, ought to be censured and condemned; the behaviour of the Christians towards him can never be justified. They insulted him intolerably, with all the excesses of bitterness and ill breeding, while he lived, and slandered and blackened him shamefully when dead; as much as some of them basely flattered and extolled other Emperors, who, though complaisant and liberal to the Ecclesiasticks, were consuming Tyrants.

IT is the business of Truth and of true Religion, to give even enemies their due, and friends no more than their due. To give JULIAN his; if we lay aside his Religion, I doubt whether we can find upon record one Prince that excelled him, or three that equalled him. He is indeed a pattern to Princes, in spite of the anger and obloquy of Writers who were apparently animated by a spirit then too common, a spirit altogether narrow, monkish, and vindictive; such a one as the
charitable

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charitable Religion of JESUS disclaims and wants not. To his benevolent Gospel and Precepts I sincerely wish all men to conform; but fewer signs of such conformity, or rather greater signs of the want of it, have I no where seen, than in the Conduct, Discourses, and Writings of such as have railed at others for their religious sentiments, real or imputed. I wish too that a temper so barbarous and Anti-christian had been entirely confined to the days of that Emperor, whose Administration and Writings will for ever recommend him to all calm and impartial men, as an astonishing example of virtue and parts.

THE Reign of JOVIAN, whose intention seems to have been honest and good, was but short, and followed by those of VALENTINIAN and VALENS; Princes exceeding furious, suspicious and sanguinary: under them the old Accusations, Confiscations and Carnage were revived without mercy, and continued thenceforward with few intervals till the Roman Empire was quite overthrown. The people in every part of it being quite harrassed and consumed, finding no relaxation from Oppressors and Accusations, no protection from Law, no refuge in the Clemency of the Emperors, grew desperate, and revolted to the Goths, Huns, Vandals, and other Invaders.

Sect. XIII. *The Excellency of a limited Monarchy, especially of our own.*

I Think it is MACHIAVEL who observes, that two or three weak and bad Princes succeeding each other, are sufficient to ruin a State; where they govern by mere Will; but it may survive a long succession of foolish Princes limited by good Laws. VESPASIAN found three hundred millions (of our money) wanting to restore the Empire to a condition of subsisting. Monarchy according to PLATO, is the best Government or the worst: to which opinion I subscribe; as I do to that of PHILIP DE COMINES, that England is the place in the world, where the Publick is most equally administered, and where the people suffer the least violence. We are blessed with that form of Government which TACITUS mentions as the most perfect, and thinks the hardest to be framed; that happy ballance and mixture of interests which comprehends every interest: *cunctas nationes & urbes populus, aut primores, aut singuli regunt. Delecta ex his & constituta Reipub. forma laudari facilius quam evenire, vel si evenit, haud diuturna esse potest.*

AN English Monarch has one advantage which sets him above any arbitrary Monarch upon earth: he obliges his subjects by being obliged to them. As he protects them by defending their Property and Laws; so they by supporting him, enable him to do it: while they give by choice and not by force, they give chearfully. Princes who take all themselves, and leave nothing to their people to give, can never be beloved by their people. If it be true that we hate those whom we have hurt, 'tis equally true, that we are apt to love those whom we have obliged. Hence God is said, not only to love doing good, but to love the good that he does.

ARBITRARY Princes would doubtless chuse to have the love and affections of their people, were the same to be acquired by furious and unaccountable Rule; but this is impossible. Hence dread of their power is all the share they can expect in the hearts of their subjects: and this

is a complement which their subjects pay to things the most hideous and vile; to Serpents; to mad and wild Beasts; to Plagues and Satan; to Pain and Poverty: but even this miserable complement is not always paid them: they are not always dreaded. When their terrors are become habitual, they cease in a good measure to be terrors: the people grow hardened and desperate; they themselves become scorned; and contempt, the most abject lot in life, becomes the portion of those who possess the highest. When NERO asked SUBRIUS FLAVIUS, one of the Conspirators against his life, from what motives he had renounced his Allegiance; "It was because I abhorred thee," said he. The Consul VESTINIUS too was known to NERO, to despise his vile and unmanly spirit; and in the whole detection of that Conspiracy, and the punishment of the Conspirators, nothing was so signal as the series of contempt poured upon that brutal Tyrant, in the height of his Power, and amidst the terrors of his Tyranny. Nothing, says TACITUS, mortified him so much. But when the Monster was deposed, he incurred such Sovereign scorn, that he was doomed to be stripped naked, and scourged to death like a slave, with his head fastened in a pillory; his carcass to be cast afterwards from the Tarpeian Rock, and with a hook in his nose to be dragged to the Tiber.

NOR could the great reputation of JULIUS CESAR, or that of AUGUSTUS, and all their Power, secure them from popular insults and despight. The *mæchum calvum*, and *videsne ut cinædus orbem digito temperet*; were contumelies which even greatness could not escape. MITHRIDATES King of Armenia, when despoiled of his Kingdom, experienced by the behaviour of his People, how much they revered him: they even assaulted him with reproaches and blows: *vulgus duro imperio habitum, probra ac verbera intentabat*. When the Emperor VITELLIUS was led along to the slaughter, with his hands bound behind him, his habit all torne, and himself a filthy spectacle; he found much the like usage: numbers wounded him with reproaches; but none was found to bewail him: and the populace railed at him when dead, with the same baseness of heart, with which they had flattered him living: *vulgus eadem pravitate insectabatur interfectum, qua foverat viventem*.

DISCOURSE VIII.

Of the general Debasement of Spirit and Adulation which accompany Power unlimited.

Sect. I. *The motives of Flattery considered. Its vileness, and whence it begins.*

I SHALL now say something of the extreme Debasement of the Romans under the Emperors. Flattery ever rises in proportion to Power and Fear. Where Law and Liberty reign, and men hold not their Property and Lives at the mercy of one or a few; this security begets in them a pride and stubbornness inconsistent with Servility and Adulation: men do not flatter such as they dare own to be no better than themselves, or such as have no power to hurt them:

nor will they pay over-much reverence to great Titles which are not accompanied with great Power, nor supported by Superstition: for Superstition enslaves as effectually as real Power, and therefore confers it: nor is Tyranny ever so complete as when the chief Magistrate is chief Pontiff, as were the Soldans of Egypt and Bagdat; or which is the next thing, can create and depose him, as do the Turkish Emperors. But where men hold their fortunes and lives at the mere mercy of another, they will fear him as much as they love themselves, and flatter him, as much as they fear him; *omnis exuta aequalitate, jussa Principis asperare*: if his Power be limited, their Flattery will be limited; but boundless, if his Authority be so. Thus court and sycophancy prevail less under a mixt Monarch, than under one that is despotick; in an Aristocracy less than there; and less still in a popular State. Perfect equality quite destroys it, a complete Sovereignty raises it to the highest.

THE more foolish and wicked a Prince is, the more Incense he will have: it is the surest way of pleasing a Tyrant, as it sanctifies his Iniquities, and represents him to himself as worthy of all his Grandeur and equal to all the highest Offices of Empire. TIBERIUS, who was a Prince of great penetration, hated Flattery, because he knew it to be so; as he knew that they who paid him most, the Senate and Grandees, dreaded and therefore hated his Power: as he, who understood perfectly the nature and blessing of Liberty, would have dreaded and hated any man in his place, had he been in theirs. He knew that Flattery and Hate often go together: so that they who possess the greatest Hate, profess the greatest Affection. It is as much as their lives are worth, to manifest any tokens of Aversion; and the stronger 'tis, it will require the more Art and Assiduity to hide it. JULIUS CESAR was loaded with all sorts and every excess of Honours, some that were divine, with design to make him odious, while they who conferred them abhorred him, and were concerting schemes to destroy him: with the same view the like artifices were practised by the Senate towards his Successor OCTAVIUS, afterwards AUGUSTUS, concerning whom the equivocal saying of CICERO, could not but be remembered by TIBERIUS, *ni juvenem laudarent & tollerent*, "they should extol the Youth and take him off." Hence tho' TIBERIUS was irreconcilable to publick Liberty, he abominated Flattery: *libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat*. He saw that Flattery was the mere effect of Bondage, and suiting only with the spirit of Slaves; and tho' he would not part with the Sovereignty (notwithstanding he often talked of it as well as pretended great backwardness to accept it) yet he was ashamed of the vile and slavish abjectness of the Romans: *etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nollet, tam projectæ servientium patientiæ tædebat*.

BUT neither under TIBERIUS was there any security in abstaining from Flattery: he was a Prince infinitely jealous, and could brook no sort of opposition, nor even independence; and 'twas both necessary and dangerous to flatter him, but, in my opinion, not so dangerous as necessary: I mean to such as purely consulted their own safety, and to escape the rage of the Tyrant. It is true he despised Flatterers; but he hurt them not: and 'twas natural for him to think (suspicious as he was) that such as would not flatter him scorned him. It is certain he never forgave free speakers, never could endure men of bold spirit,

spirit, but first or last pursued them to Destruction. It was perillous; says TACITUS, to practise no Flattery, and perillous to practise too much: *adulatione, quæ moribus corruptis, perinde anceps si nulla & ubi nimia est.* L. PISO had inveighed against the corruptions of the State, particularly against the pestilent pursuits of the Impleaders, who were daily arraigning and circumventing and menacing all men; he even threatened to quit Rome. TIBERIUS bore this calmly, nay he descended to mollify him with kind words. But in a soul like his brooding over Vengeance, tho' he had suppressed the sallies of Wrath the deep impressions remained: PISO was a good while afterwards charged with Treason, and but for a natural death which opportunely intervened, must have suffered the pains of Treason. ASINIUS GALLUS incurred his rage for a motion in Senate, which had really a complement in it. TIBERIUS had in a Letter to the Fathers complained, that from the plots and snares of his enemies, he led a life full of dread and apprehensions. GALLUS proposed to address the Prince, that he would explain his fears to the Senate, and permit them to remove the causes: this incensed him. GALLUS too had piqued him before, and was suspected by him of aspiring views; and tho' he had notoriously flattered him, he could not by it redeem his life.

As all Corruptions in a State begin commonly from the Grandees (or rather they are beginners of all Corruption) so the Grandees are the most signal Flatterers: they are most in the eye of a Prince, they are the most obnoxious to his jealousy, and thence the most prone to flatter him: *ruere in servitium consules, patres, eques; quanto quis illustrior, tanto magis falsi ac festinantes.* A Prince who governs or would govern by mere Will, must countenance and employ such as ask no reasons for what he does, but commend all he does; and the more they have to get or lose, the lower they must stoop, the more they must praise: *primores civitatis quorum claritudo sua obsequiis protegenda erat.* For this vile servitude of theirs they make reprisals upon the people, and are as terrible to those below them, as fawning to those above them; for the most prostitute Slaves, are the most insolent Tyrants, and 'tis from the same baseness of spirit that men oppress and flatter: 'twas truly said of CALIGULA, "that there never lived a more complaisant Slave, nor a more cruel and detestable Master." Thus Flattery is propagated, and infects all degrees of men. The Prince awes the Grandees, and by the Grandees is flattered: the Grandees oppress and terrify the people; and thence the people dread and adore the Grandees. The Baschas are slaves to the great Turk; and the people slaves to the Baschas.

THE insolence of slavish spirits is by TACITUS exemplified in VITELLIUS, among many other instances. He was always the foremost in Flattery; ever assailing every worthy Patriot with reproaches, and ever struck silent when repulsed; agreeably to the genius of Sy-cophants, to be both insulting and cowardly. This man however prospered by Prostitution. He had great employments under TIBERIUS, he was a great Favourite in the two succeeding Reigns, he was thrice Consul and once Censor. Nor did the man want good talents and qualifications: in the Government of Provinces, says TACITUS, he exercised the integrity of a primitive Roman. But his dread of CALIGULA, and complaisance to CLAUDIUS, changed him into a filthy Slave, and he is handed down to posterity as a pattern of
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the most infamous Flattery. The just reward this of his servile submission. His first and best actions were forgot; his last and worst remembered; and the excellencies of his younger years obliterated by an old age drenched in servitude and iniquity. Besides his adoring CLAUDIUS as a God, he carried one of MESSALINA's sandals in his bosom continually, frequently kissed it, and amongst his household Gods placed golden Statues of PALLAS and NARCISSUS, the Emperor's freed slaves. This man was, I think, father to VITELLIUS afterwards Emperor. Such men such Princes delight in: *regibus boni quam mali suspectiores sunt semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est*: says SALLUST.

Sect. II. *Men of elevated Minds irreconcilable to Arbitrary Power, and thence suspected by it. The Court paid to it always insincere, sometimes expedient, but seldom observes any bounds.*

AGRIPPA told AUGUSTUS, according to DION CASSIUS, that it was impossible for a man of great spirit and resolution, to be other than a lover of Liberty, and an enemy in his heart to an absolute master. AGRIPPA himself was that sort of man; he had courage enough to advise that Prince to resign the Sovereignty and restore publick Liberty: such in truth was his credit and bravery, that AUGUSTUS thought himself no otherwise safe than either by killing him or taking him for his son-in-law. The Emperor did more than give him his daughter; he assumed him partner in the Tribunial Power, which as that Usurper and his Successors managed it, was in effect the Dictatorial Power. The other great men of Rome he suspected and hated; tho' in vanity and for the praise of Posterity, he left them his heirs in the third degree: *tertio gradu primores civitatis scripserat; plerique invisos sibi, sed jactantia gloriaque apud posteros*. AUGUSTUS and TIBERIUS judged too well, to imagine that the illustrious Senators and Chiefs of Rome, men who had scorned the alliance and affinity of Kings, nay treated Kings as their creatures and dependents, could like a blind dependence upon one of their own Citizens, who by usurpation and violence had made himself an enemy to all. Even in the Reign of TIBERIUS there were Romans who thought themselves as good as him; CNEIUS PISO, for example, scarce gave place to him, and despised his sons, as men far beneath himself. But his haughty spirit cost him his life; for tho' TIBERIUS used him as a proper instrument to thwart and overthrow GERMANICUS, he afterwards turned that very service to the destruction of PISO.

AFFECTION can never accompany a submission which is forced, nor men submit willingly to a Power which they think they have themselves a right to exercise. Hence the complements and praises of these eminent Romans towards the Emperors, are generally by TACITUS derived from Flattery; tho' sometimes necessary, and sometimes well intended: necessary, when used for their own preservation; and well intended, when employed to instill into the Prince virtuous lessons of Government. MARCUS TERENCE was perhaps justifiable, when in defence of his life, which was at stake, he made that high flown complement

complement to TIBERIUS: "To thee the Gods have granted the supreme disposal of things, and to us have left the glory of obedience;" *tibi summum rerum judicium Dii dedere, nobis obsequii gloria relicta est.* The Senators also did well in magnifying some popular Acts of NERO, that his youthful mind being thus incited by the Glory arising from light things, might court it in things which were greater. And THRASAE PETUS was justifiable, when in his speech about ANTISTIVS the Pretor, arraigned for Treason for lampooning the Emperor, he extolled that Prince's mercy, in order to make him merciful.

BUT as that which is only good in some certain degrees and exigences, seldom stops there; so this same Flattery, no wise blameable under some circumstances, grew scandalous and excessive; it kept pace with all the phrenzy, and cruelties of these outrageous and inhuman Tyrants: and by it their cruelties and phrenzy were encouraged. The more mischievous and vile they were, the more they were adored. Dread of their fury had seized the souls of men; nor was any remedy sought against their fury but that of Flattery: *pavor internus occupaverat animos, cui remedium adulatione quærebatur*: men of slavish minds always began the detestable rout; their example drew others after them; the lovers of Liberty found it impossible to resist the many, and unsafe to distinguish themselves by opposition: interest swayed some, example others, fear all, and at last it became a common strife who should be foremost in the race to Servitude. All publick spirit, all regard to the glory and good of Rome, the inseparable characteristick of the old free Romans, was now lost and forgot; it was converted into fear and anxiety of every man for himself. This will ever be the case when a Prince armed with sufficient powers sets up his own interest against that of the State; particulars having no longer any thing to do with the publick, will study only to secure themselves.

Sect. III. *The excessive Power of the Imperial freed Slaves; with the scandalous Submission and Honours paid them by the Romans.*

AS Tyranny produces abject fear and anxiety in particulars for themselves, so from this selfish fear and anxiety comes the beginning and progress of universal Servitude, the extinction of all Patriotism and honest zeal, the power of corruption, and the symptoms of a State hastening to ruin and desolation. All the good or evil which could befall any Roman, lay wholly in the breast and option of the Prince; and hence the study of every man to humour the Prince, or the Slaves who governed him: for governed he generally was by slaves the vilest and most pestilent; yes the whole Empire, that Empire that contained a great share of the Globe, and terrified almost the whole, was swayed, sold, oppressed, and exhausted by slaves bought from the chain and the oar. CLAUDIUS not only declared that affairs adjudged by his Receivers should be held equally valid with those adjudged by himself, but got the same established by a solemn Decree of Senate. Now these Receivers of the Emperors were his manumized Slaves, who under that title often governed Provinces: he raised the authority of these vermin to a pitch equal with that of the Sovereign and the Laws. FELIX Governor of Judea was a freed slave, the husband of three Queens, and the brother of PALLAS another freed slave, who controlled the

Emperor, lay with the Empress, and was master of the Empire; so that NERO said pertinently of him, when he turned him out of office, "that PALLAS went to abdicate the Sovereignty.

BEHOLD the debasement of the great and venerable Roman Senate! It is not enough that they flatter the Emperor, and heap upon him Powers and Honours so great and manifold, that at last they have none for themselves, hardly any for him: they must likewise adore, and enrich, and exalt the fugitives and off-scourings of the earth, infects naturally doomed to the vilest offices of the kitchen, stable, and privies. The Romans, Lords of the World, must put their necks under the feet of the dregs of human race. For a contemptible project of that same PALLAS, about punishing Ladies who married slaves, BAREAS SORANUS Consul elect, the first Magistrate in the Roman world, moved the Senate to reward him with the ornaments of Pretor, the next Civil Office in the State, and a present of near an hundred thousand pounds. To this motion it was added by CORNELIUS SCIPIO, that PALLAS should have publick thanks, that he who was descended from the old Kings of Arcadia, should to the service of the publick thus postpone that his ancient Nobility, and deign to be reckoned amongst the Emperor's Ministers. But CLAUDIUS averred that PALLAS would rest content with the honours of the Pretorship, and rejecting the present, chuse to live in his usual poverty. The Decree passed, was engraved in brass, and publickly hung up; a pompous Decree, in which a fellow, lately a barefooted slave, now worth near eight millions, was magnified for observing the laudable self-denial and parcimony of the primitive ages. Observe the strange inversion of all order and sense! dignity debased; infamy exalted: how low the awful authority of the Senate descended! how vilely the function of a Consul prostituted! how ignominiously the glorious name of SCIPIO employed! how abominably the ornaments of Magistracy defiled! an ordinance of State big with servitude and lies! what stupidity in the Emperor, what insolence in the slave, and what a melancholy failure of all Virtue, Truth, and Liberty amongst all degrees of men! It was, in truth, a complement made to a slave by a body of slaves, as PLINY well observes. We may guess at the villany and evil deeds of the man by the enormous Honours that were paid him, tho' we had no other rule or proof, as we have proofs enough. No such violent court was ever paid to SENECA; and TIGELLINUS had much more weight and authority than BURRUS.

REAL goodness and merit beget in all good men real friendship and affection; and real affection is never so loud nor shewy as affection assumed. Where we sincerely like and esteem we are not afraid of suspicion in the person esteemed, nor spend much breath and ceremony to convince him. But where we are conscious of our own insincerity, our professions are pompous and wordy. It was absolutely impossible that these vile Upstarts should love the Senate, or any great men, great in blood, or fortune or virtue; or the Senate or any great Roman could love such vile Upstarts: but we see what disguises fear and falsehood can put on! Impartial posterity, which neither fears the Senate nor PALLAS, can perceive nothing in the Honours by them conferred upon him, but the infamy of both perpetuated. Nor was CLAUDIUS the only Emperor who was thus led in bondage by his franchised bondmen: others submitted to the same vassalage, to the same infamous

infamous Counsellors: *plerique principes* (says PLINY) *libertorum erant servi; horum consiliis, horum nutu regebantur*. Was not the world finely governed, and humankind completely happy; when the universal Lord was swayed by the lust and nod of creatures just redeemed from the infamy of whips and fetters? The mighty CÆSAR, to whom the Romans owed all their ensuing misery and bondage, began the exaltation of such sons of earth; and in contempt of censure, declared that, “if he had employed Highwaymen and Assassins to support his grandeur, he would in return have honoured them with the same favour.” A true confession, but methinks not very politick: we have seen already whether his worthy Successors did not actually do so, and what were the *Instrumenta regni*, the bloody tools and machinery of absolute Rule. POLYCLETUS, a manumized slave of NERO’s, when sent by his master to inspect the State of Britain, travelled with such an immense train, that he was a burden to great nations, even those of Italy and Gaul.

Sect. IV. *The excessive Flattery of the Senate, how ill judged.*

THERE was no mean in the Flattery of the Senate. They might have been good Courtiers, without being so abandoned Courtiers. There are instances of their carrying questions against the spirit of the Court and the efforts of Favourites, in the worst Reigns. Thus in spite of all the power and caballing of AGRIPPINA, they expelled TARQUITIUS PRISCUS, a creature of hers, from the Senate, in detestation of his base attack upon the life of STATILIUS TAURUS, in subserviency to the Empress, who yearned after the Wealth and fine Gardens of that illustrious Senator. Thus too in the case of ANTISTIUS the Pretor, who had composed some virulent Verses against NERO, and exposed them at a great entertainment; tho’ he was impleaded of Treason by COSSUTIANUS CAPITO son-in-law to that powerful minion TIGELLINUS, and tho’ JUNIUS MARULLUS, the Consul elect, moved that he might be doomed to die after the rigorous manner of antiquity; the Senate followed the milder motion of THRASEA PETUS for confiscation and exile. Nor would they depart from the sentence even after they had received NERO’s Letter about it, tho’ in it he manifested high indignation.

THEY might have made some other efforts of this kind, where they made none; on the contrary, they gave away their Liberties and Voices faster than they could have been taken. But the honest boldness of THRASEA broke the bondage which hung upon the minds of others: so much can the example of one worthy man do even in an assembly devoted to corruption and servitude! It is true THRASEA paid a severe after-reckoning, and ’twas the apprehension of that which stoped the mouths of others, or opened them only to fawn. But who would not chuse the reputation, and integrity of a Patriot, that of a THRASEA, even at the expence of his fate; rather than the fortune and favour of the sycophant VITELLIUS, with the abjectness of his life, and infamy of his name?

Sect. V. *The free Judgment of Posterity a powerful warning to Princes, to reign with moderation and to detest Flatterers. The Name and Memory of the Roman Tyrants how treated.*

ALL men have some vanity, and thence some fondness for fame: if they would acquire it, and avoid infamy, they must square their actions to the judgment of Posterity: with Posterity, little evasions, false colourings, and chicane will not pass for reasons, tho' they may with our cotemporaries, who are often influenced by friendships, often engaged in parties, often warmed and misled by passion and partiality. Death and time destroy all artifices, dissipate all mists, and unveil mysteries: the intentions of men with all their motives and pursuits are then scanned and laid open. The flights of Flattery, will not then be termed fondness for the Prince, nor the efforts of Ambition miscalled publick zeal: CLAUDIUS and PALLAS, TIBERIUS and SEJANUS, NERO and TIGELLINUS; men so carested, applauded and worshipped during their life and power, men who then employed all tongues in their praises, do now fill, and have long filled the mouths of all men with detestation, and their hearts with abhorrence. What avail now their craft and subornations, their power and high posts? Does the awe of purple, or the violence of the sword, do Pretorian Guards and perverted Laws, secure their memory as they did their persons? Do I, for example, fear their charges of Treason, or the vile breath of their Informers, while I treat them as sanguinary Monsters, as the Tyrants, Pests and Oppressors of the earth, as publick Curses and Murderers in cold blood?

THESE Tyrants and their Flatterers, tho' they pushed both Tyranny and Flattery as far as they would go, have not been able, with all their Arts and Terrors, to stifle the memory of men, nor restrain the speech. They are handed down to us under their proper titles: the *Emperor Nero* we seldom say; but the *Tyrant Nero*, is in every ones mouth: and the idea of a sycophant ever accompanies the name of VITELLIUS. His great credit and offices are forgot, or remembered only to his infamy. What a check must History and the Censure of Posterity be to a Prince that has any reflection! Had TIBERIUS, CLAUDIUS, CALIGULA, and other Imperial Monsters considered what frightful lights they were like to be drawn in to future times, it would have spoiled their pleasure in tyrannizing, and made them hate their Flatterers, who persuaded them that all men, at least the best men, spoke of them as they themselves spoke. With regard to Fame and Posterity it had been better for these wretches that they had never been born, as well as happy for humankind: yet no man was ever a greater drudge for Fame than NERO; *erat illi æternitatis perpetuæque famæ cupido, sed inconsulta*, says SÆTONIUS. Witness his laborious fatigues in the Theatre and Circus, continued day after day, and often nights and days, for the reputation of a good Singer, Harper and Coachman. CALIGULA aspired to the like glory, and was a notable Fencer and assiduous Dancer, as well as a Charioteer: *Scenicas saltandi canendique artes studiosissime appeteret — Thrax & auriga*. Laudable Ambition this for a Prince, and as just and high as that of many others!

TIBERIUS also wished and prayed for the praises and affectionate remembrance of posterity: *ut quandocunque concessero, cum laude & bonis recordationibus atque famam nominis mei prosequantur*. How well he succeeded we all know. He is detested as one of the most dangerous, false, and deliberate Tyrants that ever afflicted men: nay, he was no sooner known to be dead, than the people broke forth into joy and execrations: some cried, “ into the Tiber with TIBERIUS: “ others besought mother earth and the infernal Gods to allot him “ no mansion but amongst the damned and accursed:” others threatened to drag his body with hooks to the charnel of malefactors: and when his corps was going to be removed from Misenum to Rome, every one cried aloud, that it should rather be carried to the town of Atella to be in the Amphitheatre there thrown into a fire till ’twere half burned. Such were the marks of remembrance he had and deserved from the people! The other two are treated as frantick butchers, or rather as two mad dogs delighted with carnage and worrying, bent and active to kill and destroy. What is it to us that they were Princes and Emperors? Men of sense find no magick in names, but regard Monsters as Monsters, whatever titles Fortune or Flatterers gave them, or they themselves took.

’Tis thus Tyrants suffer the vengeance of after-ages, and terrible vengeance ’tis to such as are tender of their Renown and seek Immortality, as most Princes do; and indeed have it forced upon them, since they stand too high, and do too much not to be remembered. Hence they ought to be more afraid of future censure, which is generally well grounded and will certainly last, than of temporary praise, which is often false, consequently fleeting, at best to be suspected.

Sect. VI. *How lamentably Princes are debauched and misled by Flatterers!*

NOW if Tyrants are abhorred, how much abhorrence is due to Flatterers, who often change Princes into Tyrants, and make Tyrants worse than they would be. TIBERIUS assumed the Sovereignty with great diffidence; and his natural wariness would have probably made him mild against his nature, had not the Romans so readily offered him their necks, and their persons to bondage: but when he found them devoted to Slavery, he used them like Slaves, and having nothing to fear from them, he only followed the vile bent of his own spirit: *rupto pudore & metu, suo tantum ingenio utebatur*.

DOMITIAN rejoiced when he found that AGRICOLA had left him coheir with his wife and daughter: he vainly thought it done out of judgment and choice, and in pure regard to his person. So much was he corrupted and blinded by continual Flattery, as to be utterly ignorant that no Prince but a bad one was ever by a father tender of his issue and family, assumed into heirship with them.

NERO was in terrible agonies after he had murdered his Mother, he dreaded the soldiery, the Senate and the people: but when instead of danger and resentment he met with flattering speeches from the Officers, flattering Decrees from the Senate, popular Processions, Applauses, publick Devotions paid to all the Deities, and universal acquiescence: his native insolence became more swelled, and from this general Servitude assuming the pride of victory, he ascended the Capitol, offer-

ed sacrifices, and thenceforth surrendered himself to the full sway of all his exorbitant lusts. When he had caused these two noble Romans, **PLAUTUS** and **SYLLA**, to be assassinated, he wrote to the Senate without mentioning the execution, only that they were two men of turbulent spirits, and what mighty care it cost him to secure the State: instantly the obsequious fathers from the Senate degraded these dead Senators, and ordained publick Prayers and Sacrifices. **NERO**, upon the receiving of this Decree, and finding that all his brutal iniquities and acts of blood passed for so many feats of renown, grew emboldened to do a thing which even **NERO** till then durst not do, and turned away the virtuous **OCTAVIA** his wife, her by whom he held the Empire: *igitur accepto patrum consulto, postquam cuncta scelerum suorum pro egregiis accipi videt, exturbat Octaviam.* Nay when soon after the Imperial butcher had ordered the blood of that illustrious Innocent to be shed, thanks and oblations were again presented to the Deities, by an ordinance of Senate. A particular, says **TACITUS**, which with this view I recount, that whoever reads the events of those times in this or any other History, may take it for granted that as often as the Emperors commanded acts of cruelty, banishments and assassinations, so often thanks and sacrifices were decreed to the Gods; and those Solemnities which were of old the marks and consequences of publick victories and publick felicity, were now so many sad marks of publick slaughter and desolation: *quod ad eum finem memoravimus, ut quicumque casus temporum illorum nobis vel aliis auctoribus noscent, præsumptum habeant, quotiens fugas & cædes jussit princeps, totiens grates deis actas; quæque rerum secundarum olim, tum publicæ cladis insignia fuisse.*

THIS was remarkably verified afterwards as well as now: when **NERO**, upon the discovery of **PISO**'s conspiracy, had spilt rivers of blood, and slain men by heaps; the fuller the City was of executions and funerals, the fuller too were the Temples of sacrifices: one had lost a son, one a brother, or kinsman, or friend in this general butchery; and the greater their loss, the more gayety they shewed, adorned their houses with Laurel, frequented the Temples with Thanksgiving, embraced the knees of the Tyrant, and worried his hand with kisses. **NERO** took all this for so many sincere tokens of affection and joy: when in truth, their Congratulations and Flattery were just in proportion to their severe sorrow.

Sect. VII. *The pestilent tendency of flattering Counsels, and the Glory of such as are sincere.*

WHAT a poisonous thing is this same Flattery? by it Princes are misled into a persuasion that all their measures of Oppression, all their acts of Frenzy and Rage, are just measures of Government, that forced praise is real affection, that they themselves are popular when they are abhorred; and thus they are kept from repenting or mending, because relying upon the assurances of Flatterers, they cannot find that they have done amiss, or see any thing to be mended. The Flatterers of **NERO** ridiculed **SENECA** and railed at him and persuaded that Prince he wanted no Tutors. The same did the Flatterers of **COMMODUS** in relation to the old Counsellors, which had been his fathers. **NERO** and **COMMODUS** followed the advice of their Flatterers, and reigned mischievously and died tragically, and
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their

their memories are abhorred. Thus they are kept hoodwinked and secure, till the first thing they open their eyes upon is their Throne tottering or overturned, and perhaps an executioner's knife at their breast: and even when things are come to that extremity, there will be those to misrepresent and flatter, as in the case of GALLA; a few moments before he was massacred, he was smoothed with false assurances of security: *quidam minora vero, ne tum quidem obliti adulationis.*

How pernicious too is such falsification even to those that practise it; since tho' they mean it out of selfishness and for security, yet by sanctifying upon all occasions the Oppression and Destruction of others, they do but invite their own! Whereas were matters laid honestly before Princes, that this measure is a Grievance, that an Oppression, and that whatever is unjust to others is dangerous to themselves, they would prefer caution with safety, to humour and wilfulness accompanied with peril; they would grow into a habit of doubting; deliberating and enquiring; of submitting their own judgment to that of others; of remembering that they are what they are for the sake of their People, and that they ought to have no Will, nor Interest, but the publick Will and the publick Interest.

Had NERO pursued the good Rules of Government dictated by SENECA and BURRUS, and proposed by himself in his first Speech to the Senate; had he avoided the counsels of that bloody and detestable sycophant TIGELLINUS and of others like him, he might have ended his reign with as much renown as he began it, and left a memory revered as much as 'tis now detested. And would the Confidents of Princes, instead of debasing themselves into the characters of Parasites, instead of abusing their trust, and bringing infamy upon their masters and themselves; would they instead of this give upright counsel, such as conduced to the good of all men, they would, besides the praise of well-doing, take the best method to secure themselves, their fortunes and families in the general security: or should they be rewarded with disgrace, or even with death, they would have the approbation of their own Consciences, the applauses of the Living, and the praises of Posterity. But while they soothe the Prince in his jealousies and violence, and encourage him in destroying such as he, or such as they fear or dislike, they set him a lesson and example for turning the edge of his fury upon themselves, whenever he becomes prompted by his humour or caprice; a case often happening, and always to be apprehended. The Courtiers and Flatterers of the Emperor CARACALLA, to humour him, concurred with him in the murder of his brother GETA; and after that murder, though committed by his own hand, were themselves murdered for their wicked complaisance; and amongst them LETUS his Favourite and Confident. Yet he was so far from remorse for shedding his brother's blood, that he massacred every friend and adherent to his brother, to the number of twenty thousand in a short time. TIBERIUS, of all his Friends, Confidents and Counsellors, scarce let one escape a violent end, unless where by a natural death they prevented it: and they who had been the Ministers of his Tyranny, hardly ever failed to fall by it. He indeed protected them from the resentment and prosecution of others; but he generally poured vengeance upon them himself: *scelerum ministros, ut perverti ab aliis nolebat; ita plerumque satiatus, & oblati in eandem operam recentibus, veteres & prae graves adflixit.* VESULARIUS ATTICUS and JULIUS

JULIUS MARINUS, were two of his most ancient intimates: they had accompanied him during his retirement at Rhodes, and never forsook him in his retreat at Capreæ: they had abetted his Tyranny, and assisted him in his cruel Counsels, nor does it appear that they had ever offended him by any good Counsel: VESULARIUS was his manager and inter-agent in the perfidious plot to destroy that noble Roman LIBO DRUSUS; and by the co-operation of MARINUS, SEJANUS had worked the overthrow of CURTIUS ATTICUS. Was not all this merit enough at least, to have redeemed their own lives? It was not; they fell themselves victims to his cruelty, as to satiate his cruelty they had made others fall: *ad mortem aguntur: quo lætius acceptum*, says TACITUS, *sua exempla in consultores recidisse*: their tragical end was followed with the more joy, for that upon their own heads had thus recoiled the precedents of their own traiterous devising. In truth, these instruments of cruelty are generally abhorred by the Princes that use them. ANICETUS Admiral of the Gallies to NERO, conducted and perpetrated the murder of his mother AGRIPPINA, and for a short space continued in some small favour with the Prince, but was afterwards held in greater aversion; for, says TACITUS, the Ministers of evil Counsels are by Princes beheld as men whose looks continually upbraid them; *ut exprobrantes aspiciuntur*. Such too was the fate of CLEANDER under COMMODUS, who loved him; was governed by him, and cut off his head. How differently related is the fate of BURRUS, suspected to have been by NERO poisoned: *civitati grande desiderium ejus mansit per memoriam virtutis*: mighty and lasting was the sorrow of Rome for his death, for the Romans remembered his virtues: and a little before; *graveſcentibus in dies publicis malis, subsidia minuebantur, concessitque vita Burrus*: while the calamities of the Publick were growing daily more heavy and bitter, the resources of the Publick were diminished, and BURRUS died. How nobly too is the tragedy of SENECA recounted! 'tis too long to find room here.

I shall end this Discourse with observing, that as Flattery is the effect of dread and falshood; as the most tyrannical Princes are most flattered, and men of the falsest minds are the greatest Flatterers; this consideration should be a lesson to Princes and great men, to weigh the actions they do against the praises they receive; and if they find themselves righteous, they may conclude their panegyricks to be sincere. Let them reflect upon their acts of benevolence or oppression, and how they have used their people. They would also do well to examine what sort of men they are who praise them; whether men of virtue and honour, lovers of truth, lovers of their Country and of humankind; or whether they are those unlimited Sycophants, whose custom and rule it is to extol at random all the sayings and doings of Princes, worthy and unworthy: *quibus omnia principis, honesta atque inhonesta laudare mos est*.

DISCOURSE IX.

Upon Courts.

Sect. I. *Of Freedom of Speech; and how reasonable it is.*

TO the foregoing Discourse upon Flattery, I thought it might not be unsuitable to subjoin another upon Courts, the place where that pestilent and unmanly practice is wont chiefly to prevail.

DURING those Reigns which I have been describing, when Power was established in Terrors, and Subjection converted into Abasement, small was the wonder that restraint upon speech was no inconsiderable link in the publick chain, and care taken that such as presumed to breathe ought but vassalage, should not breathe at all. This was wretched policy, barbarous and impossible to be practised. The passions are not to be extinguished but with life; and to forbid people, especially a suffering people, to speak, is to forbid them to feel.

It is not indeed to be expected that men should be suffered to meet together tumultuously, in order to publish their mutual Discontents and Wrongs, and to inflame one another: but complaints uttered in their families, or dropped occasionally, or communicated to a friend, can never affect Authority. The more men express of their hate and resentment, perhaps the less they retain; and sometimes they vent the whole that way: but these passions, where they are smothered, will be apt to fester, to grow venomous, and to discharge themselves by a more dangerous organ than the mouth, even by an armed and vindictive hand. Less dangerous is a railing mouth than a heart filled and enflamed with bitterness and curses; and more terrible to a Prince ought to be the secret execrations of his people than their open revilings, or than even the assaults of his enemies. Of all the blood spilt under **TIBERIUS** and the following Tyrants for Words (and for no greater cause a deluge was spilt) how small a part conduced to their security? none that I remember: but every drop was an indelible stain upon their persons and upon their Government; every drop derived hatred, and consequently weakness and danger upon it. Rigorous punishment for small faults, or for such as in the common opinion pass for none, is a mark of ill Politics: it makes the spirit of the Administration look hideous and dreadful; and it renders every man, who finds himself liable to the like faults, a capital enemy. Surely it ought to be a maxim in Government, that errors which can have no consequences, ought to have no punishment.

OLIVER CROMWELL, who seems to have seen far into the heart of man, was little affected with the hard words and invectives of particulars, and as high as he carried Authority, left people to talk and rail. The same is true of the late Regent of France, one who well knew human nature and the nature of power: it was then common to see Frenchmen swagger and storm as freely as an old Roman would have done against an unpopular Magistrate. In truth, where no liberty is allowed to speak of Governors, besides that of praising them, their praises will be little believed. Their tenderness and aversion to have their conduct examined, will be apt to prompt people to think their

conduct guilty or weak, to suspect their management and designs to be worse than perhaps they are, and to become turbulent and seditious rather than be forced to be silent. When nothing but incense and applause will be accepted or borne; all plain dealing, all honest counsel and true information, will be at an end and banished, to make room for deceitful adorations, for pleasing and pernicious falsehoods. If Princes whose memory is disliked, had allowed their subjects and co-temporaries to have spoken truth to them or of them, probably Posterity would not have spoke so much ill, as it is probable they would not then have deserved it: and I am apt to believe that it had been better for all of them to have permitted, all that could have been said, than to have missed hearing what it imported them to have heard; better to have heard the disgusts and railings of their people, than that their people were armed against them, or revolted from them: a fate which has befallen some of them, who having had Courtiers over complaisant, or ears over-tender, learnt that they were dethroned before they had learnt that they were not beloved; and found scarce any interval between the acclamations of Flatterers and the strokes of an Executioner. Such is the genius of Courts, where ill tidings are generally concealed or disguised; such too often the silence and soothing of Courtiers, who tell only or chiefly what is pleasing; and such sometimes the pride and impatience of Princes, that they will suffer nothing which ruffles their passions, to approach their understanding.

Sect. II. *The Spirit of Courtiers what: some good ones.*

IT is something else than zeal for telling truth, that carries men to Court and keeps them in it: to raise an interest, or to preserve it, is the more prevailing passion. And because whoever sets his foot there with any view to place and favour, is always sure of competitors, be his person or pretences what they will, ever so considerable or inconsiderable; his chief care will be to conquer opposers and secure himself, and as there ever will be some opposition, real or apprehended, that care will be constant: hence the spirit of a Court, selfish, suspicious and unfriendly; and hence the supple spirit of Courtiers, to love and hate, court and avoid, praise and persecute the same person with notable suddenness, just as he is promoted or disgraced, and can help or hurt, or is to be deprived of all capacity to do either. To be well with the subsisting Power, with him who holds the reins of Authority, and distributes, or causes to be distributed the blessings and terrors of Power, is the main pursuit: his motions are chiefly watched, his affections and aversions are studied and adopted; and thus a smile or a frown from the Throne, or from one who is next the Throne, is eagerly caught up, seizes the faces of a whole drawing-room in an instant, and is handed down with signal uniformity, through all classes of men, from a Grandee to the lowest Clerk in an Office.

A Court is a great Exchange, where one or a few have favours to dispose of, where many resort to procure them, and where all therefore strive to outgo in the ways of pleasing every one who has the same aim, and study every method to render themselves acceptable. Hence their obsequious Countenances, Flattery, Insinuations, and Zeal, some passions concealed, some disguised, and others personated: hence too their attachment to such as can help to promote them, and their neglect

lect of such as cannot; hence with them good fortune, however unworthily placed, always passes for merit, and abilities ever sink with power; and hence their falshood, ingratitude and courteous behaviour.

THAT this is true of the herd of Courtiers, I believe will be allowed. Without doubt there are exceptions, and men of great honour, disinterestedness and friendship are often to be found there; men who scorn treachery and baseness, and would risk all rather than do a mean thing. Such were MANIUS LEPIDUS, SENECA, and BURRUS; such COCCEIUS NERVA and JULIUS AGRICOLA, and such were the Chancellor DE L'HOSPITAL, Chancellor HYDE, and the Earl of SOUTHAMPTON: all these great men were Courtiers, and lived in Courts full of corruption and dangerous designs; all practised some degrees of suppleness, submitted their opinions to the necessity of the times, and by defeating many evil measures, were the Authors of much good, tho' not of all that they would.

Cardinal RICHELIEU makes heavy complaints of the opposition he found to his best designs from the credit and intrigues of Women, and the whispers and ill offices of malevolent Courtiers. These great men abovementioned were likewise often wronged, bad counsels which they had heartily opposed, were imputed to them; and when they concurred with some excesses to obviate much greater, just allowances were not made, and their motives were spitefully construed. Thus the Chancellor DE L'HOSPITAL was severely censured by the Hugonots for passing the Edict of Romorantin, which bore hard upon them; tho' by that Edict he prevented their utter extirpation, and the misery of all France, by hindering the introduction and establishment of that monstrous and bloody Tribunal the Inquisition; in which design the Court and Parliament were already agreed, and I think the Edict for that detestable purpose was ready: for such signal and glorious service the Protestants first railed at him, and the Papists afterwards cursed him. Lord CLARENDON too was reproached with the sale of Dunkirk, and for many other exorbitancies which the sincere heart of that upright Minister abhorred. Nor could the good counsels of SENECA secure him from much envy and defamation: and many great Ministers, thought to be the Authors of evil counsels, have fallen into disgrace or perished for daring to offer such as were benevolent and upright: *est vulgus ad deteriora promptum.*

Sect. III. *The Arts of Courtiers; their Cautionness, and its Causes.*

PLausibleness and guises are inseparable from Courts: men must not seem to understand all that they apprehend or know, no more than they must speak all that they think or feel: *intelligebantur artes, sed pars obsequii in eo ne deprehenderentur.* Princes often dissemble with their subjects, their Ministers with them, and all with one another; and every one talks as he appears, to the best advantage. Some dissimulation there is absolutely necessary, and therefore lawful. Men are not obliged upon all occasions to speak the truth, tho' whatever they speak upon any occasion ought to be true. Nor ought any one to be blamed for hiding his passions and sentiments, when the discovery would only serve to hurt himself. But few people in private life can

be trusted with secrets, which published would lessen one's peace or fame; and in Courts there are much fewer, perhaps none. Particular interests and passions are often shifting there: men who were once close united, become widely divided; friendships old and long, are turned into bitter and vindictive enmity; and he who would once have risked his life for the preferment of his friend, would venture as much, upon a disgust, to bring him to a scaffold. This might be exemplified by a thousand instances in all Times and Histories. Nothing keeps the passions more awake than the pursuit of power; nothing touches the pride of man more sensibly than neglect or disappointment in that pursuit, and nothing is more tender and suspicious than pride. Few have got so much as not to aim at more, or have had ever so much assistance but they expect further, even where the same is unreasonable or perhaps impossible; and from disappointment ensues disgust. Too rarely seen is that Gratitude which looks backward, and generously subsists upon favours past without fresh claims and aliment: how much more common is that which must be kept up by daily benefits, and when bereft of such food, expires? Nor is the ceasing of gratitude the worst that is to be apprehended from selfish and ungenerous men: the room of it is too often supplied by spite and revenge; and if it be natural to hate such as we have injured, this hate must be great in proportion to the injury done; and what injury can be greater than that of being barbarous to benefactors?

THESE considerations are sufficient to make such as frequent Courts and know men, slow and wary in confiding, and to put them under considerable reserves even where they confide most. No one cares to be at the mercy of a friend that may be an enemy: hence in the making of friendship any where, it ought to be one of the first considerations, whether there be any probable causes which threaten a rupture; whether the business of love or power, or fame, or anger, or interest, be never likely to interfere, and produce the most bitter of all enmities, that of friends.

THIS wariness at Court extends even to words and looks. The conversing with great men and great affairs, naturally produces secrecy and silence: for since such is the folly of the world, that whatever a great man says, however light or accidental, shall be deemed deep and mysterious, if it has the least allusion to the transactions of the times, and since they who hear it will be apt, through vanity, to quote it; great men seldom say any thing upon such subjects; and even when they hear the talk and sentiments of others, they take care that neither their answers, nor their countenance, shall betray their own. Sometimes a word thoughtlessly dropped, or an unseasonable smile, or some mark of surprize, has given light into an important design and marr'd it intirely. The like circumspection they observe in their discourse upon particulars, because their discourse may be easily altered and poisoned by the malice or folly of such as hear it; a practice as usual at Court as in any country village; and many a man has been disgraced by his own words whispered and altered by a virulent breath: nay the very same thing reported with a different tone and action, has had the same effect; and where the alteration of the words was considerable, those of them which were forged and criminal have been believed, because the rest that were true and innocent, were well attested.

I shall illustrate this by the story of young NERO (the son of GERMANICUS) in the Court of TIBERIUS. It excellently shews the jealousies of Princes and the spirit of Courts. That young Prince was intirely beloved of the Roman People, who had adored his father: hence the distaste and dark suspicions of the Emperor, his great uncle and grandfather by adoption. SEJANUS who had already poisoned the Emperor's son DRUSUS, and was plotting the overthrow of the whole reigning House, fed the hate and apprehensions of the old Prince, by malignant reports and insusions concerning the young, now the next in Succession. This he did by the inter-agency of hollow whisperers and talebearers, who related and blackened every thing that escaped NERO, who was also hard used and brow-beaten, on purpose to extort from him severe and unwary complaints, such as might fill up the charge against him. Moreover his domesticks and retainers, impatient to see him in power, that they might shine in its trappings, were continually exciting him to rouse his courage and exert himself, to meet the zeal of the people, to gratify the passionate wishes of the army; as the only expedients to daunt and repulse the insolence of SEJANUS who now despised him as a boy, and his grandfather as superannuate.

THE young Prince, however naturally modest, was yet by so many instigations transported beyond the circumspection which the station that he was in and the many eyes that were upon him required; and thence gave vent to words, which, tho' they betrayed no sign of any treasonable purpose, yet being ill guarded and favouring of contumacy, were, by the spies purposely placed about him, carried instantly, well heightened and imbibited, to TIBERIUS. Nor under all these imputations and aspersions was he warned or admitted to vindicate himself, but beset on the contrary with several melancholy and boding appearances. Some of the Court carefully shunned to meet him; others just greeted him and then instantly left him; many with whom he had begun a conversation, broke it off abruptly; while the creatures and adherents of SEJANUS looked on with a malicious laugh. TIBERIUS too always received him sternly, or with a hollow and upbraiding smile; and whether the youth spoke or said nothing, there were crimes in his words, crimes in his silence. Neither did his bed-chamber and the shades of night secure him from his Enemies and Accusers, for even his restlessness and watchings, nay his sighs and dreams were by his wife divulged to her mother LIVIA, and by her to her adulterer SEJANUS. DRUSUS also, his younger brother, was by this wicked Politician drawn to combine against him, as one who stood between himself and the Empire, and was better beloved by their common mother AGRIPPINA; a fresh cause this of emulation and prejudice. Yet at that very time was SEJANUS laying a design against the life of this same DRUSUS, whom he knew to be of a spirit tempestuous and fiery, and thence the more obnoxious to snares. Thus he began the Tragedy of these two youths, and that of their mother; but before he had finished theirs, suffered his own, which was abundantly bloody, but abundantly just. Their brother CALIGULA was a better Courtier: he studied the temper and manner of TIBERIUS, and in all things conformed to it; but was particularly a complete scholar of his in dissimulation: *simulationum falsa in sinu avi perdidicerat*. Upon the condemnation of his mother, upon the exile of

his brothers, not a word, not a groan escaped him, nor any symptom of resentment or pity. The passions are no where more agitated than at Court; yet no where are the signs of perturbation more suppressed.

Sect. IV. *Of Slanderers and Talebearers in Courts: the Folly of Craft.*

THE occupation of slander and whispering will, like other occupations, always thrive according to the encouragement given to it, and being easily exercised, will be ever engaging fresh adventurers. What requires less labour and conscience than to find out, or frame, or invenom a story to the prejudice of another, especially when he is not to be heard in his own defence, nor suffered to confront his Accuser, nor perhaps ever knows that he has one? There is an endless appetite in mankind for Intelligence and secret History; and in proportion to that appetite, they who feed it are well received and encouraged. But of all places they fare best in Courts. Great men are in the power of such people much more than they themselves imagine or mean: these assiduous shadows of theirs, who have their ear, and know their tempers, watch their unwary moments and observe when they are gay and open, when disobliged and angry, when full of thought and business; and will be sure to improve the present temper and opportunity. They know the Characters of men; know whom their Patron loves, whom he dislikes, to whom he is altogether indifferent, with what is likely to be believed of each. They extoll some, decry others, flatter him, misrepresent all; and sooth, or alarm, or divert him, just as his humour and their drift requires. If with this they can play the droll, and make dry and malicious jests, they are accomplished in their way: but most villainous is that talent which is good for nothing but to do hurt; it is like death and poison, fit only to take away life. VATINIUS was a buffoon of this pestilent cast, and, from working in a stall, taken to Court, at first for jest and diversion; but having a malicious spirit and a sarcastical turn, soon became a terror to every worthy and illustrious man: insomuch that in wealth and favour, and in power to do mischief, he grew to exceed all the other Ministers of iniquity in NERO's Court.

IN all Courts there are many who rise into notice and preferment for no greater merit than that of officiousness, buffoonery and talebearing; and Courts are the places in the world where bad and worthless people can do the most harm: a Barber, a Porter, a Valet de Chambre, and even a Child are all capable of doing notable mischief there. These instruments, let them be ever so mean, will find some or other to hear them; these will find others; and a story that has run through a hundred hands, and can be traced to no original or to a very low one, perhaps the idle prattles of a Chambermaid, may for all that have no mean influence.

BUT whatever reason men have, upon all these accounts, to keep a guard upon their lips and behaviour at Court; there is still room for great frankness and candour, and no necessity of illusion and deceiving, tho' it be often necessary to let people deceive themselves, and would be often imprudent and dangerous to undeceive them. It is certain that in the transacting of great Affairs, the rules of morality

admit of some relaxation: this is to be lamented, but not to be helped. Such frequently are the exigencies of a State, and such always the crookedness and depravity of the heart of man, that were you to deal openly, to tell all that you mean, all that you know and all that you aim at, you would expose your Country to ruin, and yourself to scorn, perhaps to the block. The most can be done is to save appearances, and be wary of what expressions are used: for upon these occasions and many others, men are not to be upbraided for their silence. I know some who have gone through nice Embassies, some who have concluded intricate Negotiations, others who have administered the highest Offices, and still preserved the character of high Honour and untainted Veracity. This shews the thing to be possible: and a promise or assurance, just given to serve a turn, and therefore not observed afterwards, does often more injury to him who made it, than the serving that turn did good. Cardinal RICHELIEU was not liberal of money nor promises; but he always performed more than he undertook: hence the zeal and firm adherence of all who depended upon him. Cardinal MAZARIN denied nothing, performed nothing, was believed in nothing, and his ill faith was become proverbial: hence no man was evermore hated, no man in his station more despised; he could never rely upon any party, for he deceived all parties and all particulars; and nothing could support him but the blind obstinacy of the Queen Regent, and the mere weight of Royal Power armed in his defence; but in spite of the Queen and the Authority Royal, he was forced to run and sculk for his life. The Parliament set a price upon his head, and issued ordinances to the people to fall upon him as a publick Enemy. Yet he had never carried Sovereign Power so high as his Predecessor, nor ever exerted it so terribly: but he had no faith nor honour, and therefore no personal friends. To this hour, RICHELIEU is considered as a Minister, who tho' arbitrary and severe, was yet an elevated genius, and a man of veracity to particulars; MAZARIN, as a man not rigorous indeed, nor vindictive, but fordid, addicted to low cunning and lies, and, with all the eclat of a great Minister, unable to hide the little tricking Italian.

CRAFTINESS is a despicable quality, and undoes itself: he who has it and acts by it, can never disguise it long; and when it becomes apparent, it becomes impotent, arms every body against it, draws hatred or ridicule, at best is perfectly useless; and the man, even when he deals uprightly, is suspected to mean knavishly. What got TRIBERIUS by all his profound subtilty and wiles, but to have his best actions ill construed, and his sincerest professions to be disbelieved? *ad vana & totiens inrisa revolutus, de reddenda Repub. &c. vero quoque & honesto fidem dempsit.* What got PHILIP the second of Spain by that strange and intricate scene of false Politics, concerted to transfer his own guilt upon the head of his Minister ANTONIO PEREZ; but to bring home the just imputation of that guilt to his own door, and to produce full proof where before there was only suspicion? Sincerity is very consistent with human prudence, and often a part of it, considering the reputation that always attends it; and men even in Courts may be very upright, without being unguarded; nor can Courtiers ever do business with one and another without some openness and candour. I have seen it asserted somewhere, that people are oftner deceived by distrust than by acts of confidence. I have observed

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as plain dealing in Courtiers as in any other sort of men in the world. It is ridiculous to carry reserve and deepness into every thing. I know not a more contemptible sort of men than such as mimic business and mystery: I have seen some subaltern Courtiers look as important, demure and wary, as if they had carried great matters, and even the weight of the State upon their shoulders. This affectation serves to raise their credit amongst their servants and artificers in town; and in the country amongst their tenants and neighbours, and diverts better judges. There are others who really believe themselves to be in secrets; who take shrugs and nods, mere words and shadows for real confidence and communication; and live in happy ignorance, under the conceit of high trust and intelligence. Some few too there are, who, besides despising the foppery of being thought trusted where they are not, are careful to hide it from the world when they are. 'Tis men of this turn who chiefly do credit to a Court; and whoever does it credit does it service.

Sect. V. *How much worthless People abound in Courts, and why.*

AS in a great family, where there are numerous domesticks, in spite of all the care that can be taken to examine the Characters of servants when they are admitted, or to regulate and watch their behaviour afterwards, there will still be some unworthy of their places and a discredit to their master; how much more so must it be in a Court, where not only the officers, but even the offices are so numerous; where so many have a right to prefer or recommend, and where so many do both from strange, wretched, and selfish motives, nay often for considerations altogether dishonourable and scandalous? 'Tis therefore no wonder that tho' the politest men are always found at Court, so likewise are always a strange rabble of creatures, ignorant, mercenary, ridiculous and disagreeable, who owe their preferment to chance, whim, money, dirty services, to names, affinities, nay to impudence and folly; and one who has no pretences to any thing else, neither to education, nor capacity, nor honour, nor spirit, nor even to good looks and common sense, shall find pretences to a place, and probably get one. Nor is this to be remedied; since he who gives it does not chuse, but take, and has often stronger reasons to oblige the recommender than to reject the recommended. I have known a friend, nay a relation of a great Minister, disappointed twice of an Office which was even intended for him, but by potent intercession was bestowed elsewhere: the first time, upon one whom the Minister knew not, whom the Recommender knew not, nor whom even the Lady who spoke for him knew; but one who for a sum of money engaged a Gentleman's Valet de Chambre to engage the Lady's Woman whom the Valet courted, to engage her Lady whom she governed, to engage the last Recommender, who undertook it and succeeded: he who had the first pretences was again put by upon a vacancy, and a creature put in, whom the Minister was known to despise and almost to loath; but sacrificed his opinion, his aversion and his friend to mediation not more honorably obtained. At so critical a juncture as that of a Rebellion, I have heard of one who by a Letter writ with the same pen which he had used in corresponding with the Re-

bels, procured a handsome provision for his brother, who wished the Rebels as well as he, and had distinguished himself in a very publick place by acts of disaffection and disloyal healths. Nor in this instance was there any money or intrigue at all: the Recommender had only once told a hearty lie for a great man in a nice case, and sworn to it; hence his merit and influence: for an act of honour or spirit, done to serve the Publick, he might perhaps have found less regard, perhaps not so much as access; as befall some who did. But we must spare the *manes* of the illustrious dead.

It is certain great men often prefer such as they dislike; and such as do them no credit, sometimes with their eyes open, frequently through misinformation, and in both cases through sollicitation and importunity. Men of merit often want interest, often application and boldness: whereas one who has no one worthy qualification, is the more likely to have importunity and shamelessness. It has indeed been often a notable advantage to a man, that he had not sense enough to be ashamed nor baulked; nay I have known such a negative accomplishment to be the making of his fortune. A rational man will take a rational answer, or even a trifling one, when he sees it meant for a rebuke or a refusal; or perhaps he has too much pride to press and beseech, or to ask above once: but he who has no understanding to mislead him from his interest, or to apprehend what is said to him; he who is incapable of a repulse, or to be ashamed of begging and teasing; but has an unchangeable front and unwearied nonsense, stands in a fair light to have his pretences considered. Tho' he cannot persuade, he can tire: he finds the fruit and advantage of talents in the absolute want of them; he is despised and promoted: a little share of good sense and modesty, would have ruined him, and he might then have been neither disliked nor minded.

SUCH is the force of recommendation without reason, or against it; and such too the power of assiduity unincumbered with parts! There are strange inconsistencies in the make and turn and education of men. There are those who can calmly encounter death and terrors in any shape, yet shall tremble in speaking two or three words to a Secretary of State; a task which would not baulk a common Footman: others can harangue readily and boldly before a great Assembly, yet are struck dumb in the company of Women, a place where a Page or an ignorant Beau can be entertaining and eloquent: some have talents, but not the use of them: many have capacity, but want application; many are hurt by too much application not directed by capacity; several have good sense and activity, and can apply both to serve a friend, but neither to do good to themselves. In some you find excellent parts frustrated by predominant passions; in others eminent courage and spirit drowned and depreciated by a modesty almost childish: and numbers there are who under a notorious defect of ability, acquirements, and every amiable quality, are pushed up as high as any of these could have pushed them, perhaps much higher than all of them would. So that, in the odd assortment of human things, Fortune would seem to correspond with the caprice and wontonness of Nature.

I have already owned that it is impossible to keep many worthless people out of a Court, considering how many ways there are to get in: but owing to such is a good measure of the obloquy usually thrown upon Courts and Ministers; as the falshood, the low tricks and spirit

of these Underlings, are all ascribed to the genius of the place and of power; and under the character of insincerity and ingratitude, it is usual in popular discourse and opinion, tho' 'tis really very unjust, to throw all Courtiers together: I even believe that there are some of them foolish and base enough to like the reputation of slipperiness and deceiving, for the sake of being thought good Courtiers. From the numbers too and little minds of such, we may account for the general outcry and reproach which from that quarter usually follow any worthy Minister fallen into disgrace: they are for the Powers that be; and tho' they be the work of his hands, were thrust into place by his late might, and are still basking in the Sun-shine which he let in upon them; yet they are ready not only to leave a falling house, but to help pull it down. 'Tis the temper of Renegadoes. The celebrated SANCHO was first warmly in the interest of the injured BASIL, one who had lost his Mistress, for no want of merit, but through the superiour wealth of his rival GAMACHO; yet the favoury skimmings and loaded ladles out of GAMACHO's kettles, so effectually turned the supple spirit of that courtly Squire, that without more ceremony he began to justify and extoll the happy supplanter, and to rail plentifully at poor BASIL under misfortune and disgrace.

WHAT can Ministers expect, when they have raised such dust, but that with the first contrary wind, it will be blown into their eyes? Mean spirits, selfish and impudent, can never take the impressions of gratitude and honour; no more than such as are modest and generous can ever be ungrateful or base. Yet hard is the task to weed a Court of such; not only because the same interest that recommends, does likewise protect; but because there are so many Candidates ready to fill their places, and supported by so many Patrons and Intercessors, that more will be disobliged than can be gratified by the change; and after all perhaps the fresh comer may not prove the more deserving man. Neither can the great Officers easily cure the exorbitances and exactions of the inferior; especially when the same are become common and inveterate: all men, even the greatest men desire to live easy with those they have daily to do with, and will not care to incur the clamour and curses of Subalterns; who, tho' they are but small men, yet being numerous, and supported by all who are interested in corruption, are able by continual complaints and noise, to weaken the credit of the most puissant Minister, and to make him very uneasy.

Sect. VI. *The remarkable Fickleness and Insincerity of Courtiers.*

I Had once an opportunity of seeing the steadiness and gratitude of Courtiers put to trial; upon an apprehension of a change in the Ministry. I was strictly curious in my observations and inquiries; and my discoveries were such, as have fully confirmed me in all my former and present sentiments of these people: there were some who gave proofs of signal friendship and constancy to the standing Ministry; several were wary and silent, but many made preposterous haste to shew their levity and selfishness; and from the behaviour of most, there arose warning enough, even to greatness itself, to rely for its best security upon wisdom and innocence.

DISCOURSES UPON TACITUS. 115

A little before the death of **TIBERIUS**, then past hopes, he was reported to be dead. Instantly the Courtiers crowded about **CALIGULA** the next heir, with a torrent of congratulations and zeal; and he was going forth, thus attended, to assume the pomp and exercise of Sovereignty, when sudden tidings came, that the Emperor, who had lain some time in a swoon, was revived, and calling for some refreshment to strengthen his spirits. Instant terror seized all; most of them dispersed and fled; some assumed an air of mourning; many feigned utter ignorance: **CALIGULA** was struck speechless, and from the highest hopes, expecting his last doom: **MACRO** only remained undaunted; he commanded the ancient Emperor to be smothered with a great weight of coverings, having first ordered every body to quit the chamber.

AMONGST the many good things and excellent sense in the Memoirs of Cardinal **DE RETZ**, there occur frequent pictures of the Court, particularly upon the beginning of the Commotions in Paris. At the Palace Royal, and especially in the Cabinet, upon that occasion, every individual assumed a person and acted a part. The Coadjutor acted the innocent and the dupe, but was not so: **MAZARIN** affected to appear resolute, but appeared more so than he was. By starts and intervals the Queen counterfeited great temper and gentleness; yet had been at no time more bitter and enraged. The Duke **DE LONGUEVILLE** feigned extreme affliction, yet felt a sensible joy, as he was the man in the world the most delighted with the beginnings of all Affairs. The Duke of **ORLEANS**, in speaking to the Queen, shewed great warmth and vehemence, but presently after fell a whistling (a usual habit of his) with all the indolence in the world. The Marshal **DE VILLEROY** displayed gayety and unconcern, to make his Court to **MAZARIN**; but to the Coadjutor he owned with tears in his eyes, that the State was upon the brink of a precipice. Mr. **DE BEAUTRU** and Mr. **DE NOGENT**, played the buffoons, to humour the Queen, and drolled upon the commotion; tho' both these men knew well; that in all probability, this farce of theirs would too soon be followed by a Tragedy. The Abbé **DE LA RIVIERE** only, tho' the most notorious poltroon of the age, was persuaded that this popular insurrection was but smoke: this he maintained stiffly to the Queen, and this pleased her. To fill up the complement of Actors, the Marshal **DE LA MEILLERAIE**, who had hitherto joined with the Coadjutor in representing the terrors and consequences of the tumult, all on a sudden changed his past part, and took that of the Champion, with a different tone and other sentiments: in an instant he was all rage, and contempt, and defiance. *Mem. DE RETZ*, vol. 1. p. 122.

IN short, the Queen and the Cardinal took every one who told them truth, for a certain enemy to themselves, and for a promoter, at least a secret well-wisher, of the revolt. When this was the reward of plain dealing, who would venture his place and favour by dealing plainly? Thus for want of honest information and sincere advisers, and by suspecting or disbelieving such as were so, the State had nigh perished. The whole detail in *DE RETZ* is full of curious incidents, full of strong and just reflections; as is almost the whole Book.

DISCOURSE X.

Of Armies and Conquest.

Sect. I. *The Burden and Danger of maintaining great Armies.*

TOO many Princes are infatuated with false notions of Glory; and thence delight in War. Without doubt 'tis true Glory to excel in war, where war is necessary: but in the whole course of History; where one has been so, twenty have been otherwise: and to engage in it from the wantonness of ambition, or for the sake of Laurel, or through peevishness and humour, is to risque the blood, and treasure, and people, and being of a State, for the foppery of false Heroism; or to sacrifice the same to the selfish and inglorious view of making a Country (either that which conquers, or that which is conquered, or both) the prey of the Hero: for such has been generally the logick of the sword, that because it has saved, it may therefore oppress and enthral, and for defending a part, take the whole. Wars beget great Armies; Armies beget great Taxes; heavy Taxes waste and impoverish the Country, even where Armies commit no violences; a case seldom to be supposed, because it has seldom happened. But where great Armies are, they must be employed, and do mischief abroad, to keep them from doing it at home; so that the people must be exhausted and oppressed to keep the men of the sword in exercise.

THE great Turk, to keep the swords of the Janizaries from his own throat, is forced to plague his neighbours, even where he earns nothing but blows and disgrace; and thence encreases the danger which he would avert: for, as by his Armies he makes all men slaves, he himself is a slave to his Armies, and often their victim; or, to escape himself, is frequently forced to satiate their fury, by the blood of his bravest Officers and best Counsellors. If it be the Glory of his Monarchy, that he can put the greatest men and all men to death, without reason, or form, or process; he is subject in his own person to the same lawless and expeditious butchery, from his own outrageous slaves, who being not accustomed to receive any Law from him, give him none, whenever he is in their power, which is as often as they think fit: and he who is a Prince of slaves, is adjudged by slaves, and dies like the meanest slave. What is there to save him? his people who are oppressed, want the inclination, and being unarmed, the power. So that he lives in personal servitude to those who are the instruments of publick Servitude; and as others must die to please him, so must he to please them. It is the Law of retaliation, and operates as often as its causes operate, namely, caprice, or rage, or fear. This is the blessing of being absolute, and unfettered by human constitutions: the same sword which is lifted up for you, at the command of whim or passion, is with the like wantonness lifted up against you; if you reign in blood, you must not think it strange to die in it.

Sect. II. *Great Armies the best disciplined, whether thence the less formidable to a Country. Their Temper and Views.*

IN regard to publick Liberty, Armies the best disciplined are not less to be dreaded than the worst, but I think, more; since their relaxation of discipline takes away from their union and sufficiency; it renders them weaker and less equal to mighty mischief: but where they are strict and united, the highest iniquities are not too big for them. Disorderly Troops may rob particulars, ravage towns, and harass a Country; but if you would subdue Nations, commit universal spoil, and enslave Empires, your forces must be under the best regulations. It was with an Army victorious and brave; and consequently well disciplined, that AGATHOCLES slaughtered all the Nobles of Syracuse, and brought that illustrious State (the noblest of all the Greek Cities) under bondage: CROMWELL's conquest of his Country was made by Troops the most sober and best disciplined that this, or perhaps any other nation, had ever seen. And 'twas with the best of all the Roman Armies, that CESAR established himself Tyrant of Rome.

SOLDIERS know little else but booty and blind obedience; whatever their interest, or rapacity dictates, they generally will do; and whatever their officers command, they must do. It is their profession to dispute by force and the sword; they too soon learn their own power, and where 'tis an over-balance for the Civil Power, it will always controul the Civil Power, and all things: *sua in manu sitam rem Romanam; suis victoriis augeri Rempublicam*. They find readily somewhat to say; the strongest is ever the best disputant, when he carries his reasons upon the point of his sword: *preces erant, sed quibus contradici non posset*. They have done great services, they have suffered great wrongs, and will therefore reward and redress themselves: 'tis the reasoning of CESAR: *hæc voluerunt: tantis rebus gestis, C. Cæsar condemnatus essem, nisi ab exercitu auxilium petissem*. It is nothing to the purpose to say, that an Army lifted amongst the natives, especially the officers being natives, and many of them men of fortune, will never hurt or oppress their Country: for such were CROMWELL's Army, such were CESAR's, and many other enslaving Armies: besides Armies are soon modelled, and Officers who are obnoxious are soon changed.

No Government can subsist but by force, and wherever that force lies, there it is that Government is or soon will be. Free States therefore have preserved themselves and their Liberties, by arming all their people, because all the people are interested in preserving those Liberties; by drawing out numbers of them thus armed, to serve their Country occasionally, and by dissolving them, (when that occasion was over) into the mass of the people again; by often changing the chief Officers, or if they continued the same, by letting their commissions be temporary, and always subject to the controul of the supreme Power, often to that of other co-ordinate Power, as the Dutch Generals are to the Deputies. 'Tis indeed but rare, that States who have not taken such precaution, have not lost their Liberties: their Generals have set up for themselves, and turned the Arms put into their hands

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against their Masters. This did MARIUS, SYLLA, CESAR, DIONYSIUS, AGATHOCLES, CHARLES MARTEL, OLIVER CROMWELL, and many others; and this they all did by the same means: it is still frequently done in the Eastern Monarchies; and by the same means all the Christian Princes of Europe, who were arbitrary became so. For as the experience of all ages shews us, that all men's views are to attain dominion and riches, it is ridiculous to hope, that they will not use the means in their power to attain them, and madness to trust them with those means. They will never want pretences, either from their own safety or the publick Good to justify the measures which have succeeded; and they know well, that the success will always justify itself; that great numbers will be found to sanctify their power; most of the rest will submit to it, and in time will think it just and necessary; perhaps at last believe it to be obtained miraculously, and to have been the immediate act of Heaven.

Sect. III. *Princes ruling by military Power, ever at the Mercy of military Men.*

AS by these means private men often come at Sovereign Power: so limited Princes often become arbitrary: but, one mischief is inseparable from this sort of Government; they generally lose their Authority by the same method they get it. For, having attained it by violence, they are obliged to keep it by violence; and that cannot be done but by engaging in the interest of their Oppression a body of men, strong enough to maintain it; and it will for the most part happen, that as these men have no interest but their own in serving a Tyrant, so when that interest ceases, and they can serve themselves better in destroying him, they seldom fail of doing it. In fact we find that, in all the great despotick Governments in the world the Monarchs are slaves to their soldiery, and they murder and depose their Princes just according to their caprices. The General sets up any of the Princes of the blood, whom he thinks most for his interest, and oftentimes upon the death of the Possessor they are all set up, by one part of the Army or other, (if one cannot get all the rest into his power and murder them) and the Civil War continues, till one has slaughtered all his rivals.

If this is not done in the modern absolute Governments of Europe, it is because despotick Power is not so thoroughly established there, and the people have yet some share of Property, and consequently of Power: but still they do it as much as they dare; in some instances they have set up themselves, and in almost all have been the principal engines and instruments in working about Revolutions, according to their own inclinations and disgusts. Of this we had many instances in our own Country, within the compass of not many years.

How much easier is it to corrupt a few leading Officers, often necessary, generally ambitious, than to persuade a whole Kingdom, if they are well governed, to destroy themselves? Some will be disobliged because not preferred to their wishes, or because others are preferred before them: they will differ according to their Countries or their interests about the person to be their General, and to have the power of preferring or recommending Officers; and that part which is disappointed shall be a faction against that which succeeds. Wherever Commissions are venal, there will be no difficulty of buying those who are disaffected

fecting into them, if they can disguise their disaffection till a proper opportunity. In a Country where factions abound, and those at the helm can find any account in keeping measures with a contrary faction, Officers will be put in to oblige that faction, sometimes to gratify friends or favourites: at different times, others will be discarded, to oblige one party, or to mortify the other. New men, by private recommendation or money, shall supercede old Officers: this will create new dissatisfactions and disgusts, as soon as they dare shew them. When the Administration is changed, and another party gets uppermost, all those things shall be done over again; so that at last an Army shall be a medley of all the factions of a Kingdom: and all their preferments and expectations depending upon the success of those factions; each individual will take every safe opportunity to advance his own; and for the most part one or other of these factions, sometimes all, are ready to joyn in shuffling the cards anew; the sure prelude of a Civil War.

THIS is and ever must be the case of all Countries which subsist by standing Armies. For there are few instances in History, to be given of Armies who did not play their own game, in times of distress; few instances of disobliged or unpreferred Officers, who did not change sides; too many have made their peace by some remarkable act of treachery; very often they have done it only from the motives of ambition and avarice. I wish that we never had had instances amongst our selves of any who have done the same; or even of Generals who played a double game. What OLIVER CROMWELL, MONK, and very many both of the King's and of the Parliament Officers did in the Civil War, we all know, as well as what King JAMES's Army did more lately: I wish we equally knew what intrigues of this kind have been carrying on since. In Civil Wars amongst men of the same Country, the communication is so easy between friends, relations and former acquaintance, that there is a very ready transition from one side to another; and a little success, small intrigues, and a few advantages generally make that transition.

Sect. IV. *Instances of the Boldness and Fury of the Roman Soldiery.*

IT is astonishing from what light and wanton motives, by what vile and contemptible Instruments, Armies are often instigated to violence and ravages. The sedition of that in Pannonia, after the death of AUGUSTUS, was raised by one common soldier, inflamed by another; rapine and massacres were committed or defended by almost all; they murdered their Officers; even their General had like to have been murdered, upon the credit of an impudent lie told by one of these vile Incendiaries, who yet could scarce alledge any other grievance than that they had not too much pay and too little discipline. Nor was the insurrection, excited by these two vulgar rogues, restrained to the Pannonian Legions only, but extended to those in Germany, who waxed into fury rather greater, and outraged all things human and divine.

It was one common soldier who gave the Empire to CLAUDIUS, while the poor dastardly wretch was lurking in a corner, and expecting Death instead of Sovereignty. Under GALBA two private Centinels

nels undertook to transfer the Empire to another, and actually transferred it. It is shocking to reflect with what eagerness these blood-thirsty villains hastened to murder that good old Prince, for no charge of mis-government, nor for defrauding them of their pay; but because he would not exhaust the Publick to glut them with bounties. They were such abandoned Ruffians, that they sought to kill **MARIUS CELSUS**, purely because as he was an able and virtuous man, they judged him an enemy to themselves, who delighted only in blood and wickedness and spoil. It would require a volume to recount the behaviour, the treacherous and inhuman exploits of these sons of violence thenceforward; their murdering and promoting of Emperors, sometimes two or three, sometimes more, once thirty at a time; their selling the Empire for money; their besieging and threatening to massacre the Senate; their burning the Capitol, setting fire to the Imperial City, pillaging and butchering its inhabitants, and using them like slaves and captives; with other instances of their insolence, barbarity, and mis-rule. In the second Volume of this Work much of this will be seen, recounted by **TACITUS**.

THE Gothick Governments were military in their first settlement: the General was King, the Officers were the Nobles, and the Soldiers their Tenants: but by the nature of the settlement, out of an Army a Country Militia was produced. The Prince had many occasional troops, but no standing troops: hence he grew not absolute, like the Great Turk; who having cantoned out the conquered Countries amongst his horsemen, must by doing it have lost his arbitrary Power, but that he kept a large body of men in arms, called the Janizaries.

GREAT BRITAIN has preserved its Liberties so long, because it has preserved itself from great standing Armies; which, wherever they are strong enough to master their Country, will certainly first or last master it. Some troops we must have for guards and garrisons, enough to prevent sudden Insurrections and sudden Revolutions. What numbers are sufficient for this, the experience of past times and the sense of our Parliaments, have shewn.

Scct. V. *The Humour of Conquering, how injudicious, vain, and destructive.*

THE Athenians began the ruin of their State, by a mad and expensive War upon Sicily; and from an ambition of conquering a people who had never offended them, exposed themselves to the attacks of the Lacedemonians, to the revolt of their own subjects, to domestick disorders and the change of their Government. And tho' upon the recalling of **ALCIBIADES**, they won some victories, and for a while made some figure; they were at last conquered intirely by **LYSANDER**, their walls thrown down, the States subject to them set at Liberty, and they themselves subjected to the domination of thirty Tyrants. They never after recovered their former Glory. The Lacedemonians fell afterwards into the same warlike folly, and their folly had the same fate. By lording over Greece they drew upon themselves a combination of Greek Cities, which together (especially the Thebans under the famous **EPAMINONDAS**) despoiled them of their Authority, soon after their triumph over Athens. The Thebans too abused their good fortune; they were equally fond of fighting and conquest, and by it drew another confederacy against them. In truth, every one of these States had
been

been so long weakning themselves and one another by their propensity to War, that at last they fell under servitude to the Kings of Macedon, a Country formerly depending upon; or rather under vassalage to Athens and Sparta.

THESE States acted like some of the Princes of our time: by trusting to their own superior Prowess, they invaded their neighbours, and taught them Art enough to beat themselves. Thus the Muscovite, by falling upon the late King of Sweden, yet in his minority, roused a tempest that had well nigh overturned his Throne: and thus that King, by refusing the most honourable conditions of peace, and by urging his fate and revenge too far, taught the Russians that bravery and discipline which nothing could ever teach them before; saw his own brave Army utterly routed by forces that he despised; himself driven from his dominions, and a fugitive in a Country of Infidels; and his Provinces cantoned out amongst enemies, who, before he had tempted his good fortune to leave him, would have been glad to have compounded with him for a moyety of their own dominions.

CHARLES Duke of Burgundy had his head so turned with gaining the battel of Montlhery, that he never listened afterwards to any counsel, but that of his own headstrong humour; nor ceased plunging himself into Wars, till in that against the Swissers, who had given him no just provocation, he lost his Army, his dominions and his life. If PHILIP the second had kept his oath with the Low Countries, he might have preserved his Authority over them all. But nothing less would humour his pride than the subduing of their Liberties and Conscience; and in defence of their Conscience and Property, he drove them to the use of Arms, which a people employed in trade and manufacture, as they were, had no list to, nor skill in. Every body knows the issue: he lost the seven Provinces and their Revenue for ever, with many millions of money, and almost half a million of lives thrown away to recover them. By his mighty and boasted Armada designed to conquer England, what else did he conquer but his own Power at sea? He had prepared, he had been for some years preparing a naval force mighty as his own arrogance: but it all proved to be only measures taken for baffling his arrogance, and for destroying the maritime force of Spain; and all the while that he was vainly meditating the destruction of England, he was in reality taking the part of England against himself, and, with all his might, weakning its greatest enemy. Had he husbanded that mighty strength; had he employed it at times and in parcels against these dominions, he might have had some success: but he combined against his own hopes.

How foolish is the reasoning of passion! It leads men to throw away strength to gain weakness. Even where these sons of violence succeed, they may be justly said to acquire nothing, beyond the praise of mischief. What is the occupation and end of Princes and Governors, but to rule men for their good, and to keep them from hurting one another? Now what Conqueror is there who mends the condition of the conquered? ALEXANDER the Great, tho' he well knew the difference between a limited and a lawless Monarchy, did not pretend that his invasion of Persia, was to mend the condition of the Persians. It was a pure struggle for dominion: when he had gained it, he assumed the Throne upon the same arbitrary terms upon which their own Monarchs had held it, nor knew any law but his will. The subject only felt the violence of

the change, without any benefit or relaxation from slavery. His Glory therefore is all false and deceitful, as is all Glory which is gained by the blood of men, without mending the state of mankind. This spirit of fighting and conquering continued in his Successors, who plagued the earth as he had done, and weltered in the blood of one another, till they were almost all destroyed by the sword or poison, with the whole family of ALEXANDER. It was no part of the dispute amongst them, which of them could bestow most happiness upon the afflicted world, about which they strove, but who should best exalt himself and enslave all.

THE State of Carthage after many Countries conquered, but not bettered by her Arms, was almost dissolved by her own barbarous Mercenaries, and at last conquered and destroyed by the Romans; who were in truth the most generous conquerors that the world has known; and most Countries found the Roman Government better than their own. This continued for some time, till their Provincial Magistrates grew rapacious, and turned the Provinces into spoil. Rome itself perished by her conquests, which being made by great Armies, occasioned such power and insolence in their Commanders, and set some Citizens so high above the rest; an inequality pernicious to free States, that she was enslaved by ingrates whom she had employed to defend her. Rome vanquished foreign nations; foreign luxury debauched Rome, and traitorous Citizens seized upon their mother with all her acquisitions. All her great blaze and grandeur, served only to make her wretchedness more conspicuous and her chains more intensely felt. Upon her thralldom there ensued such a series of Tyranny and misery, treachery, oppression, cruelty, death and affliction, in all shapes; that her agonies were scarce ever suspended till she finally expired. When her own Tyrants, become through Tyranny impotent, could no longer afflict her, for protection was none of their business; a host of Barbarians, only known for ravages and acts of inhumanity, finished the work of desolation, and closed her civil doom. She has been since racked under a Tyranny more painful, as 'tis more slow; and more base, as 'tis scarce a domination of men: I mean her vassalage to a sort of beings of all others the most merciless and contemptible, Monks and Spectres.

SECT. VI. *The Folly of conquering further urged and exemplified.*

THE Turks, like other Conquerors, know not when to leave off. They sacrifice the people to gain more territories; and the more they conquer the greater is their loss. They lavish men and treasure, to gain waste ground. What is the use of earth and water, where there are no Inhabitants for these elements to support? The strength of a Government consists in numerous subjects industrious and happy; not in extent of territory desolate or ill peopled, or peopled with inhabitants poor and idle. It is incredible what a profusion of wealth and lives their attempts upon Persia have cost them, always with fatal success, even under their wisest and most warlike Princes; and at a time when their Empire flourished most. Yet these attempts are continued, at a season when their Affairs are at the lowest; their Provinces exhausted, their people and revenue decayed, their soldiery disorderly, and all things conspiring to the final dissolution of their Empire.

THOSE

THOSE who will be continually exerting their whole strength, whether they be societies or particular men, will at last have none to exert. The Turks have been for ages wasting their vitals to widen their extremities, and to extend their limbs; which by being unnaturally stretched, are quite disjoyned and benumbed for want of nourishment from the seat of life; and must therefore like mortified members, soon drop off: they have been long spinning out their own vitals. Now if they had conquered Persia, what benefit would the conquest have derived to the Persians? None at all; but on the contrary, fresh oppression, and probably persecution; since the Turks deem them Hereticks for the colour of their caps, and for their obstinate refusal to change one name for another in the list of Mahomet's Successors.

THUS these Barbarians destroy themselves to destroy others; and Christian Princes imitate these Barbarians. The Spaniard, to secure to himself the possession of America, destroyed more lives than he had subjects in Europe; and his mighty Empire there, with his mountains of treasure, bears indeed an awful sound: yet it is allowed he has lost much more than he got, besides the crying guilt of murdering a large part of the globe. His conquests there, together with his expulsion of the Moors at home, have dispeopled Spain; and the inhabitants who remain trusting to their American wealth, are too proud and lazy to be industrious; so that most of their gold goes to other nations for the manufactures wanted in the Spanish West-Indies. Hence multitudes and diligence (and diligence often creates multitudes, as by multitudes diligence is created) are better than mountains of gold, and will certainly attract such mountains; tho' others have the name and first property. Had he kept the industrious Moors, and expelled the barbarous Inquisitors; encouraged Liberty and Trade, and consequently Liberty of Conscience, Spain would have been a more powerful nation, and he consequently a greater King, than all his wide and guilty conquests have made him. SIR WALTER RALEIGH says, that the Low Countries alone did, for revenue, equal his West-Indies. Notwithstanding his many Kingdoms, his Empire in both Hemispheres, and that the sun never sets upon all his dominions at once, the small Republick of Holland, small in compass of territory, has been an overmatch for him.

A late neighbouring Prince was a busy Conqueror. But did his People and Country gain by his conquests? He drained them of men and money by millions, only to add to their poverty servitude and wretchedness, and from their chains and misery derived his own Glory. Nor do I know any reason why a Prince, who reduces his People, his Nobles, and all degrees of men in his Dominions, to poverty and littleness, should have the title of Great, unless for the greatness of the evils which he brought upon his own Kingdom and all Europe. Let the late and present condition of that Monarchy declare, what advantages that noble Country owes to his Glory and Victories. Had it not been for his wanton Wars and oppressive Taxes, there is no pitch of felicity which the goodness of their soil and climate, the number and industry of the natives, their many manufactures, and the advantage of their situation, might not have raised them to. But all was sacrificed to the Ambition and Bigotry of one. How many resources that Kingdom has within itself; and to what happiness it is capable of rising under a just and gentle Administration, is manifest from the suddenness with which

it recovered itself under the good Government of HENRY the fourth; how many millions it paid, how many put into the Exchequer; and what a flourishing condition it was arrived to, after so fierce, so long and so consuming a Civil War, and after two such profuse and profligate Reigns, as that of CHARLES the Ninth, and that of HENRY the Third. But what avails all this when one short Edict, and the maggot of a minute, can dissipate all its wealth and all its happiness?

I might here display what ridiculous causes do often pique and awaken the vanity and ambition of Princes, and prompt them to lavish lives and treasure, and utterly undo those whom they should tenderly protect. For a beast of burden, or even for the tooth of a beast; for a mistress, for a river, for a senseless word hastily spoken, for words that had a foolish meaning, or no meaning at all; for an empty sepulchre or an empty title; to dry the tears of a coquette, to comply with the whims of a pedant, or to execute the curses of a bigot; important Wars have sometimes been waged, and nations animated to destroy one another: nor is there any security against such destructive follies, where the sense of every man must acquiesce in the wild passion of one; and where the interest and peace, and preservation of a State, are found too light to ballance his rage or caprice. Hence the policy of the Romans to tame a people not easy to be subdued: they committed such to the domination of Tyrants. Thus they did in Armenia, and thus in Britain: *quædam civitates regi Cogiduno donatæ; veteræ ac jampridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis & reges.* And these instruments did not only enslave their subjects, but by continual fighting with one another, consume them.

NECESSARY Wars are accompanied with evils more than enow: and who can bear or forgive calamities courted and sought? The Roman State owed her greatness in a good measure to a misfortune: it was founded in War and nourished by it: the same may be said of the Turkish Monarchy. But States formed for peace, tho' they do not arrive to such immensity and grandeur, are more lasting and secure: witness Sparta and Venice. The former lasted eight hundred years, and the other has lasted twelve hundred, without any Revolution: what errors they both committed, were owing to their attempts to conquer, for which they were not formed; tho' the Spartans were exceeding brave and victorious: but they wanted the *Plebs ingenua*, which formed the strength of the Roman Armies; as the Janizaries, a militia formerly excellently trained and disciplined, formed those of the Turk. With the latter, fighting and extending their dominions, is an article of their Religion, as false and barbarous in this as in many of its other principles, and as little calculated for the good of men.



THE
ANNALS
OF
TACITUS.

BOOK I.



KINGS were the original Magistrates of Rome: LUCIUS BRUTUS founded Liberty and the Consulship: Dictators were chosen occasionally, and used only in pressing exigencies. Little more than two years prevailed the supreme power of the Decemvirate, and the consular jurisdiction of the military Tribunes not very many. The domination of CINNA was but short, that of SYLLA not long. The authority of POMPEY and CRASSUS was quickly swallowed up in CESAR; that of LEPIDUS and ANTHONY in AUGUSTUS. The Commonwealth then long distressed and exhausted by the rage of her civil dissensions, fell easily into his hands, and over her he assumed a sovereign dominion; yet soften'd with a venerable name, that of Prince or Chief of the Senate. But the several revolutions in the ancient free state of Rome, and all her happy or disastrous events, are already recorded by Writers of signal renown. Nor even in the reign of AUGUSTUS were there wanting Authors of distinction and genius to have composed his story, till by the prevailing spirit of fear, flattery, and abasement, they were check'd. As to the succeeding Princes, TIBERIUS, CALIGULA, CLAUDIUS and NERO; the dread of their tyranny, whilst they yet reigned, falsified their history; and after their fall, the
A fresh

fresh detestation of their cruelties inflam'd their Historians. Hence my own design of recounting briefly certain incidents in the reign of AUGUSTUS, chiefly towards his latter end, and of entring afterwards more fully into that of TIBERIUS and the other three; unbiaſſed as I am in this undertaking by any resentment, or any affection; all the influences of these personal paſſions being far from me.

WHEN after the fall of BRUTUS and CASSIUS there remained none to fight for the Common-wealth, and her arms were no longer in her own hands; when SEXTUS POMPEIUS was utterly defeated in Sicily, LEPIDUS bereft of his command, MARC ANTHONY ſlain; and of all the chiefs of the late Dictator's party, only OCTAVIUS his nephew was left; he put off the invidious name of Triumvir, and ſtiling himſelf Conſul, pretended that the juriſdiction attach'd to the Tribuneship was his higheſt aim, as in it the protection of the populace was his only view: but when once he had laid his foundations wider, ſecured the Soldiery by liberality and donations, gain'd the People by ſtore of proviſions, and charm'd all by the bleſſings and ſweetneſs of publick peace, he began by politick gradations to exalt himſelf, to extend his domination, and with his own power to conſolidate the authority of the Senate, juriſdiction of the Magiſtrate, and weight and force of the Laws; uſurpations, in which he was thwarted by no man: all the braveſt Republicans and his moſt daring foes, were ſlain in battle, or gleaned up by the late ſanguinary Proſcriptions; and for the ſurviving Nobility, they were covered with wealth, and diſtinguiſhed with publick honours, according to the meaſure of their debaſement, and promptneſs to bondage. Add, that all the creatures of this new Power, who in the loſs of publick freedom had gained private fortunes, preferred a ſervile condition, ſafe and poſſeſſed, to the revival of ancient Liberty with perſonal peril. Neither were the Provinces averſe to the preſent Revolution, and Sovereignty of one; ſince under that of the People and Senate they had lived in conſtant fear and miſtruſt, ſorely rent and harraſs'd as they were by the raging competition amongſt our Grandees, as well as by the grievous rapine and exactions of our Magiſtrates: in vain too, under theſe their oppreſſions, had been their appeal to the protection of the Laws, which were utterly enſcbled and born down by might and violence,

lence, by faction and parties; nay, even by subornation and money.

Moreover, AUGUSTUS, in order to fortify his domination with collateral bulwarks, rais'd his sister's son CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, a perfect youth, to the dignity of Pontiff and that of Edile; preferred MARCUS AGRIPPA to two successive Consulships, a man in truth meanly born but an accomplish'd soldier, and the companion of his victories; and MARCELLUS, the husband of JULIA soon after dying, chose him for his son-in-law. Even the sons of his wife, TIBERIUS NERO, and CLAUDIUS DRUSUS, he dignified with high military titles and commands; though his house was yet supported by descendants of his own blood. For into the JULIAN family and name of the CESARS he had already adopted LUCIUS and CAIUS, the sons of AGRIPPA; and though they were but children neither of them seventeen years old, vehement had been his ambition to see them declared Princes of the Roman Youth and even design'd to the Consulship; while openly he was protesting against admitting these early honours. Presently upon the decease of AGRIPPA, were these his children snatched away, either by their own natural but hasty fate, or by the deadly fraud of their step-mother LIVIA; LUCIUS on his journey to command the armies in Spain, CAIUS in his return from Armenia, ill of a wound: and as DRUSUS, one of her own sons, had been long since dead, TIBERIUS remain'd sole candidate for the succession. Upon this object center'd all princely honours: he was by AUGUSTUS adopted for his son, assum'd Collegue in the Empire, partner in the jurisdiction tribunitial, and presented under all these dignities to the several armies: instances of grandeur which were no longer deriv'd from the secret schemes and plottings of his mother, as in times past, while her husband had unexceptionable heirs of his own, but thenceforth bestowed at her open suit. For as AUGUSTUS was now very aged, she had over him obtain'd such absolute sway, that for her pleasure he banish'd into the Isle of Planasia his only surviving grandson AGRIPPA POSTUMUS; one, in truth, destitute of laudable accomplishments, in his temper untractable, and stupidly conceited of his mighty strength, but branded with no misdemeanour or transgression. The Emperour

perour had withal set GERMANICUS, the son of DRUSUS, over eight legions quarter'd upon the Rhine, and oblig'd TIBERIUS to adopt him, though TIBERIUS had then a son of his own, one of competent years : but it was the study of AUGUSTUS, to secure himself and the succession by variety of stays and engraftments. War at that time there was none, except that in Germany, kept on foot rather to abolish the disgrace sustain'd by QUINCTILIUS VARUS, there slain with his army, than from any ambition to enlarge the Empire, or for any other valuable advantage. In profound tranquillity were affairs at Rome. To the Magistrates remain'd their wonted names ; of the Romans the younger sort had been born since the battle of Actium, and even most of the old during the civil wars : how few were then living who had seen the ancient free state !

THE frame and economy of Rome being thus totally overturn'd, amongst the Romans were no longer found any traces of their primitive spirit, or attachment to the virtuous institutions of antiquity. But as the equality of the whole was extinguished by the sovereignty of one, all men regarded the orders of the Prince as the only rule of conduct and obedience ; nor felt they any anxiety, while AUGUSTUS yet retain'd vigour of life, and upheld the credit of his administration with publick peace, and the imperial fortune of his house. But when he became broken with the pressure of age and infirmities ; when his end was at hand, and thence a new source of hopes and views was presented, some few there were who began to reason idly about the blessings and recovery of Liberty ; many dreaded a civil war, others longed for one ; while far the greater part were uttering their several apprehensions of their future masters ; “ that naturally stern and savage was the temper of AGRIPPA, and
 “ by his publick contumely enrag'd into fury ; and neither
 “ in age nor experience was he equal to the weight of Empire. TIBERIUS indeed had arriv'd at fulness of years, and
 “ was a distinguish'd captain, but possess'd the inveterate
 “ pride entail'd upon the CLAUDIAN race ; and many indications of a cruel nature escap'd him, in spite of all his
 “ arts to disguise it : besides that from his early infancy he
 “ was train'd up in a reigning house, and even in his youth
 “ inur'd to an accumulation of power and honours, consul-
 “ ships

“ ships and triumphs : nor during the several years of his
 “ abode at Rhodes, where under the plausible name of re-
 “ tirement, a real banishment was cover’d, did he exercise
 “ other occupation than that of meditating future vengeance,
 “ studying the arts of treachery, and practising secret and
 “ abominable sensualities : add to these considerations, that
 “ of his mother, a woman inspir’d with all the tyranny of
 “ her sex ; yes, the Romans must be under bondage to a
 “ woman, and moreover enthrall’d by two youths, who
 “ would first combine to oppress the State, and then fall-
 “ ing into dissension, rend it piece-meal ”.

WHILE the publick was engag’d in these and the like de-
 bates, the illness of AUGUSTUS wax’d daily more grievous,
 and some strongly suspected the pestilent practices of his wife.
 For there had been, some months before, a rumour abroad,
 That AUGUSTUS having singled out a few of his most faith-
 ful servants, and taken FABIVS MAXIMVS for his only com-
 panion, had with no other retinue sail’d secretly over to the
 Island of Planasia, there to visit his Grandson AGRIPPA ;
 that many tears were shed on both sides, many tokens of mu-
 tual tenderness shewn, and hopes from thence conceiv’d,
 that the unhappy youth would be restor’d to his own place
 in his Grandfather’s family : That MAXIMVS had disclos’d it
 to MARTIA, she to LIVIA ; and thence the Emperor knew
 that the secret was betray’d : That MAXIMVS being soon
 after dead (dead, as it was doubted, through fear, by his
 own hands) MARTIA was observ’d, in her lamentations and
 groans at his funeral, to accuse her self as the sad cause of her
 husband’s destruction. Whatever truth was in all this,
 TIBERIUS was scarce enter’d Illyrium but he was hastily re-
 call’d by his mother’s letters : nor is it fully known whether
 at his return to Nola, he found AUGUSTUS yet breathing,
 or already breathless. For LIVIA had carefully beset the
 palace and all the avenues to it, with detachments of the
 guards ; and good news of his recovery were from time to
 time given out. When she had taken all measures necessary
 in so great a conjuncture, in one and the same moment was
 publish’d the departure of AUGUSTUS, and the accession of
 TIBERIUS.

THE first feat of this new reign was the murder of young AGRIPPA: the assassin, a bold and determin'd Centurion found him destitute of arms, and little apprehending such a destiny, yet was scarce able to dispatch him. Of this transaction TIBERIUS avoided any mention in the Senate: he would have it pass for done by the commands of AUGUSTUS; as if he had transmitted written orders to the Tribune who guarded AGRIPPA, "to slay him the instant he heard of his Grandfather's decease". It is very true, that AUGUSTUS had made many and vehement complaints of the young man's obstinate and unruly demeanour, and even solicited from the Senate a Decree to authorize his banishment: but he never harden'd himself against the sentiments of nature, nor in any instance dipt his hands in his own blood; neither is it credible that he would barbarously sacrifice the life of his grandson for the security and establishment of his step-son. More probable it is that this hasty murder was purely the work of TIBERIUS and LIVIA; that the young Prince, hated and dreaded by both, fell thus untimely, to rid the one of his apprehensions and a rival, and to satiate in the other the rancorous spirit of a step-mother. When the Centurion, according to the custom of the army, acquainted TIBERIUS, "that his commands were executed"; he answered, "he had commanded no such execution, and the Centurion must appear before the Senate, and for it be answerable to them". This alarm'd SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS, who shar'd in all his secret counsels, and had sent the Centurion the warrant: he dreaded that he should be arraign'd for the assassination, and knew it equally perilous either to confess the truth, and charge the Emperor; or falsely to clear the Emperor, and accuse himself. Hence he had recourse to LIVIA, and warn'd her, "never to divulge the secrets of the palace, never to expose to publick examination the ministers who advis'd, nor the soldiers who executed: TIBERIUS should beware of relaxing the Authority of the Prince, by referring all things to that of the Senate; since it was the indispensable Prerogative of Sovereignty, for all men to be accountable only to one".

Now

NOW at Rome, Consuls, Senators, and Roman Knights, were all rushing with emulation into bondage, and the higher the quality of each the more false and forward the men; all careful so to frame their faces, as to reconcile false joy for the accession of TIBERIUS, with feign'd sadness for the loss of AUGUSTUS: hence they intermingled fears with gladness, wailings with gratulations, and all with servile flattery. SEXTUS POMPEIUS and SEXTUS APULEIUS, at that time Consuls, took first the oath of fidelity to TIBERIUS; then administer'd it to SEIUS STRABO and CAIUS TURRANIUS; the former Captain of the Pretorian Guards; the other Intendant of the publick stores. The oath was next given to the Senate, to the people, and to the soldiery; all by the same Consuls: for TIBERIUS affected to derive all publick transactions from the legal ministry of the Consuls; as if the ancient Republick still subsisted, and he were yet unresolv'd about embracing the sovereign rule: he even own'd in his Edict for summoning the Senate, that he issued it by virtue of the Tribunitial power, granted him under AUGUSTUS. The Edict too was short and unexceptionably modest. It imported that, "they were to consider of the funeral honours proper to be paid his deceas'd Father: for himself he would not depart from the corps; and further than this edict implied, he claim'd no share in the publick administration". Yet from the moment AUGUSTUS was dead, he usurp'd all the prerogatives of imperial State, gave the word to the Pretorian Cohorts; had soldiers about the palace, guards about his person, went guarded in the street, guarded to the Senate, and bore all the marks of Majesty: nay, he writ Letters to the several Armies in the undisguis'd style of one already their Prince: nor did he ever hesitate in expression, or speak with perplexity, but when he spoke to the Senate. The chief cause of his obscurity there proceeded from his fear of GERMANICUS: he dreaded that he, who was master of so many Legions of numberless Auxiliaries, and of all the Allies of Rome; he, who was the darling of the people, might with rather to possess the Empire, than to wait for it: he likewise, in this mysterious way of dealing with the Senate, sought false glory, and would rather seem by the Commonwealth

monwealth chosen and call'd to the Empire, than to have crept darkly into it by the intrigues of a woman, or by adoption from a superannuated Prince. It was also afterwards found, that by this abstruseness and counterfeit irresolution he meant to penetrate into the designs and inclinations of the great men: for his jealous spirit constru'd all their words, all their looks into crimes, and stor'd them up in his heart against a day of vengeance.

WHEN he first met the Senate, he would bear no other business to be transacted but that about the Funerals of AUGUSTUS. His last will was brought in by the Vestal Virgins: in it TIBERIUS and LIVIA were appointed his heirs, LIVIA adopted into the JULIAN Family, and dignify'd with the name of AUGUSTA: into the next and second degree of heirship he adopted his grandchildren and their children; and in the third degree he named the great men of Rome, most of them hated by him: but out of vain-glory he nam'd them, and for future renown. His legacies were not beyond the usual bounds; only he left to the Roman people four hundred thousand great Sesterces, to the Populace or common sort, thirty five thousand: to every common Soldier of the Pretorian Guards a thousand small Sesterces, and to every Soldier of the Roman Legions three hundred. The funeral Honours were next consider'd. The chief propos'd were these: ASINIUS GALLUS mov'd, that " the Funeral should pass through the Triumphal
" gate ": LUCIUS ARRUNTIVS, " that the Titles of all
" the Laws which he had made, and the names of all the
" Nations which he had conquer'd, should be carried before
" the corps ": VALERIUS MESSALA added that, " the
" Oath of Allegiance to TIBERIUS should be renew'd
" every year "; and being ask'd by TIBERIUS, " whether
" at his instigation he had made that motion? I spoke it as
" my opinion, says MESSALA; nor will I ever be deter-
" min'd by any but my own, in things which concern
" the Commonweal; let who will be provok'd by my
" freedom ". Only this new turn was wanting to compleat the prevailing flattery of the time. The Senators then concurr'd in a loud cry, " that upon their own shoulders
" they must bear the body to the pile ". But TIBERIUS declin'd the offer from an arrogant shew of moderation.

ration. Moreover he cautioned the people by an E-
 “dict, not to disturb the funeral functions with a zeal
 “over-passionate, as they had those of JULIUS CESAR;
 “nor to insist that the Corps of AUGUSTUS should be
 “burnt rather in the Forum, than in the field of Mars,
 “which was the place appointed”. On the funeral day the
 Soldiers under arms kept guard; a mighty mockery this
 to those who had either seen, or heard their fathers de-
 scribe, the day when CESAR the Dictator was slain:
 servitude was then new, its sorrows yet fresh and bit-
 ter; and liberty unsuccessfully retriev’d by a deed which,
 while it seem’d impious to some, was thought altogether
 glorious by others, and hence tore Rome into tumults
 and the violence of parties: they who knew that turbu-
 lent day, and compar’d it with the quiet exit of AUGUSTUS,
 ridicul’d the foppery of “calling an aid of soldiers to secure
 “a peaceable burial to a Prince, who had grown old in
 “peace and power, and even provided against a relapse into
 “liberty, by a long train of successors”.

HENCE much and various matter of observation con-
 cerning AUGUSTUS: the superstitious multitude admir’d the
 fortuitous events of his fortune; “that the last day of his
 “life, and the first of his reign, was the same; that he
 “died at Nola, in the same village, in the same house,
 “and in the same chamber, where his father OCTAVIUS
 “died. They observ’d to his glory, his many Consul-
 “ships equal in number to those of VALERIUS CORVINUS
 “and of CAIUS MARIUS, join’d together: that he had
 “exercis’d the power of the Tribuneship seven and thir-
 “ty continued years: that he was one and twenty times
 “proclaim’d *Imperator*; with many other numerous ho-
 “nours repeated to him, or created for him”. Men of
 deeper discernment enter’d further into his Life, but dif-
 fer’d about it. His admirers said, that his filial piety to his
 “father CESAR, and the distractions of the Republick,
 “where the laws no longer govern’d, had driven him into
 “a civil war; which, whatever be the first cause, can ne-
 “ver be begun or carried on by just and gentle means.
 “Indeed, to be reveng’d on the murderers of his father,
 “he had made many great sacrifices to the violent Ge-
 “nius of ANTHONY; many to LEPIDUS: but when LE-

“ P I D U S was become sunk and superannuated in sloth ; when
 “ A N T H O N Y was lost headlong in sensuality, there was
 “ then no other remedy for the distracted State, rent piece-
 “ meal by its chiefs, but the Sovereignty of one: A U G U S-
 “ T U S, however, never had assum’d to be over his Coun-
 “ try King, or Dictator ; but settled the Government
 “ under the legal name of Prince, or chief of the Senate:
 “ he had extended the Empire, and set for its bounds the
 “ distant Ocean and rivers far remote ; the several parts
 “ and forces of the State, the Legions, the Provinces,
 “ the Navy, were all properly balanc’d and connected ;
 “ the Citizens liv’d dutifully under the protection of the
 “ law, the Allies in terms of respect, and Rome it self
 “ was adorn’d with magnificent structures : indeed in a
 “ few instances, he had exerted the arbitrary violence of
 “ power ; and in but a few, only to secure the peace
 “ of the whole.

I N answer to all this, it was urg’d, that “ his filial pie-
 “ ty, and the unhappy situation of the Republick, were
 “ pure pretences ; but the ardent lust of reigning, his
 “ true and only motive : with this spirit he had solici-
 “ ted into his service, by bribery, a body of veteran sol-
 “ diers : and tho’ a private youth, without post or ma-
 “ gistracy, but, in defiance of Law, levied an Army : with
 “ this spirit he had debauch’d, and bought the Roman Le-
 “ gions under the Consuls, while he was falsely feigning a
 “ coalition with P O M P E Y’s republican party : that soon af-
 “ ter, when he had procur’d from the Senate, or rather
 “ usurp’d the honours and authority of the Pretorship ;
 “ and when H I R T I U S and P A N S A, the two Consuls, were
 “ slain, he seiz’d both their Armies : that it was doubted
 “ whether the Consuls fell by the enemy, or whether P A N-
 “ S A was not kill’d by pouring poyson into his wounds ;
 “ and H I R T I U S slain by his own soldiers ; and whether the
 “ young C E S A R was not the black contriver of this bloody
 “ treason : that by terror he had extorted the Consulship
 “ in spite of the Senate ; and turn’d against the Com-
 “ monwealth the very arms with which the Commonwealth
 “ had trusted him for her defence against A N T H O N Y. Add
 “ to all this his cruel Proscriptions, and the Massacre of so
 “ many citizens, his seizing from the publick and distribut-
 ing

“ ing to his own creatures so many lands and possessions ; a
 “ violation of property not justified even by those who gain-
 “ ed by it. But, allowing him to dedicate to the Manes of
 “ the Dictator the Lives of BRUTUS and CASSIUS (tho’
 “ more to his honour had it been to have postpon’d his own
 “ personal hate to publick good), did he not betray the
 “ young POMPEY by an insidious peace, betray LEPIDUS by
 “ a deceitful shew of friendship ? Did he not next ensnare
 “ MARK ANTHONY, first by treaties, those of Tarentum
 “ and Brundisium ; then by a Marriage, that of his sister
 “ OCTAVIA ? And did not ANTHONY, at last, pay with his
 “ life the penalty of that subdolous alliance ? After this, no
 “ doubt there was Peace, but a bloody Peace ; bloody in
 “ the tragical defeat of LOLLIUS, and that of VARUS, in
 “ Germany, and at Rome, the VARRONES, the EGNATII,
 “ the JULII, (those illustrious names) were put to death ”.
 Nor was his domestick life spar’d upon this occasion. “ He
 “ had arbitrarily rob’d NERO of his wife big with child by
 “ her husband ; and mock’d the Gods by consulting the
 “ Priests, whether Religion permitted him to marry her be-
 “ fore her delivery, or obliged him to stay till after. His mi-
 “ nions, TEDIUS, and VEDIUS POLLIO, had liv’d in scan-
 “ dalous and excessive luxury : his Wife LIVIA, who whol-
 “ ly controul’d him, had prov’d a cruel governess to the
 “ Commonwealth ; and to the Julian house a more cruel
 “ step-mother : he had even invaded the incommunicable
 “ honours of the Gods, and setting up for himself Temples
 “ like theirs, would like them be ador’d in the image of a
 “ Deity, with all the sacred solemnity of Priests and Sacri-
 “ fices : nor had he adopted TIBERIUS for his successor,
 “ either out of affection for him, or from concern for the
 “ publick welfare ; but having discover’d in him a spirit
 “ proud and cruel, he sought future glory from the blackest
 “ opposition and comparison ”. For, AUGUSTUS, when,
 a few years before, he solicited the Senate to grant to
 TIBERIUS another term of the authority of the Tribuneship,
 tho’ he mention’d him with honour, yet taking notice of
 his odd humour, behaviour, and manners, dropt some ex-
 pressions, which, while they seem’d to excuse him, expos’d
 and upbraided him.

As soon as the funeral of AUGUSTUS was over, a Temple and divine worship were forthwith decreed him. The Senate then turn'd their instant supplications to TIBERIUS, to fill his vacant place; but receiv'd an abstruse answer, touching the greatness of the Empire and his own distrust of himself; he said that, " nothing but the divine genius of AUGUSTUS was equal to the mighty task: that for himself, who had been call'd by him into a participation of his cares, he had learnt by feeling them, what a daring, what a difficult toil was that of Government, and how perpetually subject to the caprices of fortune: that in a State supported by so many illustrious Patriots they ought not to cast the whole administration upon one; and more easy to be administered were the several offices of the Government by the united pains and sufficiency of many ". A pompous and plausible speech, but in it little faith and sincerity. TIBERIUS even upon subjects which needed no disguises, us'd words dark and cautious; perhaps from his diffident nature, perhaps from a habit of dissembling: at this juncture indeed, as he labour'd wholly to hide his heart, his language was the more carefully wrapt up in equivoques and obscurity: but the Senators, who dreaded nothing so much as to seem to understand him, burst into tears, complaints and vows: with extended arms they supplicated the Gods, invoc'd the image of AUGUSTUS, and embrac'd the knees of TIBERIUS. He then commanded the imperial Register to be produced and recited. It contain'd a summary of the strength and income of the Empire, the number of Romans and auxiliaries in pay, the condition of the navy, of the several Kingdoms paying tribute, and of the various provinces and their revenues, with the state of the publick expence, the issues of the exchequer, and all the demands upon the publick. This Register was all writ by the hand of AUGUSTUS; and in it he had subjoin'd his counsel to posterity, that the present boundaries of the Empire should stand fixt without further enlargement: but, whether this counsel was dictated by fear for the publick, or by envy towards his successors, is uncertain.

Now when the Senate was stooping to the vilest importunity and prostrations, TIBERIUS happen'd to say,
that,

that, “as he was unequal to the weight of the whole government; so if they entrusted him with any particular part, whatever it were, he would undertake it”. Here ASINIUS GALLUS interpos’d. “I beg to know, CESAR, says he, what part of the government you desire for your share”? He was astonied with the unexpected question, and, for a short space, mute; but recovering himself, answer’d, that “it ill became his modesty to chuse or reject any particular branch of the administration, when he fir’d rather to be excus’d from the whole”. GALLUS, who in his face conjectur’d fullen signs of displeasure, again accosted him, and said, “by this question I did not mean that you should do an impracticable thing, and share that power which cannot be separated; but I meant to reason you into a confession that the Commonwealth is but one body, and can be govern’d only by one soul”. He added an encomium upon AUGUSTUS, and reminded TIBERIUS himself of his many victories, of the many civil employments which he had long and nobly sustained: nor even thus could he mollify the wrath of TIBERIUS, who had long hated him, for that GALLUS had married VIPSANIA, daughter of MARCUS AGRIPPA, and formerly wife to TIBERIUS, who thence suspected that by this match he meant to soar above the rank of a subject, and possess’d too the bold and haughty spirit of ASINIUS POLLIO his father.

LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS incurr’d his displeasure next, by a speech not much unlike that of GALLUS: it is true, that towards him TIBERIUS bore no old rancour; but ARRUNTIUS had mighty opulence, prompt parts, noble accomplishments, with equal popularity, and hence was mark’d by him with a fell eye of suspicion. For, as AUGUSTUS, shortly before his decease, was mentioning those among the great men, who were capable of the supream power, but would not accept it; or unequal to it, yet wish’d for it; or such as had both ambition and sufficiency; he had said, that “MARCUS LEPIDUS was qualified, but would reject it; ASINIUS would be aspiring, but had inferiour talents; and that LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS wanted no sufficiency, and upon a proper occasion, would attempt it”. That he spoke thus of LEPIDUS and ASINIUS, is agreed; but, instead of ARRUNTIUS, some writers have transmitted the

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name

name of CNEIUS PISO: and every one of these great men, except LEPIDUS, were afterwards cut off, under the imputation of various crimes, all darkly fram'd by TIBERIUS. QUINTUS HATERIUS, and MAMERCUS SCAURUS did thereafter incense his distrustful spirit; the first by asking him, “how long, CESAR, wilt thou suffer the Commonwealth “to remain destitute of a head”? SCAURUS, because he had said, “there was room to hope that the prayers of the “Senate would not prove abortive, since he had not oppos'd “as Tribune, nor render'd invalid, as he might, the motion “of the Consuls in his behalf”. With HATERIUS he fell into instant rage: towards SCAURUS his resentment was more deep and implacable, and in profound silence he hid it. Wearied at last with publick importunity and clamour, and with particular expostulations, he began to unbend a little; not that he would own his undertaking the Empire, but only avoid the uneasiness of perpetually rejecting endless solicitations. It is known how HATERIUS, when he went next day to the Palace to implore pardon, and throwing himself at the feet of TIBERIUS embrac'd his knees, narrowly escap'd being slain by the soldiers; because TIBERIUS, who was walking, tumbled down, whether by chance, or whether his legs were entangled in the arms of HATERIUS: neither was he a jot mollified by the danger which threaten'd so great a man, who was at length forced to supplicate AUGUSTA for protection; nor could even she obtain it, but after the most labour'd entreaties.

Towards LIVIA too exorbitant was the flattering Court of the Senate. Some were for decreeing her the general title of MOTHER; others the more particular one of MOTHER OF HER COUNTRY; and almost all mov'd, that to the name of TIBERIUS should be added, THE SON OF JULIA: TIBERIUS urg'd in answer, that “publick honours to women “ought to be warily adjudg'd, and with a sparing hand; “and that with the same measure of moderation he would “receive such as were presented to himself”. In truth, full of envy as he was, and anxious lest his own grandeur should sink as that of his mother rose, he would not suffer so much as a Lic'tor to be decreed her, and even forbid the raising her an Altar upon her late adoption, or paying her any such solemnities. But, for GERMANICUS he ask'd the Proconsular power;

power ; and to carry him that dignity, honourable deputies were sent, as also to mollify his sorrow for the death of AUGUSTUS. If for DRUSUS he demanded not the same honour, it was because DRUSUS was present and already Consul design'd. He then nam'd twelve candidates for the Pretorship ; the same number settled by AUGUSTUS ; and tho' the Senate requested him to increase it, by an oath he bound himself never to exceed.

THE privilege of creating Magistrates was now first translated from the assemblies of the people to the Senate : for tho' the Emperor had before conducted all affairs of moment at his pleasure ; yet till that day, some were still transacted by the Tribes, and carried by their bent and suffrages. Neither did the regret of the people for the seizure of these their ancient rights, rise higher than some impotent grumbling : the Senate too lik'd the change ; as by it they were releas'd from the charge of buying votes, and from the shame of begging them : and so moderate was TIBERIUS, that, of the twelve Candidates he only reserv'd to himself the recommendation of four, to be accepted without opposition or caballing. At the same time, the Tribunes of the people ask'd leave to celebrate at their own expence certain plays in honour of AUGUSTUS, such as were to be called after his name, and inserted in the calendar. But it was decreed, that out of the Exchequer the charge should be defray'd, and the Tribunes should in the Circus wear the triumphal robe ; but to be carried in chariots was denied them : the annual celebration of these plays was, for the future, transferr'd to one of the Pretors, him in particular to whom should fall the jurisdiction of deciding suits between citizens and strangers.

THUS stood affairs at Rome when a sedition seiz'd the Legions in Pannonia ; without any fresh grounds, save that from a change of Princes they meant to assume a warrant for licentiousness and tumult, and from a civil war hop'd great earnings and acquisitions : they were three Legions encamp'd together, all commanded by JUNIUS BLESUS, who upon notice of the death of AUGUSTUS and the accession of TIBERIUS, had granted the soldiers a recess from their wonted duties for some days, as a time either of publick mourning or festivity. From being idle they wax'd wanton, quarrellous, and turbulent ; greedily listen'd to mutinous discourses ; the

most

most profligate amongst them had most credit with them, and at last they became passionate for a life of sloth and riot, utterly averse to all military discipline and every fatigue of the camp. In the camp was one PERCENNIVS; formerly a busy leader in the embroilments of the theatre, and now a common soldier; a fellow of a petulant declaiming tongue, and by inflaming parties in the playhouse, well qualified to excite and infatuate a crowd. This incendiary practis'd upon the ignorant and unwary, such as were solicitous what might prove their future usage, now AUGUSTUS was dead. He engag'd them in nightly confabulations, and by little and little incited them to violence and disorders; and towards the evening, when the soberest and best affected were withdrawn, he assembled the worst and most turbulent. When he had thus ripen'd them for sedition, and other ready incendiaries were combin'd with him, he personated the character of a lawful Commander, and thus questioned and harangu'd them:

WHY did they obey, like slaves, a few Centurions and a
 “ fewer Tribunes? when would they be bold enough to de-
 “ mand redress of their heavy grievances, unless they snatch'd
 “ the present occasion, while the Emperor was yet new and
 “ his authority wavering, to prevail with him by petition,
 “ or by arms to force him? They had already by the misery
 “ of many years, paid dear for their patient sloth and stupid
 “ silence, since decrepid with age and maim'd with wounds,
 “ after a course of service for thirty or forty years, they were
 “ still doom'd to carry arms: nor even to those who were dis-
 “ charg'd, was there any end of the misery of warfare; they
 “ were still kept tied to the colours, and under the credita-
 “ ble title of Veterans, endured the same hardships, and un-
 “ derwent the same labours. But suppose any of them escap'd
 “ so many dangers, and surviv'd so many calamities, where
 “ was their reward at last? Why, a long and weary march
 “ remain'd yet to be taken into countries far remote and
 “ strange, where, under the name of Lands given them to
 “ cultivate, they had unhospitable boggs to drain, and the
 “ wild wastes of mountains to manure. Severe and ungain-
 “ ful of it self was the occupation of war: ten Asses a day
 “ the poor price of their persons and lives; out of this they
 “ must buy clothes, and tents, and arms; out of this bribe
 “ the cruel Centurions for a forbearance of blows, and occa-
 “ sional

“ fional exemption from hard duty : but stripes from their
 “ officers, and wounds from their enemies, hard winters and
 “ laborious summers, bloody wars and barren peace, were
 “ miseries without end: nor remain'd there other cure or re-
 “ lief than to refuse to lift but upon conditions certain, and
 “ fix'd by themselves; particularly, that their pay be a De-
 “ narius or sixteen Asses a day, sixteen years be the utmost
 “ term of serving; when discharg'd, to be no longer oblig'd
 “ to follow the colours, but have their reward in ready mo-
 “ ney, paid them in the camp where they earn'd it. Did
 “ the Pretorian guards, they who had double pay, they
 “ who after sixteen years service were paid off and sent home,
 “ bear severer difficulties, undergo superiour dangers? He
 “ did not mean to detract from the merit of their brethren
 “ the City guards; their own lot however it was, to be pla-
 “ ced amongst horrid and barbarous nations, nor could they
 “ look from their tents, but they saw the foe”.

THE whole crowd receiv'd this harangue with shouts of
 applause; but from various instigations. Some display'd upon
 their bodies the obvious impressions of stripes, others their
 hoary heads, many their vestments ragged and curtail'd, with
 backs utterly bare, as did all their various griefs in the bit-
 terness of reproach: at length to such excessive fury they
 grew, that they propos'd to incorporate the three Legions into
 one; nor by ought but emulation was the project defeated:
 for to his own Legion every man claim'd the prerogative of
 swallowing and denominating the other two. They took
 another method, and placed the three Eagles of the Legions,
 with the Standards of the several Cohorts, altogether without
 rank or priority; then forthwith digg'd turf and were rear-
 ing a Tribunal, one high enough to be seen at a distance. In
 this hurry arriv'd BLESUS, who falling into sore rebukes, and
 by force interrupting particulars, call'd with vehemence to
 all; “ Dip your hands rather in my blood: to murder your Ge-
 “ neral will be a crime less shameful and heinous, than to re-
 “ volt from your Prince: for determin'd I am, either to pre-
 “ serve the Legions in their faith and obedience, if you kill
 “ me not for my intended good office; or my death, if I fall
 “ by your hands, shall hasten your remorse”.

FOR all this, turfs were accumulated, and the work was already breast high; when, at last, overcome by his spirit and perseverance, they forbore. BLESUS was an able speaker: he told them, “ that sedition and mutiny were not the methods
 “ of conveying to the Emperor the pretensions of the soldiers;
 “ their demands too were new and singular; such as neither
 “ the soldiers of old had ever made to the ancient Generals,
 “ nor they themselves to the deified AUGUSTUS: besides
 “ their claims were ill tim’d, when the Prince, just upon his
 “ accession, was already embarrass’d with the weight and variety of other cares. If however they meant to try to gain
 “ in full peace those concessions, which, even after a civil
 “ war, the conquerors never claim’d; yet why trample upon
 “ duty and obedience, why reject the laws of the army, and
 “ rules of discipline? And if they meant to petition, why meditate violence? They might at least appoint deputies; and
 “ in his presence trust them with their pretensions”. Here they all cried out, “ that the son of BLESUS, one of their Tribunes should execute that deputation; and demand in their
 “ name that, after sixteen years service they should be discharged: they said they would give him new orders, when
 “ he had succeeded in these”. After the departure of the young officer, a moderate recess ensued: the soldiers however exulted to have carried such a point: the sending the son of their General, as the publick advocate for their cause, was to them full proof, that they had gain’d by force and terror that, which by modesty and gentle means they would never have gain’d.

IN the mean time those companies, which, before the sedition began, were sent to Nauportum, to mend roads and bridges, and upon other duties, no sooner heard of the uproar in the camp; but they cast off all obedience, tore away the ensigns and plunder’d the neighbouring villages; even Nauportum it self, which for greatness resembled a municipal town, was plunder’d. The endeavours of the Centurions to restrain this violence, were first return’d with mockery and contempt, then with invectives and contumelies, at last with outrage and blows. Their vengeance was chiefly bent against the Camp-Marshal, AUFIDIENUS RUFUS: him they dragg’d from his chariot, and loading him with baggage, drove him before the first ranks: they then insulted him, and ask’d in
 scorn,

scorn, “whether he would gladly bear such enormous burdens; whether endure such immense marches”? RUFUS had been long a common soldier, then became a Centurion, and afterwards Camp-Marshal; a severe restorer of primitive strictness and discipline; an indefatigable observer of every military duty, which he exacted from others with the more rigour, as he had himself undergone them all with patience.

By the arrival of this tumultuous band, the sedition was again awaken'd to its former outrage, and the seditious roving abroad without controul, ravaged the country on every side. BLESUS, for an example of terror to the rest, commanded those who were most laden with plunder, to be punish'd with stripes and cast into prison: for the General was still dutifully obey'd by the Centurions, and by all the soldiers of any merit: but the criminals refus'd to submit, and even struggled with the guard who were carrying them off: they clasp'd the knees of the by-standers, implor'd help from their fellows; now calling upon every individual, and conjuring them by their particular names; then appeal'd to them in a body, and supplicated the company, the Cohort, the Legion, to which they belong'd; warning and proclaiming, that the same ignominy and chastizement hung over them all: with the same breath they heap'd invectives without measure upon their General, and call'd upon heaven and all the Gods to be their witnesses and avengers: nor left they ought unattempted to raise effectual hatred, compassion, terrour, and every species of fury. Hence the whole body rush'd to their relief, burst open the prison, unbound and rescu'd the prisoners: thus they own'd for their brethren, and incorporated with themselves, infamous revolvers, and traitors convict and condemn'd.

HENCE the violence became more raging, and hence more sedition from more leaders. There was particularly one VIBULENUS a common soldier, who, exalted on the shoulders of his comrades, before the tribunal of BLESUS, thus declaim'd in the ears of a multitude already outrageous, and eager to hear what he had to say. “To these innocents, says he, “to these miserable sufferers, our fellow soldiers, you have “indeed restor'd breath and liberty: but, who will restore “life to my poor brother; who my poor brother to me? He “was sent hither by the German armies, with propositions
“for

“ for our common good ; and for this, was last night butch-
 “ er’d by that same BLESUS, who in the murther employ’d
 “ his gladiators, bloody men, whom he purposely entertains
 “ and arms for our common execution: where, oh where,
 “ BLESUS, hast thou thrown his unoffending and mangled
 “ corps? Even open enemies do not inhumanly deny burial
 “ to the slain: when I have satiated my sorrow with a thou-
 “ sand kisses, and a flood of tears; command me also to be
 “ murther’d, that these our brethren may together bury my
 “ poor brother and me, slaughter’d both as victims, yet both
 “ guiltless of any crime, but that of studying the common
 “ interest of the Legions ”.

HE inflam’d those his complaints and expostulations, with
 affecting sighs and lamentations, beat his breast, tore his face,
 and shew’d all the symptoms of anguish. Then those who
 carried him giving way, he throw’d himself headlong at the
 feet of his companions; and thus prostrate and supplicating,
 in them rais’d such a spirit of commiseration and such a storm
 of vengeance, that one party of them instantly seiz’d and
 bound the General’s gladiators; another, the rest of his fami-
 ly; while many run and dispers’d themselves to search for the
 corps: and, had it not been quickly manifest, that there was
 no corps to be found, that the slaves of BLESUS had upon
 the rack clear’d themselves, and that VIBULENUS never had
 any brother; they had gone nigh to have sacrific’d the Gene-
 ral: as it was, they expuls’d the Camp-Marshal and Tribunes,
 and as they fled, plunder’d their baggage: they likewise
 put to death LUCILIUS the Centurion, whom they had sar-
 castically nam’d *Cedo alteram*, because when upon the back
 of a soldier he had broken one wand, he was wont to call for
 another, and then a third. The other Centurions lurk’d in con-
 cealment, all but JULIUS CLEMENS, who for his prompt
 capacity, was fav’d in order to manage the negociations of the
 Soldiers: even two of the Legions, the eighth and the fifteenth,
 were ready to turn their swords upon each other; and had,
 but for the ninth: one SIRPICUS, a Centurion, was the subject
 of the quarrel: him the eighth requir’d to be put to death,
 and the fifteenth protect’d him; but the ninth interpos’d
 with entreaties to both, and with threats to those who would
 not listen to prayers.

TIBERIUS.

TIBERIUS, however, close and impenetrable, and ever labouring to smother all melancholy tidings, was yet driven by those from Pannonia, to dispatch his son DRUSUS thither, accompanied by the principal nobility and guarded by two Pretorian cohorts; but charg'd with no precise instructions, only to adapt his measures to the present exigency: the cohorts were strengthen'd with an extraordinary addition of chosen men, with the greatest part of the Pretorian horse, and main body of the German then the Emperor's guards. ELIUS SEJANUS lately join'd with his father STRABO in the command of the Pretorian bands, was also sent, not only as governor to the young Prince, but as his credit with the Emperor was known to be mighty, to deal with the revolters by promises and terrors. When DRUSUS approach'd, the Legions, for shew of respect, march'd out to meet him; not with the usual symptoms and shouts of joy, nor with gay ensigns and arms glittering, but in a dress and accoutrements hideous and squalid: in their countenances too, tho' compos'd to sadness, were seen greater marks of fullness and contumacy.

As soon as he was within the camp, they secured the entrances with guards, and in several quarters of it placed parties upon duty: the rest crouded about the Tribunal of DRUSUS, who stood beckoning with his hand for silence: here as often as they survey'd their own numbers and met one another's resentful looks, they utter'd their rage in horrible cries: again, when upon the Tribunal they beheld CESAR, awe and trembling seiz'd them: now, there prevail'd an hollow and inarticulate murmur; next, a furious clamour; then, suddenly, a dead silence: so that, by a hasty succession of opposite passions, they were at once dismay'd and dreadful. When, at last, the uproar was staid, he read his father's letters, who in them declar'd, “that he would take an affectionate care of the brave and invincible legions, by whom
“ he had sustain'd successfully so many wars; and, as soon
“ as his grief was a little abated, deal with the Senate about
“ their demands; in the mean time he had sent them his son,
“ on purpose to make them forthwith all the concessions,
“ which could instantly be made them: the rest were to be
“ reserved for the Senate, the proper distributors of rewards
“ and punishments by a right altogether unalienable”.

THE assembly answer'd that, to JULIUS CLEMENS they had intrusted what to speak in their name: he began with their demands, "to be discharg'd after sixteen years service, "to have the reward which, for past services upon that discharge, they claim'd; their pay to be increas'd to a Roman Denarius; the veterans to be no longer detain'd under their ensigns". When DRUSUS urg'd, that wholly in the judgment of the Senate and his father these matters rested; he was interrupted by their clamours: "To what purpose came he; since he could neither augment their pay, nor alleviate their grievances? and while upon them every officer was allow'd to inflict blows and death, the son of their Emperor wanted power to relieve them by one beneficent action. The policy this of the late reign, when TIBERIUS frustrated every request of the soldiers, by referring all to AUGUSTUS; now DRUSUS was come, with the same artifices to delude them: were they never to have a higher visit than from the children of their Prince? It was, indeed, unaccountable, that to the Senate the Emperor should leave no part in the direction of the army, only the rewarding of the soldiery: ought not the same Senate to be consulted as often as a battle was to be fought, or a private man to be punish'd? or, were their recompences to be adjudg'd by many masters, but their punishments to remain without any restraint or moderator whatsoever?"

At last, they abandon'd the Tribunal, and with menaces and insults fell upon all they met, belonging to DRUSUS either as guards or friends; meditating thus to provoke a quarrel, and an introduction to blood. Chiefly enrag'd they were against CNEIUS LENTULUS, as one for years and warlike renown, superiour to any about the person of DRUSUS, and thence suspected to have harden'd the Prince, and been himself the foremost to despise these outrages in the soldiery: nor was it long after, that as he was leaving DRUSUS, and from the foresight of danger returning to the winter quarters, they surrounded him and demanded "whither he went? "to the Emperor or Senate? there also to exercise his enmity to the legions, and oppose their interest"? and instantly assaulted him with stones. He was already cover'd with wounds and blood, and awaiting certain assassination, when the troops attending DRUSUS flew to his assistance and saved him.

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THE following night had a formidable aspect, and threaten'd the speedy eruption of some tragical vengeance, when a phenomenon interven'd and asswaged all. The Moon, in the midst of a clear sky, seem'd to the soldiers suddenly to sicken; and they who were ignorant of the natural cause, took this for an omen foreboding the issue of their present adventures: to their own labours they compar'd the eclipse of the planet, and prophesied, "that, if to the distressed
 " Goddess should be restored her wonted brightness and vigour, equally successful would be the issue of these their struggles": hence they strove to charm and revive her with sounds, and by ringing upon brazen metal, and an uproar of trumpets and cornets, made a vehement bellowing: as she appear'd brighter or darker, they exulted or lamented: but when gathering clouds had utterly bereft them of her sight, and they believ'd her now buried in everlasting darkness; then, as minds once thoroughly dismay'd are pliant to superstition, they bewail'd "their own eternal sufferings thus portended, and that against their misdeeds the
 " angry deities were contending". DRUSUS, who thought it behov'd him to improve this disposition of theirs, and to reap the fruits of wisdom from the operations of chance; order'd certain persons to go round, and apply to them from tent to tent. For this purpose, he call'd and employ'd the Centurion JULIUS CLEMENS, and whoever else were by honest methods acceptable to the multitude. These insinuated themselves every where, with those who kept watch, or were upon patrol, or guarded the gates, soothing all with hopes, and by terrors rousing them: "How long, said
 " they, shall we hold the son of our Emperor thus besieged?
 " Where will our broils and wild contentions end? Shall
 " we swear allegiance to PERCENNIVS and VIBULENUS?
 " Will VIBULENUS and PERCENNIVS support us with pay
 " during our service, and reward us with lands when dismissed? In short, shall two common men disposess the
 " NEROS and the DRUSI, and to themselves assume the Empire of the Roman people? Let us be wiser; and as we
 " were the last to revolt, be the first to relent. Such demands
 " as comprize terms for all, are ever slowly accorded: but
 " particulars may, when they please, merit instant favour,
 " and instantly receive it". These reasonings alarm'd them,
 and

and fill'd them with mutual jealousies. Presently the fresh soldiers forsook the Veterans, and one Legion separated from another: then by degrees return'd the love of duty and obedience. They relinquish'd the guard of the gates: and the Eagles and other ensigns, which in the beginning of the tumult they had thrown together, were now restor'd each to its distinct station.

DRUSUS, as soon as it was day, summon'd an assembly, and tho' unskill'd in speaking, yet with a haughtiness inherent in his blood, rebuk'd their past and commended their present behaviour: "with threats and terrors, he said, it was impossible to subdue him; but if he saw them reclaim'd to submission, if from them he heard the language of supplicants, he would send to his father to accept with a reconcil'd spirit the petitions of the Legions". Hence, at their entreaty, for their deputy to TIBERIUS, the same BLESUS was again dispatch'd, and with him LUCIUS APRONIUS, a Roman Knight of the Cohort of DRUSUS, and JUSTUS CATONIUS, a Centurion of the first order. There followed great debates in the council of DRUSUS, while some advis'd "to suspend all proceeding till the return of the deputies, and by a course of courtesy the while to sooth the soldiers; others maintain'd, that remedies more potent must needs be applied: in a multitude was to be found nothing on this side extremes; always imperious where they are not aw'd, and to be without danger despis'd when frighten'd: to their present terror from superstition was to be added the dread of their General, by his dooming to death the authors of the sedition". Rather prompt to rigorous counsels was the genius of DRUSUS: VIBULENUS and PERCENNIVS were produced, and by his command executed: it is by many recounted, that in his own tent they were secretly dispatch'd and buried; by others, that their bodies were ignominiously thrown over the entrenchments, for a publick spectacle of terror.

SEARCH was then made for other remarkable incendiaries. Some were caught skulking without the camp, and there by the Centurions or Pretorian soldiers slain: others were by their several companies deliver'd up, as a proof of their own sincere faith. The consternation of the soldiers was heighten'd by the precipitate accession of winter, with rains incessant

fant and so violent, that they were unable to stir from their tents, or maintain common intercourse, nay scarce to preserve their standards, assaulted continually by tempestuous winds and raging floods. Dread besides of the angry Gods still possess'd them; "nor was it at random, they thought, that such profane traitors were thus visited with black eclipses and roaring tempests; neither against these their calamities was there other relief than the relinquishing of a camp by impiety contaminated and accursed, and after expiation of their guilt returning to their several garrisons". The eighth legion departed first; and then the fifteenth: the ninth, with earnest clamours, press'd for continuing there till the letters from TIBERIUS arriv'd; but when deserted by the other two, their courage fail'd, and by following of their own accord, they prevented the shame of being forced. DRUSUS seeing order and tranquillity thus restor'd, without staying for the return of the Deputies, return'd himself to Rome.

ALMOST at the same time, and from the same causes, the legions in Germany rais'd an insurrection, with greater numbers, and thence with more fury. Passionate too were their hopes that GERMANICUS would never brook the rule of another, but yield to the spirit of the legions, who had force sufficient to bring the whole Empire under his sway. Upon the Rhine were two armies; that call'd the higher, commanded by CAIUS SILIUS, Lieutenant-General; the lower, by AULUS CECINA: the command in chief rested in GERMANICUS, then busy collecting the tribute in Gaul: the forces however under SILIUS, with cautious ambiguity, watch'd the success of the revolt which others began: for the soldiers of the lower army had broken out into open outrages, which took its rise from the fifth legion, and the one and twentieth, who after them drew the first and twentieth. These were altogether upon the frontiers of the Ubians, passing the campaign in utter idleness or light duty: so that upon the news that AUGUSTUS was dead, the whole swarm of new soldiers lately levied in the city, men accustomed to the effeminacies of Rome, and impatient of every military hardship, began to possess the ignorant minds of the rest with many turbulent expectations, "that now was presented the lucky juncture for Veterans to demand intire dismissal; the fresh soldiers,

“ larger pay ; and all, some mitigation of their miseries ; as
 “ also to return due vengeance for the cruelties of the Cen-
 “ turions ”. These were not the harangues of a single incen-
 diary, like PERCENNIVS amongst the Pannonian legions ;
 nor utter’d, as there, in the ears of men, who while they
 saw before their eyes armies greater than their own, muti-
 nied with awe and trembling : but here was a sedition of
 many mouths, filled with many boasts, “ that in their hands
 “ lay the power and fate of Rome ; by their victories the
 “ Empire was enlarg’d, and from them the CESARS took, as
 “ a compliment, the fir-name of GERMANICUS ”.

NEITHER did CECINA strive to restrain them. A mad-
 ness so extensive had bereft him of all his bravery and firm-
 ness. In this precipitate frenzy they rush’d at once, with
 swords drawn, upon the Centurions, the eternal objects of
 their resentment, and always the first victims to their ven-
 geance. Them they dragg’d to the earth, and upon each
 bestow’d a terrible portion of sixty blows ; a number propor-
 tion’d to that of Centurions in a legion. Then bruise’d,
 mangled, and half expiring, as they were, they cast them all
 out of the camp, some into the stream of the Rhine. SEP-
 TIMIVS, who had for refuge fled to the tribunal of CECI-
 NA, and lay clasping his feet, was demanded with such im-
 perious vehemence, that he was forced to be surrender’d to
 destruction. CASSIVS CHEREA (afterwards famous to po-
 sterity for killing CALIGULA) then a young man of un-
 daunted spirit, and one of the Centurions, boldly opened
 himself a passage with his sword through a crowd of armed
 foes striving to seize him. After this no further authority
 remain’d to the Tribunes, none to the Camp-Marsbals. The
 seditious soldiers were their own officers ; set the watch, ap-
 pointed the guard, and gave all orders proper in the present
 exigency : hence those who dived deepest into the spirit of
 the soldiery, gathered a special indication how powerful and
 obdurate the present insurrection was like to prove ; for in
 their conduct were no marks of a rabble, where every man’s
 will guides him, or the instigation of a few controuls the
 whole. Here, all at once they rag’d, and all at once kept
 silence ; with so much concert and steadiness, that you
 would have believ’d them under the sovereign direction of
 one.

To

TO GERMANICUS the while, then receiving, as I have said, the tribute in Gaul, news were brought of the decease of AUGUSTUS, whose grand daughter AGRIPPINA he had to wife, and by her many children: he was himself the grandson of LIVIA, by her son DRUSUS the brother of TIBERIUS; but ever under heavy anxiety from the secret hate which his uncle and grandmother bore him: hate the more virulent as its grounds were altogether unrighteous: for, dear and ador'd was the memory of his father DRUSUS amongst the Roman people, and from him was firmly expected that had he succeeded to the Empire, he would have restor'd publick liberty: hence their zeal for GERMANICUS, and of him the same hopes conceiv'd; as from his youth he possess'd a popular spirit, and marvellous affability utterly remote from the comportment and address of TIBERIUS, ever haughty and mysterious: the animosities too between the ladies administer'd fresh fuel, while towards AGRIPPINA, LIVIA was actuated by the despight natural to step-mothers: and over-tempestuous was the indignation of AGRIPPINA; only that her known chastity and love for her husband, always gave her mind however vehement, a virtuous turn.

BUT GERMANICUS, the nearer he stood to supreme rule, the more vigour he exerted to secure it to TIBERIUS: to him he oblig'd the Sequanians, a neighbouring people, as also the several Belgick cities, to swear present allegiance; and the moment he learnt the uproar of the legions, posted thither: he found them advanced without the camp to receive him, with eyes cast down, in feign'd token of remorse. After he enter'd the entrenchments, instantly his ears were fill'd with complaints and grievances, utter'd in hideous and mixt clamours: nay, some catching his hand, as if they meant to kiss it, thrust his fingers into their mouths, to feel their gums destitute of teeth; others shew'd their limbs enfeebled, and bodies stooping under old age. As he saw the assembly mixt at random, he commanded them, "to range themselves into companies, thence more distinctly to hear his answers; as also to place before them their several Ensigns; that the cohorts at least might be distinguish'd". With slowness and reluctance it was that they obey'd him; then beginning with an encomium upon the "venerable memory of AUGUSTUS", he proceeded to the "many victories and many triumphs"

“umphs of TIBERIUS”, and with peculiar praises celebrated the glorious and immortal deeds, which with these very legions in Germany, he had accomplish’d”, he next boasted the quiet state of things, the consent of all Italy, the loyal faith of both the Gauls: and every quarter of the Roman state exempt from disaffection and turbulence.

THUS far they listen’d with silence, at least with moderate murmuring; but the moment he touch’d their sedition and questioned, “where now was the wonted modesty of soldiers? where the glory of ancient discipline? whither had they chas’d their Tribunes, whither their Centurions”? to a man, they stripp’d themselves to the skin, and there exposed the seams of their wounds and bruises of their chastisements, in the rage of reproach. Then in the undistinguish’d voice of uproar, they urg’d, “the exemptions for occasional exemptions; their scanty pay; and their rigorous labours”; which they represented in a long detail; “ramparts to be rear’d; entrenchments digg’d; trees fell’d and drawn; forrage cut and carried; fuel prepar’d and fetch’d”; with every other article of toil requir’d by the exigencies of war, or to prevent idleness in the soldiery. Above all, from the Veterans arose a cry most horrible: they enumerated thirty years or upwards undergone in the service, and besought that to men utterly spent he would admit respite, nor suffer them to be beholden to death for the last relief from their toils; but discharge them from a warfare so lasting and severe, and grant them the means of a comfortable recess”. Nay, some there were who of him required the money bequeath’d them by AUGUSTUS; and towards GERMANICUS uttering zealous vows, with omens of happy fortune, declar’d their cordial attachment to his cause, if he would himself assume the Empire. Here, as if already stain’d with their treason, he leap’d headlong from the Tribunal; but with swords drawn they oppos’d his departure, and threaten’d his life, if he refus’d to return: yet, with passionate protestations, that “he would rather die than be a traitor”, he snatch’d his sword from his side, and aiming full at his breast, would have buried it there, had not those who were next him seiz’d his hand and by force restrain’d him. A cluster of soldiers in the extremity of the assembly, exhorted him, nay what is incredible to hear, some particulars

ticulars advancing nearer, exhorted him, *to strike home*: in truth one CALUSIDIUS, a common soldier, presented him his naked sword, and added, “it is sharper than your own”; a behaviour which to the rest, outrageous as they were, seem’d savage, and of horrid example: hence, the friends of GERMANICUS had time to snatch him away to his tent.

IT was here consulted what remedy to apply: for it was advis’d, that “ministers of sedition were preparing to be dispatched to the other army, to draw them too into a confederacy in the revolt; that the capital of the Ubians was destin’d to be sack’d; and if their hands were once inur’d to plunder, they would break in, and ravage all Gaul”. This dread was augmented by another: the enemy knew of the sedition in the Roman army, and were ready to invade the Empire, if its barrier the Rhine were left unguarded. Now, to arm the allies and the auxiliaries of Rome, and lead them against the departing Legions, was to rouse a civil war: severity was dangerous: the way of largesses infamous; and alike threatening it was to the state, to grant the turbulent soldiers nothing, or yield them every thing. After revolving every reason and objection, the result was, to feign letters and directions from TIBERIUS, “that those who had serv’d twenty years should be finally discharg’d; such as serv’d sixteen be under the ensign and privileges of Veterans, releas’d from every duty, but that of repulsing the enemy; and the legacy which they demanded, should be paid and doubled”.

THE soldiers, who perceiv’d that, purely to evade present difficulty, the concessions were forg’d, insisted to have them forthwith executed; and instantly the Tribunes dispatch’d the discharge of the Veterans: that of the money was adjourn’d to their several winter-quarters: but the fifth Legion, and the one and twentieth, refus’d to stir, till in that very camp they were paid; so that out of the money reserv’d by himself and his friends for travelling expences, GERMANICUS was oblig’d to raise the sum. CECINA Lieutenant-General, led the first Legion and twentieth, back to the capital of the Ubians: an infamous march, when the plunder of their General’s coffers was carried amidst the Ensigns and Roman Eagles. GERMANICUS, the while, proceeding to the army in higher Germany, brought the second, thirteenth and sixteenth Legions to swear allegiance without hesitation: to the fourteenth

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who manifested some short suspense, he made unask'd a tender of their money, and a present discharge.

BUT a party of Veterans which belong'd to the disorderly Legions, and then in garrison among the Chaucians, as they began a sedition there, were somewhat quell'd by the instant execution of two of their body: an execution this, commanded by MENNIVS, Camp-Marshal, and rather of good example, than done by competent authority: the tumult however swelling again with fresh rage, he fled, but was discover'd: so that, finding no safety in lurking, from his own bravery he drew his defence, and declar'd, "that to himself, " who was only their Camp-Marshal, these their outrages " were not done, but done to the authority of GERMANICUS their General, to the Majesty of TIBERIUS their Emperor". At the same time, braving and dismaying all that would have stopp'd him, he fiercely snatch'd the colours, fac'd about towards the Rhine, and pronouncing the doom of traytors and deserters to every man who forsook his ranks, brought them back to their winter-quarters, mutinous, in truth, but not daring to mutiny.

IN the mean time the deputies from the Senate met GERMANICUS at the altar of the Ubians, whither in his return he was arriv'd. Two Legions winter'd there, the first, and twentieth, with the soldiers lately plac'd under the standard of Veterans; men already under the distractions of guilt and fear: and now a new terror possess'd them, that these Senators were come arm'd with injunctions to cancel every concession which they had by sedition extorted; and, as it is the custom of the crowd to be ever charging some body with the crimes suggested by their own false alarms, the guilt of this imaginary decree they laid upon MINUTIVS PLANCUS, a Senator of consular dignity, and at the head of this deputation. In the dead of night, they began to clamour aloud for the purple standard plac'd in the quarters of GERMANICUS, and rushing tumultuously to his gate, burst the doors, dragg'd the Prince out of his bed, and with menaces of present death, compell'd him to deliver the standard. Then, as they rov'd about the camp, they met the Deputies; who having learnt the outrage, were hastning to GERMANICUS: upon them they pour'd a deluge of contumelies, and to present slaughter were devoting them, PLANCUS chiefly, whom
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the dignity of his character had restrain'd from flight : nor in this mortal danger had he other refuge than the quarters of the first Legion, where, embracing the Eagle and other ensigns, he sought sanctuary from the religious veneration ever paid them. But, in spite of religion, had not CALPURNIUS the Eagle-bearer, by force defeated the last violence of the assault, in the Roman camp had been slain an Ambassador of the Roman people, and with his blood had been stained the inviolable altars of the Gods ; a barbarity rare even in the camp of an enemy. At last, day returning, when the General, and the soldiers, and their actions could be distinguish'd, GERMANICUS enter'd the camp, and commanding PLANCUS to be brought, seated him by himself upon the tribunal: he then inveigh'd against the late " pernicious frenzy, " which in it, he said, had fatality, and was rekindled by " no despatch in the soldiers, but by that of the angry " Gods ". He explain'd the genuine purposes of that Embassy, and lamented with affecting eloquence " the outrage " committed upon PLANCUS, altogether brutal and unprovok'd ; the foul violence done to the sacred person of an Ambassador, and the mighty disgrace from thence deriv'd upon the Legion ". Yet as the assembly shew'd more stupefaction than calmness, he dismiss'd the Deputies under a guard of auxiliary horse.

DURING this affright, GERMANICUS was by all men censur'd, " that he retir'd not to the higher army, whence " he had been sure of ready obedience, and even of succour " against the revoltors: already he had taken wrong measures " more than enow, by discharging some, rewarding all, and " other tender counsels: if he despis'd his own safety; yet " why expose his infant-son, why his wife big with child, to " the fury of outrageous traitors, wantonly violating all the " most sacred rights amongst men? It became him at least to " restore his wife and son safe to TIBERIUS and to the state". He was long unresolv'd; besides AGRIPPINA was averse to leave him, and urg'd, that " she was the grand-daughter " of AUGUSTUS, and it was below her spirit to shrink in a " time of danger ". But embracing her and their little son, with great tenderness and many tears, he prevail'd with her to depart. Thus there march'd miserably along a band of helpless women: the wife of a great commander fled like a fugitive,

tive, and upon her bosom bore her infant-son: about her a troop of other ladies, dragg'd from their husbands, and drown'd in tears, uttering their heavy lamentations: nor weaker than theirs was the grief felt by all who remain'd.

THESE groans and tears, and this spectacle of woe, the appearances rather of a city storm'd and sack'd, than of a Roman camp, that of GERMANICUS CESAR victorious and flourishing, awaken'd attention and enquiry in the soldiers: leaving their tents, they cried, " whence these doleful wail-
 " ings? what so lamentable! so many ladies of illustrious
 " quality, travelling thus forlorn; not a Centurion to attend
 " them; not a soldier to guard them; their General's wife
 " amongst them, undistinguish'd by any mark of her prince-
 " ly dignity; destitute of her ordinary train; frighten'd from
 " the Roman Legions, and repairing, like an exile, for shel-
 " ter to Treves, there to commit her self to the faith of fo-
 " reigners". Hence shame and commiseration seiz'd them, and the remembrance of her illustrious family, with that of her own virtues; the brave AGRIPPA her father; the mighty AUGUSTUS her grand-father; the amiable DRUSUS her father in law, her self celebrated for a fruitful bed, and of signal chastity: add the consideration of her little son, born in the camp, nurs'd in the arms of the Legions, and by themselves named CALIGULA, a military name from the boots which of the same fashion with their own, in compliment to them, and to win their affections, he frequently wore: but nothing so effectually subdu'd them as their own envy towards the inhabitants of Treves: hence they all besought, all adjur'd, that she would return to themselves, and with themselves remain: thus some stopp'd AGRIPPINA; but the main body return'd with their entreaties to GERMANICUS; who, as he was yet in the transports of grief and anger, address'd himself on this wise to the surrounding crowd.

" To me neither is my wife or son dearer than my father
 " and the commonwealth. But him doubtless the majesty
 " of his name will defend; and there are other armies, loyal
 " armies, to defend the Roman State. As to my wife and
 " children, whom for your glory I could freely sacrifice; I
 " now remove them from your rage, that by my blood alone
 " may be expiated whatever further mischief your fury medi-
 " tates; and that the murder of the great grandson of AU-
 " GUSTUS,

" GUSTUS, the murder of the daughter-in-law of TIBE-
 " RIUS, may not be added to mine, nor to the blackness of
 " your past guilt. For, during these days of phrensy, what
 " has been too horrid for you to commit? What so sacred
 " that you have not violated? To this audience what name
 " shall I give? Can I call you *soldiers*? you who have
 " beset with arms the son of your Emperor, confin'd him in
 " your trenches, and held him in a siege? *Roman citi-*
 " *zens* can I call you? you who have trampled upon the
 " supreme authority of the Roman Senate? Laws religiously
 " observ'd by common enemies, you have profan'd; violat-
 " ed the sacred privileges, and persons of Ambassadors; bro-
 " ken the laws of nations. The deified JULIUS CESAR
 " quell'd a sedition in his army by a single word: he call'd
 " all who refus'd to follow him, *townsmen*. The deified
 " AUGUSTUS, when after the battle of Actium, the Legions
 " who won it laps'd into mutiny, terrify'd them into sub-
 " mission by the dignity of his presence and an awful look.
 " These it is true are mighty and immortal names, whom I
 " dare not emulate: but, as I am their descendent, and inhe-
 " rit their blood, should the armies in Syria and Spain reject
 " my orders; and contemn my authority, I should think
 " their behaviour strange and base: are not the present Le-
 " gions under stronger ties than those in Syria and Spain?
 " You are the first and the twentieth Legions; the former en-
 " rowl'd by TIBERIUS himself; the other his constant com-
 " panions in so many battels, his partners in so many victo-
 " ries, and by him enrich'd with so many bounties! Is this
 " the worthy return you make your Emperor, and late Com-
 " mander, for the distinction he has shewn you, for the fa-
 " vour he has done you, and for his liberalities towards you?
 " And shall I be the author of such tidings to him; such hea-
 " vy tidings in the midst of congratulations and happy ac-
 " counts from every province in the empire? Must it be my
 " sad task to acquaint him that his own new levies, as well as
 " his own Veterans who long fought under him; these not
 " appeas'd by their discharge, and neither of them fatiated
 " with the money given them, are both still combin'd in a
 " furious mutiny? must I tell him that here and only here
 " the Centurions are butcher'd, the Tribunes driven away,
 " the Ambassadors imprison'd; that with blood the Camp is
 " stain'd,

“ stain’d, and the rivers flow with blood; and that for me
 “ his son, I hold a precarious life at the mercy of men, who
 “ owe me duty, and practise enmity?”

“ WHY did you the other day, oh unseasonable and too
 “ officious friends! why did you leave me at their mercy by
 “ snatching from me my sword, when with it I would have
 “ put my self out of their power? He who offer’d me his own
 “ sword, shew’d greater kindness and was more my friend. I
 “ would then have fallen happy; happy that my death would
 “ have hid from mine eyes so many horrible crimes since com-
 “ mitted by my own army: and for you, you would have
 “ chosen another General, such a general, no doubt, as would
 “ have left my death unpunish’d, but still one who would
 “ have fought vengeance for that of VARUS and the three Le-
 “ gions: for, the Gods are too just to permit that ever the
 “ Belgians, how ever generously they offer their service, shall
 “ reap the credit and renown of retrieving the glory of the
 “ Roman name, and of reducing in behalf of Rome the Ger-
 “ man nations her foes. Fill’d with this passion for the glory
 “ of Rome, I here invoke thy spirit now with the Gods, o dei-
 “ fied AUGUSTUS; and thy image interwoven in the ensigns,
 “ and thy memory, o deceas’d father. Let thy rever’d spi-
 “ rit, o AUGUSTUS, let thy lov’d image and memory, o
 “ DRUSUS, still dear to these Legions, vindicate them from
 “ this guilty stain, this foul infamy of leaving to foreigners the
 “ honour of defending and avenging the Roman state. They
 “ are Romans; they already feel the remorse of shame;
 “ they are already stimulated with a sense of honour: im-
 “ prove, o improve this generous disposition in them; that
 “ thus inspir’d they may turn the whole tide of their civil
 “ rage to the destruction of their common enemy: and for
 “ you, my fellow-soldiers, in whom I behold all the marks of
 “ compunction, other countenances, and minds happily
 “ chang’d; if you mean to restore to the Senate it’s Ambassa-
 “ dors; to your Emperor your sworn obedience; to me
 “ your General, my wife and son; be it the first instance of
 “ your duty, to fly the contagious company of incendiaries,
 “ to separate the sober from the seditious: this will be a faith-
 “ ful sign of remorse, this a firm pledge of fidelity”.

THESE words soften’d them into supplicants: they con-
 fess’d that all his reproaches were true; they besought him to
 punish the guilty and malicious, to pardon the weak and
 misled,

missed, and to lead them against the enemy; to recall his wife, to bring back his son, nor to suffer the fosterling of the Legions to be given in hostage to the Gauls. Against the recalling of *AGRIPPINA* he alledg'd the advance of winter, and her approaching delivery; but said, that his son should return, and that to themselves he left to execute what remain'd further to be executed. Instantly, with chang'd resentments, they ran, and seizing the most seditious, dragg'd them in bonds to *CAIUS CETRONIUS*, commander of the first Legion, who judg'd and punish'd them in this manner. The Legions, with their swords drawn, surrounded the Tribunal, from thence the prisoner was by a Tribune expos'd to their view, and if they proclaim'd him guilty, cast headlong down, and executed even by his fellow-soldiers, who rejoiced in the execution, because by it they thought their own guilt to be expiated: nor did *GERMANICUS* restrain them, since on themselves remain'd the cruelty and reproach of the slaughter committed without any order of his. The Veterans follow'd the same example of vengeance, and were soon after order'd into *Rhetia*, in appearance to defend that province against the invading *Suevians*; in reality, to remove them from a Camp still horrible to their sight, as well in the remedy and punishment, as from the memory of their crime. *GERMANICUS* next pass'd a scrutiny upon the conduct and characters of the Centurions: before him they were cited singly; and each gave account of his name, his company, country, the length of his service, exploits in war, and military presents, if with any he had been distinguish'd: if the Tribunes, or his Legion bore testimony of his diligence and integrity, he kept his post; upon concurring complaint of his avarice or cruelty, he was degraded.

Thus were the present commotions appeas'd; but others as great still subsisted, from the rage and obstinacy of the fifth and twenty first Legions. They were in winter-quarters sixty miles off, in a place call'd the Old Camp, and had first begun the sedition: nor was there any wickedness so horrid that they had not perpetrated; nay at this time, neither terrified by the punishment, nor reclaim'd by the reformation of their fellow-soldiers, they persever'd in their fury: *GERMANICUS* therefore determin'd to give them battle, if they persisted in their revolt, and prepar'd vessels, arms, and troops to be sent down the Rhine.

BEFORE

BEFORE the issue of the sedition in Illyricum was known at Rome, tidings of the uproar in the German Legions arriv'd: hence the city was fill'd with much terror, and hence against TIBERIUS many complaints, " that while with
 " feign'd consultations and delays he mock'd the Senate and
 " people, once the great bodies of the estate, but now bereft
 " of power and armies, the soldiery were in open rebellion,
 " one too mighty and stubborn to be quell'd by two Princes
 " so young in years and authority: he ought at first to have
 " gone himself, and aw'd them with the majesty of imperial
 " power; as doubtless they would have return'd to duty
 " upon the sight of their Emperor, a Prince of consum-
 " mate experience, the sovereign disposer of rewards and
 " severity. Did AUGUSTUS, even under the pressures of old
 " age and infirmities, take so many journies into Germa-
 " ny? and should TIBERIUS in the vigour of his life,
 " when the same or greater occasions call'd him thither, sit
 " lazily in the Senate, to watch Senators and cavil at words?
 " He had fully provided for the domestick servitude of
 " Rome; he ought next to cure the licentiousness of the
 " soldiers, to restrain their turbulent spirits and reconcile
 " them to a life of peace ".

BUT all these reasonings and reproaches mov'd not TIBERIUS: he was determin'd not to depart from the Capital, the center of power and affairs, nor to chance or peril expose his person and empire: in truth many and contrary difficulties press'd and perplex'd him: " the German
 " army was the stronger; that of Pannonia nearer; the
 " power of both the Gauls supported the former; the lat-
 " ter was at the gates of Italy. Now to which should he
 " repair first? and would not the last visit be inflam'd,
 " by being postpon'd? But by sending one of his sons to
 " each, the equal treatment of both was maintain'd; as
 " also the majesty of the supreme power, which from dis-
 " tance ever deriv'd most reverence. Besides, the young
 " Princes would be excus'd, if to their father they referr'd
 " such demands as were for them improper to grant; and
 " if they disobey'd GERMANICUS and DRUSUS, his own
 " authority remain'd to appease or punish them: but if
 " once they had condemn'd their Emperor himself, what
 " other resource was behind " ? However, as if he had
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been upon the point of marching, he chose his attendance, provided his equipage, and prepar'd a fleet: but by various delays and pretences, sometimes that of the winter, sometimes business, he deceiv'd for a time even the wisest men, much longer the common people, and the provinces for a great while.

GERMANICUS had already drawn together his army, and was prepar'd to take vengeance on the seditious: but judging it proper to allow space for trial, whether they would follow the late example, and consulting their own safety do justice upon one another; he sent letters to CECINA, "that he himself approach'd, with a powerful force; " and if they prevented him not, by executing the guilty, " he would put all indifferently to the slaughter ". These letters CECINA privately read to the principal Officers, and such of the camp as the sedition had not tainted; besought them, "to redeem themselves from death, and all from " infamy; urg'd that in peace alone reason was heard, " and merit distinguish'd; but in the rage of war, the " blind steel spar'd the innocent no more than the guilty ". The Officers having tried those they believ'd for their purpose, and found the majority still to persevere in their duty, did in concurrence with the General, settle the time for falling with the sword upon the most notoriously guilty and turbulent: upon a particular signal given, they rush'd into their tents, and butcher'd them; void as they were of all apprehension: nor did any but the Centurions and executioners know whence the massacre began, or where it would end.

THIS had a different face from all the civil slaughters that ever happen'd: it was a slaughter not of enemies upon enemies, nor from different and opposite camps, nor in a day of battle; but of comrades upon comrades, in the same tents where they eat together by day, where they slept together by night. From this state of intimacy, they fly into mortal enmity; and friends launch'd their darts at friends: wounds, outcries, and blood were open to view; but the cause remain'd hid: wild chance govern'd the rest, and several innocents were slain. For, the criminals, when they found against whom all this fury was bent, had also betaken themselves to their arms: nei-

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ther did CECINA, nor any of the Tribunes, intervene to stay the rage: so that the soldiers had full permission of vengeance, and a licentious satiety of killing. GERMANICUS soon after enter'd the camp now full of blood and carcases, and lamenting with many tears, that " this was " not a remedy, but cruelty and desolation ", commanded the bodies to be burnt. Their minds still tempestuous and bloody, were transported with sudden eagerness to attack the foe; as the best expiation of their tragical fury: nor otherwise, they thought, could the ghosts of their butcher'd brethren be pleas'd, than by receiving in their own profane breasts a chastisement of honourable wounds. GERMANICUS fell in with the ardour of the soldiers, and laying a bridge upon the Rhine, march'd over twelve thousand Legionary soldiers, twenty six cohorts of the allies, and eight regiments of horse; men all untainted in the late sedition.

THE Germans rejoic'd, not far off, at this vacation of war, occasioned first by the death of AUGUSTUS, and afterwards by intestine tumults in the camp: but the Romans by a hasty march pass'd through the Cefian woods, and levelling the barrier formerly begun by TIBERIUS, upon it pitch'd their camp. In the front and rear they were defended by a palisade; on each side by a barricade of the trunks of trees fell'd: from thence, beginning to traverse gloomy forests, they stopp'd to consult which of two ways they should chuse, the short and frequented, or the longest and least known, and therefore unsuspected by the foe: the longest way was chosen; but in every thing else dispatch was observ'd: for, by the scouts intelligence was brought, that the Germans did, that night, celebrate a festival, with great mirth and revelling. Hence CECINA was commanded to advance with the cohorts without their baggage, and to clear a passage through the forest: at a moderate distance follow'd the Legions: the clearness of the night facilitated the march; and they arriv'd at the villages of the Marsians, which with guards they presently invested. The Germans were even yet under the effects of their debauch, scatter'd here and there, some in bed, some lying by their tables; no watch placed, no apprehension of an enemy. So utterly had their false security banish'd

nish'd all order and care ; and they were under no dread of war, without enjoying peace, other than the deceitful and lethargick peace of drunkards.

THE Legions were eager for revenge ; and GERMANICUS, to extend their ravage, divided them into four battalions : the country was wasted by fire and sword fifty miles round ; nor sex nor age found mercy ; places sacred and prophane had the equal lot of destruction, all raz'd to the ground, and with them the temple of Tanfana, of all others the most celebrated amongst these nations : nor did all this execution cost the soldiers a wound, while they only slew men half a sleep, disarm'd, or dispers'd. This slaughter rous'd the Bructerans, the Tubantes, and the Usipetes ; and they beset the passes of the forest, through which the army was to return : an event known to GERMANICUS, and he march'd in order of battle : the auxiliary cohorts and part of the horse led the van, follow'd close by the first Legion ; the baggage was in the middle ; the twenty first Legion clos'd the left wing, and the fifth the right ; the twentieth defended the rear ; and after them march'd the rest of the allies. But the enemy stirr'd not, till the body of the army was enter'd the wood : they then began lightly to insult the front and wings ; and at last, with their whole force fell upon the rear : the light cohorts were already disorder'd by the close German bands, when GERMANICUS riding up to the twentieth Legion, and exalting his voice ; “ this was the season, he cried, to obliterate
“ the scandal of sedition : hence they should fall resolute-
“ ly on, and into sudden praise convert their late shame
“ and offence ”. These words inflam'd them : at one charge they broke the enemy, drove them out of the wood, and slaughter'd them in the plain. In the mean while, the front pass'd the forest, and fortified the camp : the rest of the march was uninterrupted, and the soldiers trusting to the merit of their late exploits, and forgetting at once past faults and terrors, were plac'd in winter-quarters.

THE tydings of these exploits affected TIBERIUS with gladness and anguish : he rejoic'd that the sedition was suppress'd : but, that GERMANICUS had, by discharging the Veterans, by shortning the term of service to the rest, and by largesses to all, gain'd the hearts of the army, as well

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as earn'd high glory in war; prov'd to the Emperor matter of torture. To the Senate however he reported the detail of his feats, and upon his valour bestow'd copious praises, but in words too pompous and ornamental to be believ'd dictated by his heart. It was with more brevity that he commended DRUSUS, and his address in quelling the sedition of Illyricum, but more cordially withal, and in language altogether sincere; and even to the Pannonian Legions he extended all the concessions made by GERMANICUS to his own.

THE same year died JULIA, for her lewdness long since banished by her father AUGUSTUS into the isle of Pandateria, and afterwards to the city of Rhegium upon the streights of Sicily. Whilst CAIUS and LUCIUS, her sons by AGRIPPA, yet liv'd, she was given in marriage to TIBERIUS; and as a man beneath her, despis'd him. Nor any motive so cogent as this had TIBERIUS for his retirement to Rhodes. When he came to the empire, she was already under the pressures of infamy and exile, and since the death of AGRIPPA POSTHUMUS, destitute of all hope and support: yet such multiplied distresses soften'd not the Emperor, who by a long train of miseries, and continued want, caus'd her finally to perish; as he suppos'd that in the distance of her banishment her tragical death would remain conceal'd. From the same root was deriv'd his cruelty to SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, the descendant of a family eminently noble, himself of a lively wit and prevailing eloquence, but viciously applied. He, while JULIA was yet AGRIPPA'S wife, had debauch'd her: neither with AGRIPPA ended their vicious league; but after she was given to TIBERIUS, he still persisted her adulterer, and towards her husband inspir'd her with notable aversion and contumacy: the letters too by her writ to her father, full of asperity against TIBERIUS, and labouring his ruine, were thought to have been by GRACCHUS compos'd. He was therefore banish'd to Cercina, an island in the African sea, where, for fourteen years, he suffer'd exile. The soldiers dispatch'd to the assassination found him upon a rising by the shore, to himself presaging nothing joyful from their arrival: of them he only desir'd a short respite to send his last will in a letter to ALLIARIA his wife, and then to the sword of the assassins extended his neck: a constancy in death not unworthy
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the Sempronian name: in his life he had degenerated. Some authors have related, that these soldiers were not sent directly from Rome, but by LUCIUS ASPRENAS proconsul of Africa, by the policy and command of TIBERIUS, who in vain hop'd to have upon ASPRENAS cast the imputation of the murder.

THERE was likewise this year an admission of new rites; by the establishment of another College of Priests, one sacred to the deity of AUGUSTUS; as formerly TITUS TATIUS, to preserve the religious rites of the Sabines, had founded the fraternity of Titian Priests. To fill the society, one and twenty, the most considerable Romans were drawn by lot, and to them added TIBERIUS, DRUSUS, CLAUDIUS and GERMANICUS. The games in honour of AUGUSTUS; began then first to be embroil'd by emulation among the players, and the strife of parties in their behalf. AUGUSTUS had countenanced these players and their art, in complaisance to MECENAS who was mad in love with BATHYLUS the comedian; nor to such favourite amusements of the populace had he any aversion himself; he rather judg'd it an acceptable courtesy to mingle with the multitude in these their popular pleasures. Different was the temper of TIBERIUS, different his politicks: to severer manners, however, he durst not yet reduce the people, so many years indulg'd in licentious gayeties.

IN the consulship of DRUSUS CESAR and CAIUS NORBANUS, a triumph was decreed to GERMANICUS, while the war still subsisted. He was preparing with all diligence to prosecute it the following summer; but began much sooner by a sudden irruption early in the spring into the territories of the Cattans: an anticipation of the campaign, which proceeded from the hopes given him of dissension amongst the enemy, caus'd by the opposite parties of ARMINIUS and SEGESTES; two men signally known to the Romans upon different accounts; the last for his firm faith, the first for faith violated: ARMINIUS was the incendiary of Germany; but by SEGESTES had been given repeated warnings of an intended revolt, particularly during the festival immediately preceding the insurrection: he had even advis'd VARUS, “ to secure himself, “ and ARMINIUS, and all the other chiefs; for that the

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“ multitude

“ multitude thus bereft of their leaders, would dare to attempt nothing; and VARUS have time to distinguish crimes and such as committed none ”. But by his own fate, and the sudden violence of ARMINIUS, VARUS fell. SEGESTES, tho’ by the weight and unanimity of his nation, he was forc’d into the war, yet remain’d at constant variance with ARMINIUS: a domestick quarrel too heighten’d their hate; as ARMINIUS had carried away the daughter of SEGESTES already betroth’d to another: and the same relations which amongst friends prove bonds of tenderness, were fresh stimulations of wrath to an obnoxious son and an offended father.

UPON these encouragements, GERMANICUS to the command of CECINA committed four Legions, five thousand auxiliaries and some bands of Germans, dwellers on this side the Rhine, drawn suddenly together; he led himself as many Legions with double the number of allies, and erecting a fort in mount Taunus, upon the old foundations of one rais’d by his father, rush’d full march against the Cattans; having behind him left LUCIUS APRONIUS, to secure the ways from the fury of inundations: for, as the roads were then dry and the rivers low, events in that climate exceeding rare, he had without check expedited his march, but against his return apprehended the violence of rains and floods. Upon the Cattans he fell with such surprize, that all the weak through sex or age were instantly taken or slaughter’d: their youth by swimming over the Adrana escap’d and attempted to force the Romans from building a bridge to follow them, but by dint of arrows and engines were repuls’d; and then having in vain tried to gain terms of peace, some submitted to GERMANICUS; the rest abandon’d their villages and dwellings, and dispers’d themselves in the woods. Mattium the Capital of the nation he burnt, ravag’d all the open country, and bent his march to the Rhine: nor durst the enemy harass his rear; an usual practice of theirs, when sometimes they fly, more through craft than affright. The Cheruskans indeed were addicted to assist the Cattans, but terrified from attempting it by CECINA, who mov’d about with his forces from place to place; and, by routing the Marfians who had dar’d to engage him, restrain’d all their efforts.

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Soon after arrived deputies from SEGESTES, praying relief against the combination and violence of his countrymen, by whom he was held besieged ; as more powerful amongst them than his was the credit of ARMINIUS, since it was he who had advis'd the war. The genius this of Barbarians, to judge that men are to be trusted in proportion as they are fierce, and in publick commotions ever to prefer the most resolute. To the other deputies SEGESTES had added SEGIMUNDUS his son ; but the young man faulter'd a while, as his own heart accus'd him ; for that the year when Germany revolted, he who had been by the Romans created Priest of the Altar of the Ubians, rent the sacerdotal Tiara and fled to the revolters : yet, encourag'd by the Roman clemency, he undertook the execution of his father's orders, was himself graciously receiv'd, and then conducted with a guard to the frontiers of Gaul. GERMANICUS led back his army to the relief of SEGESTES, and was rewarded with success. He fought the besiegers, and rescu'd him with a great train of his relations and followers ; amongst them too were ladies of illustrious rank, particularly the wife of ARMINIUS, the same who was the daughter of SEGESTES : a lady more of the spirit of her husband than that of her father ; a spirit so unsubdu'd, that from her eyes captivity forc'd not a tear, nor from her lips a breath in the stile of a suppliant : not a motion of her hands, nor a look escap'd her ; but, fast across her breast she held her arms, and upon her heavy womb her eyes were immoveably fixt. There were likewise carried Roman spoils taken at the slaughter of VARUS and his army, and then divided as prey amongst many of those who were now prisoners : at the same time, appear'd SEGESTES, of superiour stature ; and, from a confidence in his good understanding with the Romans, undaunted. In this manner he spoke.

“ IT is not the first day this, that to the Roman people
 “ I have approv'd my faith and adherence : from the moment
 “ I was by the deified AUGUSTUS presented with the free-
 “ dom of the city, I have continued by your interest to
 “ chuse my friends, by your interest to denominate my ene-
 “ mies ; from no hate of mine to my native country (for
 “ odious are traitors even to the party they embrace) but,
 “ because the same measures were equally conducing to the
 “ benefit

“ benefit of the Romans and of the Germans ; and I was
 “ for peace rather than war. For this reason to VARUS, the
 “ then General, I applied, with an accusation against ARMI-
 “ NIUS, who from me had ravish’d my daughter, and with
 “ you violated the faith of leagues : but growing impatient
 “ with the slowness and inactivity of VARUS, and well ap-
 “ priz’d how little security was to be hop’d from the laws, I
 “ press’d him to seize my self, and ARMINIUS, and his ac-
 “ complices : witness that fatal night, to me I wish it had
 “ been the last ! more to be lamented than defended are the
 “ sad events which follow’d. I moreover cast ARMINIUS
 “ into irons, and was my self cast into irons by his faction :
 “ and as soon as to you, CESAR, I could apply, you see I pre-
 “ fer old engagements to present violence, and tranquillity
 “ to combustions ; with no view of my own to interest or re-
 “ ward, but to banish from me the imputation of perfidious-
 “ ness. For the German nation too, I would thus become
 “ a mediator, if peradventure they will chuse rather to re-
 “ pent than be destroy’d : for my son I intreat you, have
 “ mercy upon his youth, and pardon his error : that my
 “ daughter is your prisoner by force I own : in your own
 “ breast it wholly lies, under which character you will treat
 “ her, whether as one by ARMINIUS impregnated, or by
 “ me begotten”. The answer of GERMANICUS was gra-
 cious : he promis’d indemnity to his children and kindred,
 and to himself a safe retreat in one of the old provinces ; then
 return’d with his army, and by the direction of TIBERIUS,
 receiv’d the title of *Imperator*. The wife of ARMINIUS
 brought forth a male child, and the boy was brought up at
 Ravenna : his unhappy conflicts afterwards with the contu-
 melious insults of fortune, will be remember’d in their place.

THE desertion of SEGESTES being divulg’d, with his gra-
 cious reception from GERMANICUS, affected his country-
 men variously, with hope or anguish, as they were prone or
 averse to the war. Naturally violent was the spirit of ARMI-
 NIUS, and now, by the captivity of his wife, by the fate of
 his child doom’d to bondage tho’ yet unborn, enrag’d even
 to distraction : he flew about amongst the Cheruscans, calling
 them to arms ; to arm against SEGESTES, to arm against GER-
 MANICUS : invectives follow’d his fury : “ a blessed father
 “ this SEGESTES, he cried ! a mighty General, this GER-
 MANICUS !

“ MANICUS ! invincible warriors these Romans ! so ma-
 “ ny troops have made prisoner of a woman. It is not
 “ thus that I conquer ; before me three Legions fell, and
 “ three Lieutenant-Generals. Open and honourable is my
 “ method of war, nor waged with big-bellied women, but
 “ against men and arms, and treason is none of my weapons.
 “ Still to be seen are the Roman standards in the German
 “ groves, there by me hung up and devoted to our country
 “ Gods. Let SEGESTES live a slave in a conquer’d province ;
 “ let him to his son recover a foreign Priesthood : with the
 “ German nations he can never obliterate his reproach, that
 “ through him they have seen between the Elb and Rhine
 “ rods and axes, and the Roman Toga. To other Nations
 “ who know not the Roman domination, executions and tri-
 “ butes are also unknown ; evils which we too have cast off,
 “ in spite of that AUGUSTUS now dead and enroll’d with
 “ the deities, in spite too of TIBERIUS his chosen succef-
 “ sor : let us not after this dread a mutinous army, and a
 “ boy without experience, their commander : but, if you
 “ love your country, your kindred, your ancient liberty
 “ and laws, better than tyrants and new colonies, let AR-
 “ MINIUS rather lead you to liberty and glory, than the
 “ wicked SEGESTES to the infamy of bondage ” .

BY these stimulations, not the Cheruskans only were rous’d,
 but all the neighbouring nations ; and into the confederacy
 was drawn INGUIOMERUS paternal uncle to ARMINIUS,
 a man long since in high credit with the Romans : hence a
 new source of fear to GERMANICUS, who to avoid the shock
 of their whole forces, and to divert the enemy, sent CECINA
 with forty Roman cohorts to the river Amisia, through the
 territories of the Bructerans. PEDO the Prefect led the ca-
 valry by the confines of the Frisians : he himself, on the
 lake, embark’d four Legions : and upon the bank of the said
 river the whole body met, foot, horse, and fleet. The Chau-
 cians, upon offering their assistance, were taken into the ser-
 vice ; but the Bructerans setting fire to their effects and dwel-
 lings, were routed by STERTINIUS, by GERMANICUS
 dispatch’d against them with a band lightly arm’d. As this
 party were engag’d between slaughter and plunder, he found
 the Eagle of the nineteenth Legion lost in the overthrow of
 VARUS. The army march’d next to the furthest borders of

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the Bructerans, and the whole country between the rivers Amisia and Luppia, was laid waste. Not far hence lay the forest of Teutoburgium, and in it the bones of VARUS and the Legions, by report still unburied: hence GERMANICUS became inspir'd with a tender passion to pay the last offices to the Legions and their leader: the like tenderness also affected the whole army. They were mov'd with compassion, some for the fate of their friends, others for that of their relations here tragically slain: they were struck with the doleful casualties of war, and the sad lot of humanity. CECINA was sent before to examin the gloomy recesses of the forest, to lay bridges over the pools, and, upon the deceitful marshes, caufways. The army enter'd the doleful solitude, hideous to sight, hideous to memory. First they saw the camp of VARUS, wide in circumference, and the three distinct spaces allotted to the different Eagles shew'd the number of the Legions: further they beheld the ruinous entrenchment, and the ditch nigh choak'd up: in it the remains of the army were suppos'd to have made their last effort, and in it to have found their graves: in the open fields lay their bones all bleach'd and bare, some separate, some on heaps; just as they had happen'd to fall, flying for their lives, or resisting unto death: here were scatter'd the limbs of horses, there pieces of broken javelins; and the trunks of trees bore the skulls of men. In the adjacent groves were the savage altars; where, of the Tribunes and principal Centurions, the Barbarians had made a horrible immolation. Those who surviv'd the slaughter having escap'd from captivity and the sword, related the sad particulars to the rest: " Here the commanders of the
 " Legions were slain: there we lost the Eagles: here VA-
 " RUS had his first wound; there he gave himself another,
 " and perish'd by his own unhappy hand. In that place too
 " stood the tribunal whence ARMINIUS harangu'd: in this
 " quarter, for the execution of his captives, he erected so
 " many gibbets; in that such a number of funeral trenches
 " were digg'd; and with these circumstances of pride and de-
 " spight he insulted the ensigns and Eagles.

THUS the Roman army buried the bones of the three Legions, six years after the slaughter: nor could any one distinguish, whether he gather'd the particular remains of a stranger, or those of a kinsman: but all consider'd the whole

whole as their friends, the whole as their relations, with heighten'd resentments against the foe, at once sad and revengeful. In this pious office, so acceptable to the dead, GERMANICUS was a partner in the woe of the living; and upon the common tomb laid the first sod: a proceeding not lik'd by TIBERIUS; whether it were that upon every action of GERMANICUS he put a perverse meaning, or believ'd that the affecting spectacle of the unburied slain, would sink the spirit of the army, and heighten their terror of the enemy; as also that "a General vested, as Augur, with the intention of religious rites, became defil'd by touching the solemnities of the dead".

ARMINIUS retiring into desert and pathless places, was pursu'd by GERMANICUS; who as soon as he reach'd him, commanded the horse to advance, and dislodge the enemy from the post they had possessed: ARMINIUS, having directed his men to keep close together, and draw near to the woods, wheel'd suddenly about, and to those whom he had hid in the forest, gave the signal to rush out: the Roman horse, now engag'd by a new army, became disorder'd, and to their relief some cohorts were sent, but likewise broken by the press of those that fled; and great was the consternation so many ways increas'd: the enemy too were already pushing them into the morass; a place well known to the pursuers, as to the unapprized Romans it had prov'd pernicious, had not GERMANICUS drawn out the Legions in order of battle. Hence the enemy became terrified, our men reassur'd, and both retir'd with equal loss and advantage. GERMANICUS presently after returning with the army to the river Amisia, reconducted the Legions, as he had brought them, in the fleet: part of the horse were order'd to march along the sea-shore to the Rhine. CECINA, who led his own men, was warn'd, that tho' he was to return through unknown roads, yet he should with all speed pass the causeway call'd the long bridges: it is a narrow track this, between vast marshes, and formerly rais'd by LUCIUS DOMITIUS. The marshes themselves are of an uncertain soil, here full of mud, there of heavy sticking clay, or travers'd with various currents: round about are woods which rise gently from the plain, and were already fill'd with soldiers by ARMINIUS, who, by shorter ways and
a running

a running march, had arriv'd there before our men, who were loaded with arms and baggage. CECINA, who was perplex'd how at once to repair the causeway decay'd by time, and to repulse the foe, resolv'd at last to encamp in the place, that whilst some were employ'd in the work, others might maintain the fight.

THE Barbarians strove violently to break our station, and to fall upon the entrenchers: they harass'd our men, assaulted the works, chang'd their attacks, and push'd every where. With the shouts of the assailants the cries of the workmen were confusedly mixt; and all things equally combin'd to distress the Romans: the place deep with ouze sinking under those who stood, slippery to such as advanc'd; their armour heavy, the waters deep, nor could they in them launch their javelins: the Cheruscans, on the contrary, were inur'd to encounters in the bogs; their persons tall, their spears long, such as could wound at a distance. At last the Legions, already yielding, were by night redeem'd from an unequal combat; but night interrupted not the activity of the Germans, become by success indefatigable. Without refreshing themselves with sleep, they diverted all the courses of the springs which rise in the neighbouring mountains, and turned them into the plains: thus the Roman camp was flooded, the work, as far as they had carried it, overturn'd, and the labour of the poor soldiers renew'd and doubled. To CECINA this year prov'd the fortieth of his sustaining as officer or soldier the functions of arms; a man in all the vicissitudes of war, prosperous or disastrous, well experienc'd and thence undaunted. Weighing therefore with himself all probable events and expedients, he could devise no other than that of restraining the enemy to the woods, till he had sent forward the wounded men and baggage: for, from the mountains to the marshes there stretch'd a plain fit only to hold a little army: to this purpose the Legions were thus appointed: the fifth had the right wing, and the one and twentieth the left; the first led the van; the twentieth defended the rear.

A RESTLESS night it was to both armies, but in different ways: the Barbarians feasted and carous'd, and with songs of triumph, or with horrid and threatening cries, fill'd all the plain and echoing woods: amongst the Romans were feeble fires, sad silence, or broken words; they lean'd drooping

ing here and there against the pales, or wander'd disconsolately about the tents, like men without sleep, but not quite awake : a frightful dream too terrified the General ; he thought he heard and saw QUINCTILIUS VARUS, rising out of the marsh all besmear'd with blood, stretching forth his hand, and calling upon him ; but that he rejected the call and push'd him away. At break of day, the Legions posted on the wings, through contumacy or affright, deserted their stations, and took sudden possession of a field beyond the boggs : neither did ARMINIUS fall straight upon them, however open they lay to his assault : but, when he perceiv'd the baggage set fast in mire and ditches ; the soldiers above it disorderly and embarrass'd ; the ranks and ensigns in confusion ; and, as usual in a time of distress, every one in haste to save himself, but slow to obey his officer ; he then commanded his Germans to break in : “ behold, “ he vehemently cried, behold again VARUS and his Legions, subdu'd by the same fate”. Thus he cried, and instantly with a select body broke quite through our forces ; and chiefly against the horse directed his havoc : so that the ground becoming slippery by their blood and the slime of the marsh, their feet flew from them, and they cast their riders ; then galloping and stumbling amongst the ranks, they overthrew all they met, and trod to death all they overthrew. The greatest difficulty was to maintain the Eagles ; a storm of darts made it impossible to advance them, and the rotten ground impossible to fix them. CECINA, while he sustain'd the fight, had his horse shot, and having fallen was nigh taken ; but the first Legion sav'd him : our relief came from the greediness of the enemy, who ceas'd slaying to seize the spoil. Hence the Legions had respite to struggle into the fair field and firm ground : nor was here an end of their miseries ; a palisade was to be rais'd, an entrenchment digg'd ; their instruments too for throwing up and carrying earth, and their tools for cutting turf, were almost all lost ; no tents for the soldiers ; no remedies for the wounded ; and their food all defiled with mire or blood : as they shar'd it in sadness amongst them, they lamented that mournful night, they lamented the approaching day, to so many thousand men the last.

IT happen'd that a horse which had broke his collar, as he stray'd about, became frighten'd with noise, and ran over some that were in his way : this rais'd such a consternation in the camp, from a persuasion that the Germans in a body had forc'd an entrance, that all rush'd to the gates, especially to the postern, as the furthest from the foe, and safer for flight. CECINA having found the vanity of their dread, but unable to stop them, either by his authority, or by his prayers, or indeed by force, flung himself, at last, cross the gate : this prevail'd ; their awe and tenderness of their General restrain'd them from running over his body ; and the Tribunes and Centurions satisfy'd them the while that it was a false alarm.

THEN calling them together, and desiring them to hear him with silence, he minded them of their difficulties, and how to conquer them : “ that for their lives they must be “ indebted to their arms, but force was to be temper'd with “ art ; they must therefore keep close within their camp, till “ the enemy, in hopes of taking it by storm, advanc'd ; then “ make a sudden sally on every side ; and by this push, they “ should break through the enemy, and reach the Rhine : “ but if they fled, more forests remain'd to be travers'd, “ deeper marshes to be pass'd, and the cruelty of a pursuing “ foe to be sustain'd ”. He laid before them the motives “ and fruits of victory, publick rewards and glory, with every “ tender domestick consideration, as well as those of military “ exploits and praise ”. Of their dangers and sufferings he said nothing. He next distributed horses, first his own, then those of the Tribunes and leaders of the Legions, to the bravest soldiers impartially ; that thus mounted they might begin the charge, followed by the foot.

AMONGST the Germans there was not less agitation, from hopes of victory, greediness of spoil, and the opposite counsels of their leaders : ARMINIUS propos'd, “ to let the Romans march off, and to beset them in their march, when “ engag'd in boggs and fastnesses ”. The advice of INGUROMERUS was fiercer, and thence by the Barbarians more applauded : he declared “ for forcing the camp, for that the “ victory would be quick, there would be more captives, “ and intire plunder ”. As soon therefore as it was light, they rush'd out upon the camp, cast hurdles into the ditch,
attack'd

attack'd and grappled the palisade : upon it few soldiers appear'd, and these seem'd frozen with fear : but as the enemy was in swarms, climbing the ramparts, the signal was given to the cohorts ; the cornets and trumpets founded, and instantly, with shouts and impetuosity, they issued out, and begirt the assailants ; “ here are no thickets, they scornfully “ cried ; no boggs ; but an equal field and impartial Gods ”. The enemy, who imagin'd few Romans remaining, fewer arms, and an easy conquest, were struck with the sounding trumpets, with the glittering armour ; and every object of terror appear'd double to them who expected none : they fell like men who, as they are void of moderation in prosperity, are also destitute of conduct in distress. ARMINIUS forsook the fight unhurt ; INGUOIMERUS grievously wounded : their men were slaughter'd as long as day and rage lasted. In the evening the Legions return'd, in the same want of provisions, and with more wounds : but in victory they found all things, health, vigour, and abundance.

IN the mean time, a report had flown, that the Roman forces were routed, and an army of Germans upon full march to invade Gaul : so that under the terror of this news there were those, whose cowardice would have embolden'd them to have demolish'd the bridge upon the Rhine, had not AGRIPPINA restrain'd them from that infamous attempt : in truth, such was the undaunted spirit of the woman, that at this time she perform'd all the duties of a General, reliev'd the necessitous soldiers, upon the wounded bestow'd medicines, and upon others cloaths. CAIUS PLINIUS, the writer of the German Wars, relates, that she stood at the end of the bridge, as the Legions return'd, and accosted them with thanks and praises ; a behaviour which sunk deep into the spirit of TIBERIUS ; “ for that all this officiousness of hers, he thought, “ could not be upright ; nor that it was against foreigners “ only she engag'd the army : to the direction of the Generals nothing was now left, when a woman review'd the “ companies, attended the Eagles, and to the men distributed largesses : as if before she had shewn but small tokens “ of ambitious designs, in carrying her child (the son of “ the General) in a soldier's coat about the camp, with the “ title of CESAR CALIGULA : already in greater credit with “ the army was AGRIPPINA than the leaders of the Legions, “ in

“ in greater than their Generals, and a woman had sup-
 “ ppress’d sedition, which the authority of the Emperor was
 “ not able to restrain ”. These jealousies were inflam’d, and
 more were added by SEJANUS; one who was well skill’d in
 the temper of TIBERIUS, and purposely furnish’d him with
 sources of hatred, to lye hid in his heart, and be discharg’d
 with increase hereafter.

GERMANICUS, in order to lighten the ships in which he
 had embark’d his men, and fit their burden to the ebbs and
 shallows, deliver’d the second and fourteenth Legions to PUB-
 LIUS VITELLIUS, to lead them by land. VITELLIUS at
 first had an easy march on dry ground, or ground mode-
 rately overflow’d by the tide; when suddenly the fury of the
 north wind swelling the ocean (a constant effect of the equi-
 nox) the Legions were surrounded and toss’d with the tide,
 and the land was all on flood; the sea, the shore, the fields,
 had the same tempestuous face; no distinction of depths from
 shallows; none of firm from deceitful footing; they were
 overturn’d by the billows; swallow’d down by the eddies;
 and horses, baggage, and drown’d men encounter’d each o-
 ther, and floated together. The several companies were
 mix’d at random by the waves; they waded now breast high;
 now up to their chin; and as the ground fail’d them, they
 fell, some never more to rise: their cries and mutual encou-
 ragements avail’d them nothing against the prevailing and in-
 exorable waves; no difference between the coward and the
 brave, the wise and the foolish; none between circumspe-
 ction and chance; but all were equally involv’d in the invin-
 cible violence of the flood. VITELLIUS at length struggling
 into an eminence, drew the Legions thither, where they pas-
 sed the cold night without fire, and destitute of every con-
 venience; most of them naked or lam’d; not less misera-
 ble than men enclos’d by an enemy: for, even to such re-
 main’d the consolation of an honourable death; but here
 was destruction every way void of glory: the land return’d
 with the day, and they march’d to the river Vidrus, whi-
 ther GERMANICUS had gone with the fleet. There the two
 Legions were again embark’d, when fame had given them
 for drown’d; nor was their escape believ’d, till GERMANICUS
 and the army were seen to return.

STERTINIUS,

STERTINIUS, who in the mean while had been sent before to receive SIGIMERUS, the brother of SEGESTES (a Prince willing to surrender himself) brought him and his son to the city of the Ubians: both were pardon'd; the father freely, the son with more difficulty, because he was said to have insulted the corps of VARUS. For the rest, Spain, Italy, and both the Gauls strove with emulation to supply the losses of the army; and offered arms, horses, money, according as each abounded. GERMANICUS applauded their zeal; but accepted only the horses and arms, for the service of the war: with his own money he reliev'd the necessities of the soldiers; and to soften also by his kindness the memory of the late havock, he visited the wounded, extoll'd the exploits of particulars, view'd their wounds; with hopes encourag'd some; with a sense of glory animated others; and by affability and tenderness confirm'd them all in devotion to himself and to his fortune in war.

THE ornaments of triumph were this year decreed to AULUS CECINA, LUCIUS APRONIUS, and CAIUS SILIUS, for their services under GERMANICUS. The title of Father of his country, so often offer'd by the people to TIBERIUS, was rejected by him: nor would he permit swearing upon his acts, tho' the same was voted by the Senate: against it he urg'd "the instability of all mortal things; and that "the higher he was rais'd, the more slippery he stood": but for all this ostentation of a popular spirit, he acquir'd not the reputation of possessing it. For, he had reviv'd the law concerning violated majesty; a law which, in the days of our ancestors, had indeed the same name, but implied different arraignments and crimes, namely those against the State; as when an army was betray'd abroad, when seditions were rais'd at home; in short, when the publick was faithlessly administer'd, and the majesty of the Roman people was debas'd: these were actions, and actions were punish'd, but words were free: AUGUSTUS was the first who brought libels under the penalties of this wrested law, incens'd as he was by the insolence of CASSIUS SEVERUS, who had in his writings wantonly defamed men and ladies of illustrious quality. TIBERIUS too afterwards, when POMPEIUS MACER, the Pretor, consulted him, "whether process should be granted upon this law"? answered,

swer'd, " that the laws must be executed ". He also was exasperated by satyrical verses written by unknown authors, and dispers'd; exposing his cruelty, his pride, and his mind naturally alienated from his mother.

IT will be worth while to relate here the pretended crimes charg'd upon FALANIUS and RUBRIUS, two Roman Knights of small fortunes; that hence may be seen from what beginnings, and by how much dark art of TIBERIUS, this grievous mischief crept in; how it was again restrain'd; how at last it blaz'd out and consum'd all things. To FALANIUS was objected by his accusers, that " amongst the " adorers of AUGUSTUS, who went in fraternities from " house to house, he had admitted one CASSIUS, a " mick and prostitute; and having sold his gardens, had " likewise with them sold the statue of AUGUSTUS". The crime imputed to RUBRIUS was, " that he had sworn " falsely by the divinity of AUGUSTUS". When these accusations were known to TIBERIUS, he wrote to the Consuls, " that Heaven was not therefore decreed to his father, " that the worship of him might be a snare to the citizens " of Rome; that CASSIUS the player was wont to assist " with others of his profession at the interludes consecrated " by his mother to the memory of AUGUSTUS: neither " did it affect religion, that his effigies, like other images " of the Gods, was comprehended in the sale of houses and " gardens. As to the false swearing by his name, it was " to be deem'd the same as if RUBRIUS had profan'd the " name of Jupiter; but to the Gods belong'd the avenging " of injuries done to the Gods".

NOT long after, GRANIUS MARCELLUS, Pretor of Bithynia, was charg'd with high treason by his own Questor CEPIO CRISPINUS; ROMANUS HISPO, the pleader, supporting the charge. This CEPIO began a course of life, which through the miseries of the times and the bold wickedness of men, became afterwards famous: at first, needy and obscure, but of a busy spirit, he made court to the cruelty of the Prince by occult informations; and presently, as an open accuser, grew terrible to every distinguish'd Roman. This procur'd him credit with one, hatred from all, and made a precedent to be followed by others, who from poverty became rich; from being contemn'd, dreadful; and
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in the destruction which they brought upon others, found at last their own. He accus'd MARCELLUS of "malignant words concerning TIBERIUS"; an inevitable crime! when the accuser collecting all the most detestable parts of the Prince's character, alledg'd them as the expressions of the accused: for, because they were true, they were believ'd to have been spoken. To this HISPO added, "that the statue of MARCELLUS was by him placed higher than those of the CESARS; and that having cut off the head of AUGUSTUS, he had in the room of it set the head of TIBERIUS". This enrag'd him so, that breaking silence, he cried, "he would himself, in this cause, give his vote explicitly, and under the tie of an oath". By this he meant to force the assent of the rest of the Senate. There remain'd even then some feint traces of expiring liberty. Hence CNEIUS PISO ask'd him; "in what place, CESAR, will you chuse to give your opinion? If first, I shall have your example to follow: if last, I fear I may ignorantly dissent from you". The words pierc'd him, but he bore them, the rather as he was ashamed of his unwary transport: and he suffer'd the accus'd to be acquitted of high treason. To try him for the publick money, was referr'd to the proper judges.

NOR suffic'd it TIBERIUS to assist in the deliberations of the Senate only: he likewise sat in the seats of justice; but always on one side, because he would not dispossess the Pretor of his chair: and by his presence there, many ordinances were establish'd against the intrigues and solicitations of the grandees. But while private justice was thus promoted, publick liberty was overthrown. About this time, PIUS AURELIUS the Senator, whose house yielding to the pressure of the publick road and aqueducts had fallen, complain'd to the Senate and pray'd relief: a suit oppos'd by the Pretors who manag'd the treasury: but he was reliev'd by TIBERIUS, who order'd him the price of his house; for he was fond of being liberal upon honest occasions: a virtue which he long retain'd, even after he had utterly abandon'd all other virtues. Upon PROPERTIUS CELER, once Pretor, but now desiring leave to resign the dignity of Senator, as a burden to his poverty, he bestow'd a thousand great sesterces, upon ample information that CELER's
neces-

necessities were derived from his father. Others, who attempted the same thing, he order'd to lay their condition before the Senate ; and from an affectation of severity, was thus austere even where he acted with uprightness. Hence the rest preferr'd poverty and silence to begging and relief.

THE same year the Tiber, being swell'd with continual rains, overflow'd the level parts of the city ; and the common destruction of men and houses follow'd the returning flood. Hence ASINIUS GALLUS mov'd, " that the Sibylline " Books might be consulted ". TIBERIUS oppos'd it, equally smothering all enquiries whatsoever, whether into matters human or divine. To ATEIUS CAPITO, however, and LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS, was committed the care of restraining the river within its banks. The provinces of Achaia and Macedon, praying relief from their publick burdens, were for the present discharg'd of their proconsular government, and subjected to the Emperor's Lieutenants. In the entertainment of gladiators at Rome, DRUSUS presided: it was exhibited in the name of GERMANICUS, and his own ; and at it he manifested too much lust of blood, even of the blood of slaves: a quality terrible to the populace ; and hence his father was said to have reprov'd him. His own absence from these shews, was variously construed: by some it was ascrib'd to his impatience of a crowd ; by others to his reserv'd and solitary genius, and his fear of an unequal comparison with AUGUSTUS, who was wont to be a cheerful spectator. But, that he thus purposely furnish'd matter for exposing the cruelty of his son there, and for raising him popular hate ; is what I would not believe: tho', this too was asserted.

THE dissensions of the theatre, begun last year, broke out now more violently, with the slaughter of several, not of the people only, but of the soldiers, with that of a Centurion: nay, a Tribune of a Pretorian Cohort, was wounded, whilst they were securing the magistrates from insults, and quelling the licentiousness of the rabble. This riot was canvass'd in the Senate, and votes were passing for empowering the Pretors to whip the players: HATERIUS AGRIPPA, Tribune of the people, oppos'd it ; and was sharply reprimanded by a speech of ASINIUS GALLUS. TIBERIUS was silent, and to the Senate allow'd these empty ap-
paritions

partitions of liberty. The opposition, however, prevail'd; in reverence to the authority of AUGUSTUS, who, upon a certain occasion, had given his judgment, "that players
 " were exempt from stripes": nor would TIBERIUS assume to violate any words of his. To limit the wages of players, and restrain the licentiousness of their partizans, many decrees were made: the most remarkable were, "that no
 " Senator should enter the house of a Pantomime; no
 " Roman Knight attend them abroad: they should shew
 " no where but in the theatre; and the Pretors should
 " have power to punish any insolence in the spectators with
 " exile".

THE Spaniards were, upon their petition, permitted to build a temple to AUGUSTUS in the colony of Terra-gon: an example this for all the provinces to follow. In answer to the people, who pray'd to be reliev'd from the *centesima*, a tax of one in the hundred, establish'd at the end of the civil wars, upon all vendible commodities; TIBERIUS by an edict declar'd, "that upon this tax depend-
 " ed the fund for maintaining the army: nor even thus
 " was the Commonwealth equal to the expence, if before
 " their twentieth year the Veterans were dismiss'd". So that the concessions made them during the late sedition, to discharge them finally at the end of sixteen years, as they were made through necessity, were for the future abolish'd.

IT was next propos'd to the Senate, by ARRUNTIUS and ATEIUS, whether, in order to restrain the overflowing of the Tiber, the chanel of the several rivers and lakes by which it was swell'd, must not be diverted. Upon this question the deputies of several cities and colonies were heard. The Florentines besought, "that the bed of the Clanis might
 " not be turned into their river Arnus; for that the same
 " would prove their utter ruin". The like plea was urged by the Interamnates; "since the most fruitful plains in
 " Italy would be lost, if, according to the project, the Nar
 " branch'd out into rivulets, overflow'd them". Nor were the Reatinians less earnest against stopping the outlets of the lake Velinus into the Nar; "otherwise, they said, it would
 " break over its banks, and stagnate all the adjacent country:

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“ the direction of nature was best in all natural things : it was
 “ she that to rivers had appointed their courses and dischar-
 “ ges, and set them their limits as well as their sources.
 “ Regard too was to be paid to the religion of our Latin
 “ allies, who esteeming the rivers of their country sacred,
 “ had to them dedicated priests, and altars, and groves :
 “ nay the Tiber himself, when bereft of his auxiliary streams,
 “ would flow with diminish’d grandeur”. Now, whether
 it were, that the prayers of the colonies, or the difficulty of
 the work, or the influence of superstition prevail’d ; it is
 certain the opinion of PISO was follow’d ; namely, that no-
 thing should be altered.

TO POPPEUS SABINUS was continued his province of
 Mesia ; and to it was added that of Achaia and Macedon. This
 too was part of the politicks of TIBERIUS, to prolong go-
 vernments, and maintain the same men in the same armies,
 or civil employments, for the most part, to the end of their
 lives ; with what view, is not agreed. Some think, “ that
 “ from an impatience of returning cares, he was for mak-
 “ ing whatever he once lik’d, perpetual”. Others, “ that
 “ from the malignity of his invidious nature, he regretted
 “ the preferring of many”. There are some who believe,
 “ that as he had a crafty penetrating spirit, so he had an un-
 “ derstanding ever irresolute and perplexed”. So much is
 certain, that he never courted any eminent vertue, yet hated
 vice : from the best men he dreaded danger to himself ; and
 disgrace to the publick from the worst. This hesitation ma-
 ster’d him so much at last, that he committed foreign govern-
 ments to some, whom he meant never to suffer to leave
 Rome.

CONCERNING the management of consular elections, ei-
 ther then or afterwards under TIBERIUS, I can affirm scarce
 any thing : such is the variance about it, not only amongst
 historians, but even in his own speeches. Sometimes, not
 naming the candidates, he describ’d them by their family, by
 their life and manners, and by the number of their cam-
 paigns ; so as it might be apparent whom he meant. Again,
 avoiding even to describe them, he exhorted the candidates
 not to disturb the election by their intrigues, and promis’d
 himself to take care of their interests. But chiefly, he u-
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sed to declare, “ that to him none had signified their pretensions, but such whose names he had delivered to the Consuls; others too were at liberty to offer the like pretensions, if they trusted to the favour of the Senate or their own merits”. Specious words! but intirely empty, or full of fraud; and, by how much they were covered with the greater guise of liberty, by so much threatening a more hasty and devouring bondage.

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THE SECOND
ANNAL

DURING the consulship of SISENNA STATILIUS TAURUS, and LUCIUS, LIBO, the Kingdoms and Roman provinces of the east, were involv'd in an uproar of arms, begun by the Parthians, who having fought and accepted a King from Rome, did afterwards, though he was of the race of the Arfacides, contemn him as a foreigner. This was VENONES, who had been given as an hostage to AUGUSTUS by PHRAHATES: for PHRAHATES, tho' he had defeated the Roman Captains and armies, yet had courted AUGUSTUS with all the reverence of a dependent, and sent him, to bind their friendship, part of his offspring; not so much through fear of the Romans, as distrusting the ill faith of the Parthians.

AFTER the death of PHRAHATES and the succeeding Kings, ambassadors from the chief men of Parthia arriv'd at Rome, to call home VENONES his eldest son; in order to end their intestine slaughters. TIBERIUS found his own grandeur and glory in this embassy, and dismiss'd him with great pomp and presents. The Barbarians too receiv'd him with rapture and exultation; a spirit which commonly animates the people, where their governors are yet new and untried. But shame soon succeeded; shame “ for the degeneracy of the Parthians, to have thus sent to another world for a King, one debauch'd with the manners and maxims of their enemies: the imperial throne of the Arfacides, they said, was now deem'd and given as a Roman province: where was the glory of those brave Parthians who slew CRASSUS, of those who exterminated MARC ANTHONY; if they were reduced so low as to receive for the Lord of Parthia a slave of CEESAR's, inur'd so many years to foreign bondage”? His own behaviour inflam'd their disdain: he abandon'd the customs of his ancestors; was seldom in the
chace;

chace; took small delight in horses, travell'd luxuriously through their towns in a litter, and despis'd the Parthians feasts: they ridicul'd his Greek attendance, and the mean care of sealing up his domestick moveables with his signet: but, his easiness of access, his flowing courtesy (virtues unknown to the Parthians) were to them so many new vices; and every part of his manners, the laudable and the bad, were subject to equal hatred, because foreign from their own.

THEY therefore sent for ARTABANUS, of the blood of the Arsacides, bred amongst the Dahans. In the first engagement he was routed, but repair'd his forces and gain'd the Kingdom. The vanquish'd VENONES found a retreat in Armenia, a vacant throne, and a people wavering between the neighbouring powers of Parthia and of Rome: from us they were alienated by the fraud and iniquity of MARC ANTHONY, who having by shews and professions of friendship, ensnar'd into his power ARTAVASDES, King of the Armenians, loaded him with chains, and at last put him to death. ARTAXIAS, his son, for his father's sake hating us, defended himself and his Kingdom by the protection and forces of the Arsacides. ARTAXIAS being slain by a conspiracy of his kindred; TIGRANES was by AUGUSTUS set over the Armenians, and by TIBERIUS NERO put in possession of the Kingdom. But neither was the reign of TIGRANES lasting, nor that of his children, however associated together, according to the mode and politicks of the East, by the double ties of marriage and government. ARTAVASDES was next establish'd, by the appointment of AUGUSTUS, and then expell'd; but at great expence of Roman blood.

CAIUS CESAR was then chosen to settle Armenia: by him ARIOBARZANES, by descent a Mede, was for his graceful person and eminent endowments, placed over the Armenians, with their own consent. ARIOBARZANES being kill'd by an accident, they would not bear the rule of his children, but tried the government of a woman (her name ERATO,) and quickly expuls'd her. After this, unsettled and wavering, rather exempt from tyranny, than possess'd of liberty, they receiv'd the fugitive VENONES for their King: but anon, when he saw himself threaten'd by

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ARTAVASDES

ARTABANUS, small reliance on the Armenians, and no protection from the Romans without a war with the Parthians, he accepted the offer of CRETICUS SILANUS, Governor of Syria, who invited him thither; but when he came, set a guard upon him; leaving him still the name and luxury of royalty: what attempts VENONES made to escape from this mock-majesty, we will relate in its place.

THE commotions in the East happen'd not ungratefully to TIBERIUS, since then he had a colour for separating GERMANICUS from his old and faithful Legions; for setting him over strange provinces, and exposing him at once to casual perils and the efforts of fraud. But he, the more ardent he found the affections of the soldiers, and the greater the hatred of his uncle, so much the more intent upon a decisive victory, weighed with himself all the methods of that war, with all the disasters and successes which had befallen him in it to this his third year. He remember'd, " that the Germans were ever routed in a fair battle, and
 " upon equal ground; that woods and boggs, short sum-
 " mers, and early winters, were their chief resources; that
 " his own men suffer'd not so much from their wounds,
 " as from tedious marches, and the loss of their arms: the
 " Gauls were weary of furnishing horses; long and cum-
 " bersom was his train of baggage, easily surpriz'd, and
 " with difficulty defended: but, if we enter'd the country
 " by sea, the invasion would be easy, and the enemy un-
 " appriz'd: besides, the war would be earlier begun; the
 " Legions and provisions would be carried together, and
 " the cavalry brought with safety, through the mouths and
 " chanel of the rivers, into the heart of Germany".

ON that method therefore he fix'd: whilst PUBLIUS VITELLIUS and PUBLIUS CANTIUS, were sent to collect the tribute of the Gauls; SILIUS, ANTEIUS, and CECINA, had the direction of building the fleet: a thousand vessels were thought sufficient, and with dispatch finish'd: some were short, sharp at both ends, and wide in the middle, the easier to endure the agitations of the waves: some had flat bottoms, that without damage they might bear to run aground: several had helms at each end, that by suddenly turning the oars only, they might work either way. Many were arch'd over, for carrying the engines of war. They were

were fitted for holding horses and provisions, to fly with sails, to run with oars; and the spirit and alacrity of the soldiers heighten'd the shew and terror of the fleet. They were to meet at the Isle of Batavia, which was chosen for its easy landing, for its convenience to receive the forces, and thence to transport them to the war. For the Rhine flowing in one continual chanel, or only broken by small islands, is, at the extremity of Batavia, divided as it were into two rivers; one running still through Germany, and retaining the same name and violent current, till it mixes with the ocean; the other washing the Gallick shore, with a broader and more gentle stream, is by the inhabitants call'd by another name, the Wahal, which it soon after changes for that of the river Meuse, by whose immense mouth it is discharged into the same ocean.

WHILE the fleet sail'd, GERMANICUS commanded SILIUS his Lieutenant, with a flying band to invade the Cattans; and he himself upon hearing that the fort upon the river Luppia was besieged, led six Legions thither: but the sudden rains prevented SILIUS from doing more than taking some small plunder, with the wife and daughter of ARPUS, Prince of the Cattans; nor did the besiegers stay to fight GERMANICUS, but upon the report of his approach, stole off and dispers'd: as they had, however, thrown down the common tomb lately rais'd over the Varian Legions, and the old altar erected to DRUSUS; he restor'd the altar, and perform'd in person with the Legions, the funeral ceremony of running courses to the honour of his father. To replace the tomb was not thought fit; but, all the space between fort Aliso and the Rhine, he fortified with a new barrier.

THE fleet was now arriv'd; the provisions were sent forward; ships were assign'd to the Legions and the allies; and he enter'd the canal cut by DRUSUS, and call'd by his name. Here he invoc'd his father, "to be propitious
" to his son attempting the same enterprizes; to inspire
" him with the same counsels, and animate him by his
" example". Hence he sail'd fortunately through the lakes and the ocean to the river Amisia, and at the town of Amisia the fleet was left, upon the left shore, and it was a fault that it sail'd no higher; for he landed the army

on the right shore; so that in making bridges many days were consum'd. The horse and the Legions pass'd over without danger, as it was yet ebb; but the returning tide disorder'd the rear, especially the Batavians, while they play'd with the waves, and shew'd their dexterity in swimming; and some were drown'd. Whilst GERMANICUS was encamping, he was told of the revolt of the Angrivarians behind him; and thither he dispatch'd a body of horse and light foot, under STERTINIUS, who with fire and slaughter took vengeance on the perfidious revolters.

BETWEEN the Romans and the Cheruskans flow'd the river Visurgis, and on the banks of it stood ARMINIUS, with the other chiefs: he inquir'd whether GERMANICUS was come; and being answer'd that he was there, he pray'd leave to speak with his brother: this brother of his was in the army, his name FLAVIUS, one remarkable for his lasting faith towards the Romans, and for the loss of an eye in the war under TIBERIUS: this request was granted. FLAVIUS step'd forward, and was saluted by ARMINIUS, who having remov'd his own attendance, desir'd that our archers rang'd upon the opposite banks, might retire: when they were withdrawn, "how came you" (says he to his brother) "by that deformity in your face"? The brother having inform'd him where, and in what fight, was next ask'd, "what reward he had receiv'd"? FLAVIUS answer'd, "increase of pay, the chain, the crown, and other military gifts"; all which ARMINIUS treated with derision, as the vile wages of servitude.

HERE began a warm contest: FLAVIUS pleaded "the grandeur of the Roman Empire, the power of the Emperor, the Roman clemency to submitting nations; the heavy yoke of the vanquish'd; and that neither the wife, nor son of ARMINIUS, was us'd like a captive". ARMINIUS to all this oppos'd "the natural rights of their country, their ancient liberty; the domestick Gods of Germany; he urg'd the prayers of their common mother join'd to his own, that he would not prefer the character of a deserter, that of a betrayer of his family, his countrymen and kindred, to the glory of being their

“ their commander ”. By degrees they fell into reproaches; nor would the interposition of the river have restrain’d them from blows, had not STERTINIUS halted to lay hold on FLAVIUS, full of rage, and calling for his arms and his horse. On the opposite side was seen ARMINIUS, swelling with ferocity and threats, and denouncing battle. For, of what he said, much was said in Latin; having as the General of his countrymen, serv’d in the Roman armies.

NEXT day, the German army stood embattel’d beyond the Visurgis. GERMANICUS, who thought it became not a General to endanger the Legions, till for their passage and security, he had placed bridges and guards, made the horse ford over. They were led by STERTINIUS, and EMILIUS Lieutenant-Colonel of a Legion; and these two officers cross’d the river in distant places, to divide the foe. CARIOVALDA, Captain of the Batavians, pass’d it where most rapid, and was by the Cheruscans, who feigned flight, drawn into a plain surrounded with woods, whence they rush’d out upon him and assaulted him on every side; overthrew those who resisted, and press’d vehemently upon those who gave way. The distress’d Batavians form’d themselves into a ring, but were again broken, partly by a close assault, partly by distant showers of darts. CARIOVALDA, having long sustained the fury of the enemy, exhorted his men to draw up into platoons, and break through the prevailing host; he himself forc’d his way into their center, and fell with his horse under a shower of darts, and many of the principal Batavians round him: the rest were saved by their own bravery, or rescu’d by the cavalry under STERTINIUS and EMILIUS.

GERMANICUS, having pass’d the Visurgis, learnt from a deserter, that ARMINIUS had mark’d out the place of battle; that more nations had also join’d him; that they rendezvous’d in a wood sacred to HERCULES, and would attempt to storm our camp by night. The deserter was believ’d; the enemy’s fires were discern’d; and the scouts having advanced towards them, reported that they had heard the neighing of horses, and the hollow murmur of a mighty and tumultuous host. In this important conjuncture, upon the approach of a decisive battle, GERMA-

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NICUS

NICUS thought it behov'd him to learn the inclinations and spirit of the soldiers, and deliberated with himself how to be inform'd without fraud: "for the reports of the
 " Tribunes and Centurions us'd to be oft'ner pleasing
 " than true; his freedmen had still flavish souls, incapable
 " of free speech; friends were apt to flatter; there was
 " the same uncertainty in an assembly, where the coun-
 " sel propos'd by a few, was wont to be eccho'd by all:
 " in truth, the minds of the soldiery were then best known
 " when they were least watch'd; when free and over
 " their meals, they frankly disclos'd their hopes and fears",

IN the beginning of night, he went out at the augural gate, with a single attendant; himself disguis'd with the skin of a wild beast hanging over his shoulders; and chusing secret ways, he escap'd the notice of the watch, enter'd the lanes of the camp, listen'd from tent to tent, and enjoy'd the pleasing display of his own popularity and fame; as one was magnifying the imperial birth of his General; another his graceful person; and all his patience, condescension, and the equality of his soul in every temper, pleasant or grave: they confess'd the gratitude due to so much merit, and that in battle they ought to express it, and to sacrifice at the same time to glory and revenge, these perfidious Germans, who for ever violated stipulations and peace. In the mean time, one of the enemy who understood Latin, rode up to the palisades, and, with a loud voice, offer'd in the name of ARMINIUS, to every deserter a wife and land, and as long as the war lasted, an hundred sesterces a day. This contumely kindled the wrath of the Legions: "let day
 " come, they cry'd, let battle be given: the soldiers
 " would seize and not accept the lands of the Germans;
 " take and not receive German wives; they however re-
 " ceiv'd the offer as an omen of victory, and consider'd
 " the money and women as their destin'd prey". Near the third watch of the night, they approach'd, and insulted the camp, but without striking a blow, when they found the ramparts cover'd thick with cohorts, and no advantage given.

GERMANICUS had the same night a joyful dream: he thought he sacrific'd, and, in place of his own robe besmear'd with the sacred blood, receiv'd one fairer from the hands of his grandmother AUGUSTA; so that elevated by the omen, and by equal encouragement from the auspices, he call'd an assembly, where he open'd his deliberations concerning the approaching battle, with all the advantages contributing to victory; " That to the Roman
 " soldiers not only plains and dales, but, with due circumsp^ection, even woods and forests were commodious
 " for an engagement; the huge targets, the enormous
 " spears of the Barbarians, could never be wielded amongst thickets and trunks of trees, like Roman swords
 " and javelins, and armour adjusted to the shape and size
 " of their bodies; so that with these tractable arms they
 " might thicken their blows, and strike with certainty at
 " the naked faces of the enemy; since the Germans were
 " neither furnish'd with head-piece nor coat of mail;
 " nor were their bucklers bound with leather, or fortified with iron, but all bare basket-work, or painted
 " boards; and tho' their first ranks were armed with
 " pikes, the rest had only stakes burnt at the end, or short and contemptible darts: for their persons, as they
 " were terrible to fight, and violent in the onset, so they
 " were utterly impatient of wounds, unaffected with their
 " own disgrace, unconcern'd for the honour of their General, whom they ever deserted and fled; in distress
 " cowards, in prosperity despisers of all divine, of all
 " human laws: in fine, if the army, after their fatigues
 " at sea, and their tedious marches by land, long'd for
 " an utter end of their labour; by this battle they might
 " gain it: the Elb was now nearer than the Rhine; and
 " if they would make him a conqueror in those countries where his father and his uncle had conquer'd, the
 " war was concluded". The ardour of the soldiers follow'd the speech of the General, and the signal for the onset was given.

NEITHER did ARMINIUS, or the other Chiefs, neglect to declare to their several bands, that " these Romans
 " were the cowardly fugitives of the Varian army, who,
 " because they could not endure to fight, had afterwards

" chosen

“ chosen to rebel : that some with backs deform’d by
 “ wounds ; some with limbs maim’d by tempests ; forsa-
 “ ken of hope, and the Gods against them, were once
 “ more presenting their lives to their vengeful foes : hi-
 “ therto a fleet, and unfrequented seas, had been the re-
 “ sources of their cowardice against an assaulting or a pur-
 “ suing enemy ; but now that they were to engage hand
 “ to hand, vain would be their relief from wind and oars
 “ after a defeat : the Germans needed only remember their
 “ rapine, cruelty, and pride ; and that to themselves no-
 “ thing remain’d, but either to maintain their native li-
 “ berty, or by death to prevent bondage ” .

THE enemy thus inflam’d, and calling for battle, were
 led into a plain call’d Idistavisus : it lies between the Vi-
 furgis and the hills, and winds unequally along, as it is
 streigthen’d by the swellings of the mountains, or enlarg’d
 by the circuits of the river : behind rose a forest of high
 trees, thick of branches above, but clear of bushes below :
 the army of Barbarians kept the plain, and the entrances of
 the forest : the Cheruscans alone sat down upon the moun-
 tain, in order to pour down from thence upon the Romans,
 as soon as they became engag’d in the fight. Our army
 march’d thus ; the auxiliary Gauls and Germans in front,
 after them the foot archers, next four Legions, and then
 GERMANICUS with two pretorian Cohorts, and the choice of
 the cavalry ; then four Legions more, and the light foot with
 archers on horseback, and the other troops of the allies ;
 the men all intent to march in order of battle, and ready
 to engage as they march’d.

As the impatient bands of Cheruscans were now perceiv’d
 descending fiercely from the hills, GERMANICUS com-
 manded a body of the best horse to charge them in the
 flank, and STERTINIUS with the rest to wheel round to
 attack them in the rear, and promis’d to be ready to assist
 them in person. During this a joyful omen appear’d ; eight
 eagles were seen to fly toward the wood, and to enter it ;
 a presage of victory to the General ! *Advance*, he cry’d,
follow the Roman birds ; follow the tutelar Deities of
the Legions. Instantly the foot charg’d the enemies front,
 and instantly the detach’d cavalry attack’d their flank and
 rear : this double assault had a strange event ; the two di-
 visions

visions of their army fled opposite ways; that in the woods ran to the plain; that in the plain rush'd into the woods. The Cheruscans between both, were driven from the hills, amongst them ARMINIUS remarkably brave, who with his hand, his voice, and distinguish'd wounds, was still sustaining the fight: he had assaulted the archers, and would have broken through them; but the cohorts of the Retians, the Vindelicians, and the Gauls, march'd to their relief: however, by his own vigour, and the force of his horse, he escap'd; his face besmear'd with his own blood to avoid being known. Some have related that the Chaucians, who were amongst the Roman auxiliaries, knew him, and let him go: the same bravery or deceit procur'd INGUIOMERUS his escape: the rest were every where slain; and great numbers attempting to swim the Visurgis, were destroy'd in it, either pursu'd with darts, or swallowed by the current, or overwhelm'd with the weight of the crowd, or buried under the falling banks: some seeking a base refuge on the tops of trees, and concealment amongst the branches, were shot in sport by the archers, or squash'd as the trees were fell'd: a mighty victory this, and to us far from bloody!

THIS slaughter of the foe, from the fifth hour of the day till night, fill'd the country for ten miles with carcases and arms: amongst the spoils, chains were found, which sure of conquering, they had brought to bind the Roman captives. The soldiers proclaim'd TIBERIUS *Imperator* upon the field of battle, and, raising a mount, plac'd upon it as Trophies, the German arms, with the names of all the vanquish'd nations, inscrib'd below.

THIS fight fill'd the Germans with more anguish and rage, than all their wounds, past afflictions, and slaughters. They, who were just prepar'd to abandon their dwellings, and flit beyond the Elb, meditate war and grasp their arms: people, nobles, youth, aged, all rush suddenly upon the Roman army in its march, and disorder it. They next chose their camp, a streight and moist plain, shut in between a river and a forest; the forest too surrounded with a deep marsh, except on one side, which was clos'd with a barrier rais'd by the Angrivarians, between them and the Cheruscans. Here stood their foot: their horse were distributed and conceal'd amongst the neighbouring groves, thence, by
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surprize,

surprize, to beset the Legions in the rear, as soon as they had enter'd the wood.

NOTHING of all this was a secret to GERMANICUS: he knew their counsels, their stations; what steps they pursued, what measures they conceal'd; and to the destruction of the enemy turn'd their own subtilty and devices. To SEIUSTUBERO, his Lieutenant, he committed the horse and the field; the infantry so dispos'd, that part might pass the level approaches into the wood; and the rest force the rampart: this was the most arduous task, and to himself he reserv'd it: the rest he left to his Lieutenants. Those who had the even ground to traverse, broke easily in; but they who were to assail the rampart, were as grievously batter'd from above, as if they had been storming a wall. The General perceiv'd the inequality of this close attack, and drawing off the Legions a small distance, order'd the slingers to throw, and the engineers to play, to beat off the enemy: immediately showers of darts were pour'd from the engines, and the defenders of the barrier, the more bold and expos'd they were, with the more wounds they were beaten down. GERMANICUS, having taken the rampart, first forc'd his way, at the head of the Pretorian Cohorts, into the woods, and there it was fought foot to foot: behind, the enemy were begirt with the morasses; the Romans with the mountains, or the river; no room for either to retreat, no hope but in valour; no safety but in victory.

THE Germans had not inferior courage, but they were exceeded in the fashion of arms and art of fighting. Their mighty multitude hamper'd in narrow places, could not push nor recover their long spears; nor practise in a close combat, their usual boundings and velocity of limbs. On the contrary, our soldiers, with handy swords, and their breasts closely guarded with a buckler, delv'd the large bodies and naked faces of the Barbarians, and open'd themselves a way with a havock of the enemy: besides, the activity of ARMINIUS now fail'd him; either spent through his continual efforts, or slacken'd by a wound just receiv'd: INGUOMERUS, was every where upon the spur, animating the battle; but fortune rather than courage deserted him: GERMANICUS, to be the easier known; pull'd off his helmet, and exhorted his men, "to prosecute the slaughter; they wanted no captives,

“tives, he said; only the cutting off that people root and branch, would put an end to the war”. It was now late in the day, and he drew off a Legion to make a camp; the rest glutted themselves till night with the blood of the foe: the horse fought with doubtful success.

GERMANICUS, in a speech from the tribunal, prais'd his victorious army, and rais'd a monument of arms, with a proud Inscription, THAT THE ARMY OF TIBERIUS CESAR; HAVING VANQUISH'D INTIRELY THE NATIONS BETWEEN THE RHINE AND THE ELB, HAD CONSECRATED THAT MONUMENT TO MARS, TO JUPITER AND TO AUGUSTUS. Of himself he made no mention, either fearful of provoking envy, or that he thought it sufficient praise to have deserv'd it. He had next commanded STERTINIUS to carry the war amongst the Angrivarians; but they instantly submitted; and these supplicants, by yielding without articles, obtain'd pardon without reserve.

THE summer now declining, some of the Legions were sent back into winter quarters by land; more were embark'd with GERMANICUS upon the river Amisia, to go from thence by the ocean: the sea, at first, was serene, no sound or agitation but from the oars or sails of a thousand ships; but, suddenly a black host of clouds pour'd a storm of hail; furious winds roar'd on every side, and the tempest darken'd the deep, so that all prospect was lost; and it was impossible to steer: the soldiers too, unaccustom'd to the terrors of the sea, in the hurry of fear disorder'd the mariners, or interrupted the skilful by unskilful help; at last the south wind mastering all the rest, drove the ocean and the sky: the tempest deriv'd new force from the windy mountains and swelling rivers of Germany, as well as from an immense train of clouds, and contracting withal fresh vigour from the boisterous neighbourhood of the north; it hurl'd the ships and toss'd them into the open ocean, or against islands stor'd with rocks, or dangerously beset with cover'd shoals. The ships by degrees, with great labour and the change of the tide were reliev'd from the rocks and sands, but remain'd at the mercy of the winds; their anchors could not hold them; they were full of water, nor could all their pumps discharge it; hence, to lighten and raise the vessels swallowing at their decks the invading waves,
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the horses, beasts, baggage, and even the arms were cast into the deep.

By how much the German ocean is more outrageous than the rest of the sea, and the German climate excels in rigour, by so much this ruine was reckon'd to exceed in greatness and novelty. They were engag'd in a tempestuous sea, believ'd deep without bottom, vast without bounds, or no shores near but hostile shores: part of the fleet were swallow'd up; many were driven upon remote islands void of human culture, where the men perish'd through famine, or were kept alive by the carcases of horses cast in by the flood: only the galley of GERMANICUS landed upon the coast of the Chaucians, where wandring sadly, day and night, upon the rocks and prominent shore, and incessantly accusing himself as the author of such mighty destruction, he was hardly restrain'd by his friends from casting himself desperately into the same hostile floods. At last, with the returning tide, and an assisting gale, the ships began to return, all maim'd, almost destitute of oars, or with coats spread for sails; and some utterly disabled, were dragg'd by those that were less. He repair'd them hastily, and dispatch'd them to search the islands; and by this care many men were glean'd up, many were by the Angrivarians, our new subjects, redeem'd from their maritime neighbours, and restor'd; and some driven into Great Britain, were sent back by the little British Kings: those who had come from a far, recounted wonders at their return, "the impetuosity of whirlwinds; " wonderful birds; sea-monsters of ambiguous forms between man and beasts". Strange fights these! or the effects of imagination and fear

THE noise of this wreck, as it animated the Germans with hopes of renewing the war, awaken'd GERMANICUS also to restrain them: he commanded CAIUS SILIUS, with thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse, to march against the Cattans; he himself with a greater force invaded the Marfians, where he learnt from MALO VENDUS, their General, lately taken into our subjection, that the Eagle of one of VARUS's Legions, was hid under ground in a neighbouring grove, and kept by a slender guard. Instantly two parties were dispatch'd; one to face the enemy and provoke them from their post; the other to beset their rear and dig
up

up the Eagle; and success attended both. Hence GERMANICUS advanced with greater alacrity, laid waste the country, and smote the foe, either not daring to engage, or, where ever they engag'd, suddenly defeated; nor, as we learnt from the prisoners, were they ever seiz'd with greater dismay, "the Romans, they cried, are invincible: no calamities can subdue them, they have wreck'd their fleet; their arms are lost, our shores are cover'd with the bodies of their horses and men: and yet they attack us with their usual ferocity, with the same firmness, and with numbers as it were increas'd".

THE army was from thence led back into winter quarters, full of joy to have balanc'd, by this prosperous expedition, their late misfortune at sea; and by the bounty of GERMANICUS, their joy was heighten'd, since to each sufferer he caus'd to be paid as much as each declar'd he had lost; neither was it doubted but the enemy were humbled, and concerting measures for obtaining peace, and that the next summer would terminate the war. But TIBERIUS by frequent letters urg'd him "to come home, there to celebrate the triumph already decreed him; urg'd, that he had already tried enough of events, and tempted abundant hazards: he had indeed fought great and successful battles; but he must likewise remember his losses and calamities, which, however owing to wind and waves, and no fault of the General, were yet great and grievous: he himself had been sent nine times into Germany by AUGUSTUS, and effected much more by policy than arms: it was thus he had brought the Sigambrians into subjection, thus drawn the Suevians, and King MAROBODUUS, under the bonds of peace: the Cheruskans too, and the other hostile nations, now the Roman vengeance was satiated, might be left to pursue their own national feuds". GERMANICUS besought one year to accomplish his conquest; but TIBERIUS assail'd his modesty with a new bate and fresh importunity, by offering him another Consulship, for the administration of which he was to attend in person at Rome: he added, "that if the war was still to be prosecuted, GERMANICUS should leave a field of glory to his Brother DRUSUS, to whom there now remain'd no other; since the Empire had no where a war to main-
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tain but in Germany, and thence only DRUSUS could acquire the title of Emperor, and merit the triumphal laurel", GERMANICUS, persisted no longer; tho' he knew that this was all feign'd and hollow, and saw himself invidiously torn away from a harvest of ripe glory.

ABOUT this time, LIBO DRUSUS of the Scribonian family, was arraign'd for meditating attempts against the state: and, because then first were devis'd those pestilent arts and impeachments, which for so many years devour'd the Commonwealth, I will lay open with the more exactness the beginning, progress and issue of this affair. FIRMIUS CATUS the Senator, a close confidant of LIBO, traiterously misled that youth, unwary as he was, and easy to be ensnar'd with specious delusions; engag'd him to try the predictions of the Chaldeans, the superstitious rites of Magicians, and the interpreters of dreams; and to flatter his hopes and ambition, was incessantly magnifying the nobility of his race; for that POMPEY was "his great grandfather, SCRIBONIA, once the wife of AUGUSTUS, his aunt, the Cæsars his kinsmen; and his house full of images"; tempted him to luxury and borrowing; was associated with him in his debauches, surety for his debts, and all to accumulate more matter for crimes and evidence.

WHEN he found himself furnish'd with store of witnesses, and amongst them some of LIBO's slaves, who were also privy to the obnoxious conduct of their master, he sought admittance to the Emperor; having first by FLACCUS VESULARIUS, a Roman Knight intimate with TIBERIUS, represented to him LIBO as a criminal, as also a detail of his crimes. TIBERIUS slighted not his information, but denied him access, "for that the communication he said, might be still manag'd by the same FLACCUS". In the mean time, he preferred LIBO to the Pretorship, entertain'd him at his table, shew'd no strangeness in his countenance, no resentment in his words (so deeply had he smother'd his vengeance) and, when he might have restrain'd all the dangerous speeches and practices of LIBO, he chose rather to permit them in order to know them: nor were they check'd or made publick, till one JUNIUS, who was dealt with to call up by charms the infernal shades, discover'd this to FULCINIUS TRIO, a distinguish'd accuser,

fer, one greedy of renown in wickedness: instantly TRIO mark'd out the doom of the accus'd, hasted to the Consuls, and of them demanded that the Senate might meet and adjudge him; thus the fathers were forthwith summon'd, and even appriz'd, that "upon an affair of mighty moment and "horrible tendency to the state, they were to deliberate".

LIBO the while, having chang'd his dress, went cover'd with mourning, from house to house, accompanied by Ladies of the noblest rank, and implor'd the mediation of his kindred, that they would protect him against mortal and impending ruine, and speak in his behalf: but, every one of them declin'd his suit, each upon a different pretence, but, in reality, all from the same fear. The day the Senate sat for his trial; vanquish'd with dread, and sinking under sickness, or, as some relate, feigning it, he was born in a litter to the court, and, leaning upon his brother, with supplicant hands and words, he accosted and strove to soften TIBERIUS, who receiv'd him with a countenance perfectly unmov'd. It was the Emperor who next recited the charge against him, and the authors of the charge; but with such wary moderation, that he might seem neither to soften nor sharpen his crimes.

To TRIO and CATUS, two other accusers, FONTEIUS AGRIPPA and CAIUS VIBIUS, join'd themselves, and strove who should have the right to implead the accus'd: at last when neither would yield, and LIBO was come unprovided with a pleader, VIBIUS undertook to maintain the several heads of the charge, and produced articles so extravagant, that amongst the rest it was one, how LIBO had consulted the fortunetellers, "whether he should ever be "master of opulence sufficient to cover the great Appian "road with money as far as Brundisium". There were others of the same kind, foolish, chimerical, or (taken in a tenderer sense) deserving pity: but there was one article form'd upon a paper containing the names of the Cæsars as well as those of some Senators, with mysterious characters, and mischievous notes join'd to them: this the accuser urg'd against LIBO as written in his own hand: LIBO denied it, and, hence it was propos'd to examine by torture his conscious slaves: but, seeing it was forbid by an ancient law of the Senate, to put servants to the question in a trial touching

touching the life of their master, the crafty TIBERIUS invented a new law to elude the old, and order'd these slaves to be sold to the publick steward, that, by this expedient, evidence against LIBO might be rack'd from his servants, without violating the law. In this state of despondency, LIBO requested respite till the next day, and then returning to his own house, transmitted, by his kinsman PUBLIUS QUIRINIUS, his last prayers to the Emperor, who replied that, "he must make his request to the Senate.

HIS house was in the mean time encompass'd with a band of soldiers, who with studied noise and terror were filling all the court on purpose to be seen and heard; just when LIBO sat down to the banquet which, as the ultimate pleasure of his life, he had prepar'd; but feeling agonies instead of pleasure, he call'd for a minister of death; he successively grasp'd the hands of his slaves and into them strove to squeeze a sword; but they, as they trembled and shunn'd the sad task, through the hurry of fear and flight overturn'd the lamp that illuminated the table; and in this ominous and tragical darkness, he gave himself two deadly stabs in the bowels: as he groan'd and fell, his freedmen sprang in, and the soldiers seeing the slaughter perpetrated, retired. The charge against him was however push'd in the Senate, with the same unrelenting eagerness: yet, TIBERIUS vow'd, "that he would have interceded for his life, notwithstanding his treason; if he had not thus hastily died by his own hands".

HIS estate was divided amongst his accusers; and those of them who bore the rank of Senators, were, without the regular way of election, prefer'd to Pretorships. Then COTTA MESSALINUS mov'd that, "the image of LIBO might not accompany the funerals of his posterity": CNEIUS LENTULUS, that "none of the SCRIBONII should henceforth assume the surname of DRUSUS"; at the motion of POMPONIUS FLACCUS, days of thanksgiving were appointed: that "gifts should be presented to JUPITER, to MARS, and to the Goddess Concord; and that the thirteenth of september, the day on which LIBO slew himself, should be an establish'd festival"; were the votes of LUCIUS PUBLIUS, of ASINIUS GALLUS, of PAPIUS MUTILIUS, and of LUCIUS APRONIUS. I have related the votes
and

and sycophancy of these men, to shew that adulation is an inveterate evil in the state. Decrees of the Senate were likewise made for driving Astrologers and Magicians out of Italy; and one of the herd, LUCIUS PITUANIUS, was precipitated from the Tarpeian Rock: PUBLIUS MARCIUS, another, was by judgment of the Consuls, at the sound of trumpet executed without the Esquiline Gate, according to the ancient form.

NEXT time the Senate sat, long discourses against the luxury of the city were made by QUINTUS HATERIUS, a Consular, and by OCTAVIUS FRONTO, formerly Pretor; and a law was pass'd "against using table-plate of solid gold; " and against men's debasing themselves with gorgeous " and effeminate silks". FRONTO went farther, and desired that " the quantities of silver-plate, the expence of " furniture, and the number of domesticks, might be " limited". For, it was yet common for Senators to depart from the present debate, and offer, as their advice, whatever they judg'd conducing to the interest of the Commonwealth. Against him it was argued by ASINIUS GALLUS, " that with the growth of the Empire private " riches were likewise grown, and it was no new thing " for citizens to live according to their conditions, but " agreeable to the most primitive usage: the ancient FABRICII and the later SCIPIOS, having different wealth, " liv'd differently; but all suitably to the several stages " of the Commonwealth: publick poverty was accompany'd with domestick; but, when the State rose to such " a height of magnificence, the magnificence of particulars rose too: as to plate, and train, and expence, " there was no standard of excess or frugality, but from " the fortunes of men: the law indeed had made a distinction between the fortunes of Senators and of Knights; " not for any natural difference between them; but " that they who excell'd in place, rank, and civil pre- " eminence, might excell too in other particulars, such " as conduc'd to the health of the body, or to the peace " and solacement of the soul; unless it were expected, " that the most illustrious citizens should sustain the " sharpest cares, and undergoe the heaviest fatigues and " dangers, but continue destitute of every alleviation of fa-
V " tigue

“ tigue and danger, and care ”. GALLUS easily prevail’d, whilst, under worthy names, he avow’d and supported popular vices in an assembly engag’d in them. TIBERIUS too had said, “ that it was not a season for reformation ; or, if there were any corruption of manners, there would not be wanting one to correct them ”.

DURING these transactions, LUCIUS PISO, after he had declaim’d bitterly, in the Senate, against “ the ambitious practices and intrigues of the Forum, the corruption of the tribunals, and the inhumanity of the pleaders breathing continual terror and impeachments ”, declar’d, “ he would intirely relinquish Rome, and retire into a quiet corner of the country, far distant and obscure ”. With these words he left the Senate ; TIBERIUS was provok’d ; and yet not only sooth’d him with gentle words, but likewise oblig’d PISO’s relations, by their authority or entreaties to retain him. The same PISO gave soon after an equal instance of the indignation of a free spirit, by prosecuting a suit against URGULANIA ; a Lady whom the partial friendship of LIVIA had set at defiance with the laws. URGULANIA being carried, for protection, to the palace, despis’d the efforts of PISO ; so that neither did she submit ; nor would he desist, notwithstanding the complaints and resentments of LIVIA, that, in the prosecution, “ violence and indignity were done to her own person ”. TIBERIUS promis’d to attend the trial, and assist URGULANIA ; but only promis’d in civility to his mother, for so far he thought it became him ; and thus left the palace, ordering his guards to follow at a distance : people the while crowded about him, and he walk’d with a slow and compos’d air : as he linger’d and prolong’d the time and way with various discourse, the trial went on ; PISO would not be mollified by the importunity of his friends ; and hence at last the Empress order’d the payment of the money claim’d by him. This was the issue of the affair : by it PISO lost no renown ; and it signally increas’d the credit of TIBERIUS : the power however of URGULANIA was so exorbitant to the state, that she disdain’d to appear a witness in a certain cause before the Senate ; and, when it had been always usual even for the Vestal virgins

virgins to attend the Forum and Courts of Justice, as oft as their evidence was requir'd; a Pretor was sent to examine URGULANIA at her own house.

THE procrastination which happen'd this year in the publick affairs, I should not mention, but that the different opinions of CNEIUS PISO and ASINIUS GALLUS about it, are worth knowing: Their dispute was occasioned by a declaration of TIBERIUS; "that he was about to be absent", and it was the motion of PISO, "that for that very reason, the prosecution of publick business was the rather to be continued; since, as in the Prince's absence, the Senate and Equestrian order might administer their several parts, the same would redound to the honour of the Commonwealth". This was a declaration for liberty, and in it PISO had prevented GALLUS, who now in opposition said, "that nothing sufficiently illustrious, nor suiting the dignity of the Roman people, could be transacted but under the immediate eye of the Emperor, and therefore the conflux of suitors and affairs from Italy, and the provinces, must by all means be reserv'd for his presence". TIBERIUS heard and was silent, while the debate was manag'd on both sides with mighty vehemence; but the adjournment was carried.

A DEBATE too arose between GALLUS and the Emperor: for, GALLUS mov'd "that the Magistrates should be henceforth elected but once every five years; that the legates of the Legions, who had never exercis'd the Pretorships, should be appointed Pretors; and that the Prince should nominate twelve candidates every year". It was not doubted but this motion had a deeper aim, and that by it the secret springs and reserves of imperial power were invaded. But TIBERIUS, as if he rather apprehended the augmentation of his power, argued, "that it was a heavy task upon his moderation, to chuse so many Magistrates, and to postpone so many candidates: that disgusts from disappointments were hardly avoided in yearly elections; tho', for their solacement, fresh hopes remain'd of approaching success in the next; now how great must be the hatred, how lasting the resentment of such whose pretensions were to be rejected beyond five years? and whence could it be foreseen that, in so long a tract of time, the

" same

“ same men would continue to have the same dispositions,
 “ the same alliances and fortunes ? even an annual designa-
 “ tion to power, made men imperious ; how imperious would
 “ it make them, if they bore the honour for five years ! be-
 “ sides, it would multiply every single Magistrate into five,
 “ and utterly subvert the laws which had prescrib’d a proper
 “ space for exercising the diligence of the candidates, and
 “ for soliciting as well as enjoying preferments ”.

By this speech in appearance popular, he still retain’d
 the spirit and force of the sovereignty. He likewise sus-
 tain’d by gratuities, the dignity of some necessitous Se-
 nators : hence it was the more wonder’d, that he received
 with haughtiness and repulse the petition of MARCUS
 HORTALUS, a young man of signal quality and mani-
 festly poor. He was the grandson of HORTENSIVS the
 Orator ; and had been encourag’d by the deified AU-
 GUSTUS with a bounty of a thousand great sestertia, to
 marry for posterity, purely to prevent the extinction of
 a family most illustrious and renown’d : the Senate were
 sitting in the palace, and HORTALUS having set his four
 children before the door, fixt his eyes, now upon the sta-
 tue of HORTENSIVS, plac’d amongst the Orators ; then
 upon that of AUGUSTUS ; and, instead of speaking to
 the question, began on this wise : “ Conscript fathers,
 “ you see there the number and infancy of my children ;
 “ not mine by my own choice, but in compliance with
 “ the advice of the Prince : such too was the splendor
 “ of my ancestors, that it merited to be perpetuated in
 “ their race : but, for my own particular, who marr’d
 “ by the revolution of the times, could not raise wealth,
 “ nor engage popular favour, nor cultivate the heredita-
 “ ry fortune of our house, the fortune of Eloquence ; I
 “ deem’d it sufficient, if in my slender circumstances, I
 “ liv’d no disgrace to myself, no burden to others : com-
 “ manded by the Emperor, I took a wife : behold the
 “ offspring of so many Consuls ; behold the descendants
 “ of so many Dictators ! nor is this remembrance invi-
 “ diously made, but made to move mercy. In the pro-
 “ gress of your reign, CESAR, these children may arrive
 “ at the honours in your gift ; defend them in the mean
 “ time from want : they are the great grandsons of

“ HOR-

“ HORTENSIUS ; they are the foster sons of AUGUSTUS ”.

THE inclination of the Senate was favourable ; an incitement this to TIBERIUS the more eagerly to thwart HORTALUS. These were in effect his words : “ If all that are
 “ poor recur hither for a provision of money to their children, the publick will certainly fail, and yet particulars
 “ never be satiated : our ancestors, when they permitted a
 “ departure from the question, to propose somewhat more
 “ important to the state, did not therefore permit it,
 “ that we might here transact domestick matters, and
 “ augment our private rents : an employment invidious
 “ both in the Senate and the Prince ; since, whether
 “ they grant or deny the petitioned bounties, either the
 “ people or the petitioners will ever be offended : but,
 “ these in truth are not petitions ; they are demands
 “ made against order, and made by surprize : while you
 “ are assembled upon other affairs, he stands up and
 “ urges your pity, by the number and infancy of his
 “ children ; with the same violence, he charges the attack to me, and as it were bursts open the exchequer :
 “ but, if by popular bounties we exhaust it, by rapine
 “ and oppression we must supply it. The deified AUGUSTUS gave you money, HORTALUS ; but without solicitation he gave it, and on no condition that it should
 “ always be given : otherwise diligence will languish ;
 “ sloth will prevail ; and men having no hopes in resources
 “ of their own ; no anxiety for themselves, but all securely
 “ relying on foreign relief, will become private sluggards
 “ and publick burdens ”. These and the like reasonings of TIBERIUS were differently receiv’d ; with approbation by those whose way it is to extol, without distinction, all the doings of Princes worthy and unworthy ; by most however with silence, or low and discontented murmurs. TIBERIUS perceiv’d it, and having paus’d a little, said, “ his answer was particularly to HORTALUS ; but, if
 “ the Senate thought fit, he would give his sons two
 “ hundred great sestertia each ”. For this all the Senators presented their thanks ; only HORTALUS said nothing ; perhaps through present awe, or perhaps possess’d, even in poverty, with the grandeur of his ancient nobility :

nor did TIBERIUS ever shew farther pity, tho' the house of HORTENSIVS was fallen into shameful distress.

THE same year, the boldness of a single bondman had, but for early prevention, torn the state with discord and civil arms: a slave of POSTHUMUS AGRIPPA, his name CLEMENS, having learnt the death of AUGUSTUS, conceiv'd a design to sail to Planasia, and there releasing AGRIPPA by art or force, to carry him to the armies in Germany; no slavish design this! but, the slowness of the laden vessel defeated his bold purpose; for AGRIPPA was already murder'd: hence he conceiv'd views still higher and more daring: he stole the funeral ashes, and sailing to Cosa, a promontory of Etruria, hid himself in desert places, till his hair and beard were grown long; for, in age and person, he was not unlike his master. Then, a report spread by trusty emissaries and the associates of the plot, *that Agrippa liv'd*, began to thicken: it first crept abroad in dark whispers, as usual in matters of dangerous tendency; but becoming soon a prevailing rumour, it fill'd the greedy ears of the credulous, or was encourag'd by turbulent minds, such as are ever fond of publick agitations and changes: he himself, when he enter'd the neighbouring towns, did it in the gloom of the day; never to be seen publickly, nor long in the same place: but, as truth is strengthened by observation and time; lies by haste and uncertainty, he out ran fame: here he staid not to be known; there he arriv'd before his name arriv'd.

IT flew through Italy, in the mean time, "that, by the bounty of the Gods, AGRIPPA was preserv'd". It was even believ'd at Rome: his suppos'd arrival at Ostia, was celebrated by great multitudes abroad; and in the city by clandestine cabals; whilst divided cares distracted TIBERIUS, whether he should suppress his slave by the power of the sword, or suffer the empty credulity of the publick to vanish with time: now he thought that nothing was to be slighted; now that every thing was not to be dreaded, wavering between shame and fear: at last he committed the affair to SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS. CRISPUS chose two of his clients (some say two soldiers) and directed them to go directly to him, to feign them-

themselves his creatures; men who were conscious that he was the genuine AGRIPPA, to present him with money, and to promise him, without reserve, their faith and fortunes. They instantly executed these orders; and afterwards spying him one night without guards, and being themselves furnish'd with a proper band of men, they carried him to the palace, gagg'd and bound. To TIBERIUS, when he ask'd him, "how he was become AGRIPPA"? he is said to have answer'd, "just as you became CESAR". But, to discover his accomplices, he could never be constrain'd: neither dar'd TIBERIUS venture to execute him publickly, but order'd him to be dispatch'd in a secret part of the palace, and his body to be carried privately away; and, tho' many of the Prince's household, many Knights and Senators, were said to have supported him with money, and assisted him with their Councils; no enquiry followed.

At the end of the year, a triumphal arch was rais'd near the Temple of Saturn; a monument this for the recovery of the Varian Eagles, under the conduct of GERMANICUS, under the auspices of TIBERIUS: a Temple was dedicated to happy Fortune near the Tiber, in the Gardens bequeath'd to the Roman people by CESAR, the Dictator: a Chapel was consecrated to the Julian family, and statues to the deified AUGUSTUS, in the suburbs call'd Bovillae. In the Consulship of CAIUS CELIUS and LUCIUS POMPONIUS, the six and twentieth of May, GERMANICUS CESAR triumphed, over the Cherusicans, the Cattans, the Angrivarians, and the other nations as far as the Elb. In the triumph were carried all the spoils and captives, with the representations of mountains, of rivers, and of battles; so that his conquests, because he was restrain'd from compleating them, were taken for compleat: his own graceful person and his chariot fill'd with his five children, heightened the shew and the delight of the beholders: yet they were check'd with secret fears; as they remember'd, "that popular
"favour had prov'd malignant to his father DRUSUS,
"that his uncle MARCELLUS was snatch'd, in his youth,
"from the burning affections of the populace, and, that
"ever short liv'd and unfortunate were the favourites of
"the Roman people".

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TIBERIUS distributed to the people in the name of GERMANICUS, three hundred sesterces a man, and nam'd himself his Collegue in the Consulship. Nor even thus did he gain the opinion of tendernefs and sincerity : in effect, on pretence of investing the young Prince with fresh preferment and honours, he resolv'd to alienate him from Rome : and, to accomplish it, craftily fram'd an occasion, or snatch'd such a one as chance presented. ARCHELAUS had enjoy'd the Kingdom of Cappadocia now fifty years, a Prince under the deep displeasure of TIBERIUS, because in his retirement at Rhodes, the King had paid him no sort of court nor distinction ; an omission this which proceeded from no disdain, but from the warnings given him by the confidents of AUGUSTUS ; for that the young CAIUS CESAR, the presumptive heir to the Sovereignty, then liv'd, and was sent to compose and administer the affairs of the East ; hence the friendship of TIBERIUS was reckoned then dangerous : but when, by the utter fall of the family of the CESARS, he had gain'd the Empire, he enticed ARCHELAUS to Rome, by means of letters from his mother, who, without dissembling her son's resentment offer'd the King his mercy, provided, he came and in person implor'd it : he, who was either ignorant of the snare, or dreaded violence if he had appear'd to perceive it, hasten'd to the City ; where he was receiv'd by TIBERIUS with great sternness and wrath, and soon after accus'd as a criminal in the Senate. The crimes alleg'd against him were mere fictions ; yet, as equal treatment is unusual to Kings, and, to be treated like malefactors, intolerable ; ARCHELAUS, who was broken with grief as well as age, by choice or fate ended his life ; his Kingdom was reduced into a province, and by its revenues TIBERIUS declar'd, the tax of the hundreth penny would be abated, and reduced it for the future to the two hundredth. At the same time died ANTIOCHUS, King of Comagena, as also PHILOPATOR, King of Cilicia ; and great combustions shook these nations ; whilst, of the people many desired the Roman Government, and many were addicted to domestick Monarchy. The provinces too of Syria and Judca, as they were oppress'd with impositions, pray'd an abatement of tribute.

THESE

THESE affairs, and such as I have above related concerning Armenia, TIBERIUS represented to the Fathers, and, “ that the commotions of the East could only be
 “ settled by the wisdom and abilities of GERMANICUS:
 “ for himself; his age now declin’d, and that of DRUSUS
 “ was not yet sufficiently ripe”. The provinces beyond the sea were thence decreed to GERMANICUS, with authority superior to all those who obtain’d provinces by lot, or the nomination of the Prince: but, TIBERIUS had already taken care to remove from the government of Syria CRETICUS SILANUS, one united to GERMANICUS in domestick alliance, by having to NERO, the eldest son of GERMANICUS, betroth’d his daughter. In his room he had preferr’d CNEIUS PISO, a man of violent temper, incapable of subjection, and heir to all the ferocity and haughtiness of his father PISO; the same who, in the civil war, assisted the reviving party against CESAR in Africa, with vehement efforts; and then follow’d BRUTUS and CASSIUS, but had at last leave to come home; yet disdain’d to sue for any publick offices, nay was even courted by AUGUSTUS to accept the Consulship. His son, besides his hereditary pride and impetuosity, was elevated with the nobility and wealth of PLANCINA his wife; scarce yielded he to TIBERIUS, and, as men far beneath him, despis’d the sons of TIBERIUS; neither did he doubt but he was set over Syria on purpose to thwart the measures and defeat all the views of GERMANICUS: some even believ’d, that he had to this purpose secret orders from TIBERIUS; as it was certain, that LIVIA directed PLANCINA to exert the spirit of the sex, and by constant emulation and indignities, persecute AGRIPPINA. For, the whole court was rent, and their affections secretly divided between DRUSUS and GERMANICUS. TIBERIUS was partial to DRUSUS, as his own son by generation; others lov’d GERMANICUS; the more for the aversion of his uncle, and for being by his mother, of more illustrious descent; as MARC ANTHONY was his grandfather, and AUGUSTUS his great uncle. On the other side, POMPONIUS ATTICUS a Roman Knight, by being the great grandfather of DRUSUS, seem’d thence to have deriv’d a stain upon the images of the Claudian house: besides,

AGRIPPINA, the wife of GERMANICUS, did in the fruitfulness of her body, and the reputation of her virtue, far excel LIVIA the wife of DRUSUS. Yet the two brothers liv'd in amiable dearness and concord, no wife shaken or estranged by the reigning contention amongst their separate friends and adherents.

DRUSUS was soon after sent into Illyricum in order to inure him to war, and gain him the affections of the army: besides, TIBERIUS thought that the youth who lov'd wantoning in the luxuries of Rome, would be reform'd in the camp, and that his own security would be enlarg'd when both his sons were at the head of the Legions. But, the pretence for sending him was the protection of the Suevians, who were then imploring assistance against the power of the Cheruscans. For, these nations, who since the departure of the Romans, saw themselves no longer threaten'd with terrors from abroad, and were then particularly engaged in a national competition for glory, had relaps'd, as usual, into their old intestine feuds, and turn'd their arms upon each other. The two people were equally powerful; and their two leaders equally brave, but differently esteem'd, as the title of King, upon MAROBODUUS had drawn the hate and averfion of his countrymen; whilst ARMINIUS, as a champion warring for the defence of liberty, was the universal object of popular affection.

HENCE not only the Cheruscans and their confederates, they who had been the ancient soldiery of ARMINIUS, took arms; but to him too revolted the Semnones and Langobards, both Suevian nations, and even subjects of MAROBODUUS; and by their accession he would have exceeded in puissance, but INGUIOMERUS with his band of followers deserted to MAROBODUUS; for no other cause than disdain, that an old man and an uncle like himself, should obey ARMINIUS a young man his nephew. Both armies were drawn out, with equal hopes; nor disjointed, like the old German battles, into scatter'd parties for loose and random attacks; for, by long war with us they had learnt to follow their ensigns, to strengthen their main body with parties of reserves, and to observe the orders of their Generals. ARMINIUS was now on
horseback

horseback viewing all the ranks: as he rode thro' them he magnified their past feats; "their liberty recover'd, the
"slaughter'd Legions; the spoils of arms wrested from
"the Romans; monuments of victory still retain'd in
"some of their hands": upon MAROBODUUS he fell with contumelious names, as "a fugitive, one of no abilities in war; a coward who had sought defence from
"the gloomy coverts of the Hercynian wood, and then
"by gifts and solicitations, courted the alliance of Rome;
"a betrayer of his country; and a lifeguard-man of
"CESAR'S, worthy to be exterminated with no less hostile vengeance than in the slaughter of QUINCTILIUS
"VARUS they had shewn: let them only remember so many battles bravely fought; the events of which,
"particularly the utter expulsion of the Romans, were
"sufficient proofs with whom remain'd the glory of
"the war".

NEITHER did MAROBODUUS fail to boast himself and depreciate the foe. "In the person of INGUIOMERUS,
"he said, (holding him by the hand) rested the whole
"renown of the Cheruskans; and from his counsels began all their exploits that ended in success: ARMINIUS a
"man of a frantick spirit, and a novice in affairs, assum'd
"to himself the glory of another, for having by treachery surpriz'd three Legions, which expected no foe,
"and their leader who fear'd no fraud; a base surprize,
"reveng'd since on Germany with heavy slaughters, and
"on ARMINIUS himself with domestick infamy, while
"his wife and his son still bore the bonds of captivity.
"For himself; when attack'd formerly by TIBERIUS at
"the head of twelve Legions, he had preserv'd unstain'd
"the glory of Germany, and on equal terms ended the
"war: nor did he repent of the treaty, since it was
"still in their hands to wage, anew, equal war with
"the Romans, or save blood and maintain peace". The armies, besides the encitements from these speeches, were animated by national stimulations of their own: the Cheruskans fought for their ancient renown, the Langobards for their recent liberty; and the Suevians and their King on the contrary were struggling for the augmentation of their monarchy: never did armies make a fiercer onset; never had
onset

onset a more ambiguous event ; for, both the right wings were routed, and hence a fresh encounter was certainly expected, till MAROBODUUS drew off his army and encamp'd upon the hills ; a manifest sign this that he was humbled ; frequent desertions too leaving him at last naked of forces, he retired to the Marcomannians, and thence sent Embassadors to TIBERIUS, to implore succours. They were answered, “ that he had no right to invoke aid “ of the Roman arms against the Cheruscans ; since to “ the Romans, while they were warring with the same “ foe, he had never administer'd any assistance ”. DRUSUS was however sent away, as I have said, with the character of a negociator of peace.

THE same year, twelve noble cities of Asia were overturn'd by an earthquake : the ruine happen'd in the night, and the more dreadful as it's warnings were unobserv'd : neither avail'd the usual sanctuary against such calamities ; namely, a flight to the fields ; since those who fled, the gaping earth devour'd. It is reported, “ that “ mighty mountains subsided, plains were heav'd into “ high hills ; and that with flashes and eruptions of “ fire, the mighty devastation was every where accompanied ”. The Sardians felt most heavily the rage of the concussion, and therefore most compassion ; TIBERIUS promised them a hundred thousand great sesterces, and remitted their taxes for five years. The inhabitants of Magnesia under Mount Sipylus, were held the next in sufferings, and had proportionable relief. The Temnians, Philadelphians, the Egeatans, Appollonians, with those call'd the Mostenians or Macedonians of Hyrcania, the cities too of Hierocesarea, Cyme and Tmolus ; were all for the same term eas'd of tribute : it was likewise resolv'd to send one of the Senate to view the desolations and administer proper remedies : MARCUS ALETUS was therefore chosen, one of Pretorian rank ; because a Consular Senator then governing Asia, had another of the like quality been sent, an emulation between equals was apprehended, and consequently opposition and delays.

THE credit of this noble bounty to the publick, he increas'd by private liberalities which prov'd equally popular ; the estate of the wealthy EMILIA MUSA, claim'd
by

by the exchequer, as she died intestate, he surrender'd to EMILIUS LEPIDUS, to whose family she seem'd to belong ; as also to MARCUS SERVILIUS the inheritance of PATULEIUS, a rich Roman Knight, tho' part of it had been bequeath'd to himself ; but he found SERVILIUS nam'd sole heir in a former and well attested will : he said, such was " the nobility of both, that they deserv'd " to be supported ". Nor did he ever to himself accept any man's inheritance, but where former friendship gave him a title : the wills of such as were strangers to him, and of such as, from hate and prejudice to others, had appointed the Prince their heir ; he utterly rejected. But, as he reliev'd the honest poverty of the virtuous, so he degraded from the Senate, (or suffer'd to quit it of their own accord) VIBIDIUS VARRO, MARIUS NEPOS, APPIUS APPIANUS, CORNELIUS SYLLA, and QUINTUS VITELLIUS, all prodigals, and only through debauchery indigent.

ABOUT this time, TIBERIUS finish'd and consecrated what AUGUSTUS began, the Temples of the Gods consum'd by age or fire : that near the great Circus, vowed by AULUS POSTHUMIUS the Dictator, to Bacchus, Proserpina and Ceres : in the same place the Temple of Flora, founded by LUCIUS PUBLICIUS and MARCUS PUBLICIUS, while they were Ediles : the Temple of Janus, built in the Herb-Market by CAIUS DUILLIUS, who first signaliz'd the Roman power at sea, and merited a naval triumph over the Carthaginians. That of Hope was dedicated by GERMANICUS : this Temple ATRIUS had vowed in the same war.

THE Law of violated Majesty, in the mean time, wax'd intense, and by it an accuser impleaded APULEIA VARILIA, grand-niece to AUGUSTUS by his sister ; for that with opprobrious words she had reviled the deified AUGUSTUS, TIBERIUS and his mother ; and being nearly allied to the Emperor, had stain'd by adultery the Cæsarcan blood. Concerning the adultery, sufficient provision was thought already made by the Julian Law : and the crimes of state, TIBERIUS desired might be separated : " if she had utter'd impious speeches of AU-

“ against himself, he would not have her call’d to any
 “ account ”. The Consul ask’d him, “ what would be
 “ his sentiments, if she were convicted of defaming his
 “ mother ”. To this he made no answer ; but next sitting of the Senate, he pray’d too in her name, “ that
 “ no words spoken against her ; might to any one be
 “ imputed for crimes ” ; and acquitted APULEIA of the treason ; of her punishment too for adultery he begg’d a mitigation, and prevail’d that, “ by the example of
 “ our ancestors, she should be remov’d by her kindred
 “ two hundred miles from Rome ”. MANLIUS her adulterer was interdicted Italy and Africa.

A debate at this time arose about substituting a Pretor in the room of VIPSANIUS GALLUS, remov’d by death : GERMANICUS and DRUSUS (for they were yet at Rome) espous’d HATERIUS AGRIPPA, kinsman to GERMANICUS : many on the contrary insisted, that the number of children should decide it, and the candidate who had most be preferr’d ; for this was the voice of the law. TIBERIUS rejoiced to see the Senate engaged in a contention between his sons and the laws : the law, without doubt, was vanquish’d ; yet not instantly, and by a small majority ; but with the same struggle that laws were vanquish’d when laws were in force.

THIS year a war began in Africa, conducted by TACFARINAS : he was a native of Numidia, and had serv’d amongst the auxiliaries in the Roman armies ; but deserting the service gather’d together by the allurements of booty and rapine, at first a herd of vagabonds and men inur’d to robberies ; then form’d them like an army into regular companies of foot, and troops of horse, under distinct standards and colours : at length he was no longer esteem’d the leader of a disorderly gang, but considered as General of the Muzulianians. This powerful people, borders upon the deserts of Africa, still wild and without towns, took arms and drew into the war the neighbouring Moors ; these too had a General of their own, his name MAZIPPA ; and between the two leaders the army was divided ; that, whilst TACFARINAS encamp’d with the best men, arm’d after the fashion of Romans, and accustom’d them to discipline and command ;

MAZIPPA

MĀZIPPA with a flying band might make excursions on every side, with fire, slaughter, and allarms. They had likewise forced the Cinithians into their measures; a nation no wise despicable; when FURIUS CAMILLUS, Proconsul of Africa, march'd against the enemy with one Legion, and what troops of the Allies were under his command; a handful of men at most, when compar'd to the multitude of Numidians and Moors! But it was his first care not to intimidate them with numbers, and thence tempt them to elude fighting, and prolong the war: indeed, he gave them hopes of victory, only to enable him to vanquish them. The Legion was placed in the center, the light cohorts, and two wings of horse on the right and left: nor did TACFARINAS decline the combat. The Numidians were routed; and, after a long series of years, military renown recover'd to the name of FURIUS. For since CAMILLUS the restorer of Rome and his son, the glory of command and victories continued in other families: even he whom I have mentioned, pass'd for a man destitute of military abilities and experience in war: hence TIBERIUS magnified with the more unfeign'd alacrity his exploits to the Senate; and to him the fathers decreed the ensigns of triumph: yet to CAMILLUS all this merit and distinction prov'd no snare, protected as he was by a life singularly modest and retir'd.

THE Consuls for the following year were, TIBERIUS the third time, GERMANICUS the second. This dignity overtook GERMANICUS at Nicopolis, a city of Achaia, whither he arriv'd by the coast of Illyricum, from visiting his brother DRUSUS then abiding in Dalmatia, and had suffer'd a tempestuous passage, both in the Adriatick and Ionian sea: he therefore spent a few days to repair his fleet, and view'd the while the Bay of Actium renown'd for the naval victory there; as also the spoils consecrated by AUGUSTUS, and the Camp of ANTHONY, with an affecting remembrance of these his ancestors; for ANTHONY, as I have said, was his great uncle, AUGUSTUS his grandfather: hence this scene prov'd to GERMANICUS a mighty source of images pleasing and sad. Next he proceeded to Athens, where in concession to that

that ancient city, allied to Rome, he would use but one Lictor. The Greeks receiv'd him with the most elaborate honours, and to dignify their personal flattery, carried before him tablatures of the signal deeds and sayings of his ancestors.

HENCE he sail'd to Eubœa, thence to Lesbos, where AGRIPPINA was deliver'd of JULIA, who prov'd her last birth; then he kept the coast of Asia and visited Perinthus and Byzantium, cities of Thrace, and enter'd the streights of Propontis, and the mouth of the Euxin; fond of beholding ancient places long celebrated by fame: he reliev'd at the same time, the provinces where ever distracted with intestine factions, or aggriev'd with the oppressions of their Magistrates. In his return he strove to see the religious rites of the Samothracians, but by the violence of the north wind was repuls'd from the shore. As he pass'd, he saw Troy and her remains, venerable for the vicissitude of her fate, and for the birth of Rome: regaining the coast of Asia, he put in at Colophon, to consult there the Oracle of the Clarian Apollo: it is no Pythoness that represents the God here, as at Delphos, but a Priest, one chosen from certain families, chiefly of MILETUS; neither requires he more than just to hear the names and numbers of the querists, and then descends into the oracular cave; where, after a draught of water from a secret spring, tho' ignorant for the most part of Letters and Poetry, he yet utters his answers in Verse, which has for it's subject the conceptions and wishes of each consultant. He was even said to have sung to GERMANICUS his hastning fate, but as Oracles are wont, in terms dark and doubtful.

BUT CNEIUS PISO, hurrying to the execution of his purposes, terrify'd the city of Athens by a tempestuous entry, and reproach'd them in a severe speech, with oblique censure of GERMANICUS, "that debasing the dignity of the Roman name, he had paid excessive court, not to the Athenians by so many slaughters long since extinct, but to the then mixt scum of nations there; for that these were they who had leagu'd with MITHRIDATES against SYLLA, and with ANTHONY against AUGUSTUS". He even charged them with the errors and misfortunes of ancient Athens; her
impotent

impotent attempts against the Macedonians; her violence and ingratitude to her own citizens. He was also an enemy to their city from personal anger; because they would not pardon at his request one THEOPHILUS condemn'd by the Areopagus for forgery. From thence sailing hastily through the Cyclades, and taking the shortest course, he overtook GERMANICUS at Rhodes, but was there driven by a sudden tempest upon the rocks: and GERMANICUS, who was not ignorant with what malignity and invectives he was pursued, yet acted with so much humanity, that when he might have left him to perish, and to casualty have refer'd the destruction of his enemy; he dispatch'd galleys to rescue him from the wreck. This generous kindness however asswaged not the animosity of PISO; and scarce could he brook a day's delay with GERMANICUS, but left him in haste to arrive in Syria before him: nor was he sooner there, and found himself amongst the Legions, than he began to court the common men by bounties and caresses, to assist them with his countenance and credit, to form factions, to remove all the ancient Centurions and every Tribune of remarkable discipline and severity, and, in their places, to put dependents of his own, or men recommended only by their crimes; he permitted sloth in the camp, licentiousness in the towns, a rambling and disorderly soldiery, and carried the corruption so high, that in the discourses of the herd, he was stil'd *Father of the Legions*. Nor did PLANCINA restrain her self to a conduct seemly in her sex, but frequented the exercises of the cavalry, and attended the decursions of the Cohorts; every where inveighing against AGRIPPINA, every where against GERMANICUS; and some even of the most deserving soldiers became prompt to base obedience, from a rumour whisper'd abroad, "that all this was not unacceptable to TRIBERIUS".

THESE doings were all known to GERMANICUS; but his more instant care was to visit Armenia, an inconstant and restless nation this from the beginning; inconstant from the genius of the people, as well as from the situation of their country, which bordering with a large frontier on our provinces, and stretching thence quite to Media, is inclos'd between the two great Empires, and often at

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variance

variance with them ; with the Romans through antipathy and hatred, with the Parthians through competition and envy. At this time and ever since the removal of VENONES, they had no King ; but the affections of the nations lean'd to ZENO, son of POLEMON King of Pontus, because by an attachment, from his infancy, to the fashions and customs of the Armenians, by hunting, feasting, and other usages practis'd and renown'd amongst the Barbarians, he had equally won the nobles and people. Upon his head therefore, at the city of Artaxata, with the approbation of the nobles, in a great assembly, GERMANICUS put the regal Diadem ; and the Armenians doing homage to their King, saluted him, *Artaxias*, a name which from that of their city, they gave him. The Cappadocians, at this time reduced into the form of a province, received for their Governor, QUINTUS VERANIUS ; and to raise their hopes of the gentler dominion of Rome, several of the royal taxes were lessen'd. QUINTUS SERVEUS was set over the Comagenians, then first subjected to the jurisdiction of a Pretor.

FROM the affairs of the Allies, thus all successfully settled, GERMANICUS reap'd no pleasure, through the perverseness and pride of PISO, who was order'd to lead by himself or his son, part of the Legions into Armenia, but contemptuously neglected to do either. They at last met at Cyrrum, the winter quarters of the tenth Legion, whither each came with a prepar'd countenance ; PISO to betray no fear, and GERMANICUS would not be thought to threaten. He was indeed, as I have observ'd, of a human and reconcileable spirit : but, officious friends expert at inflaming animosities, aggravated real offences, added fictitious, and with manifold imputations charg'd PISO, PLANCINA, and their sons. To this interview GERMANICUS admitted a few intimates, and began his complaints in words such as dissembled resentment dictates : PISO replied with disdainful submissions ; and they parted in open enmity. PISO hereafter came rarely to the Tribunal of GERMANICUS ; or, if he did, sat sternly there, and in manifest opposition : he likewise publish'd his spite at a feast of the Nabathean King's, where golden Crowns of great weight were presented to

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GERMANICUS and AGRIPPINA ; but to PISO and the rest, such as were light : “ this banquet, he said, was made for the son of a Roman Prince, not of a Parthian Monarch ” : with these words, he cast away his crown, and utter’d many invectives against luxury : sharp insults and provocations these to GERMANICUS ; yet he bore them.

AT this time arriv’d Ambassadors from ARTABANUS King of the Parthians : he sent them “ to represent the state of the mutual league and friendship between the two Empires, how desirous he was to renew it ; that in honour to GERMANICUS he would come to receive him as far as the banks of the Euphrates ; and requested in the mean time, that VENONES might not be continued in Syria ; lest taking the advantage of so near a neighbourhood, he should, by corresponding with the Grandees of Parthia, engage them in civil dissension and rebellion ”. The answer given by GERMANICUS, as far as related to the alliance of the Romans and Parthians, was conceiv’d in terms of dignity and grandeur ; but, of the coming of the King, and the court and veneration intended to himself, he spoke with becoming complaisance and modesty : VENONES was remov’d to Pompeiopolis, a maritime city of Cilicia ; a concession this not to the request of ARTABANUS only, but in contumely to PISO, with whom VENONES was high in favour, for the assiduous court and many presents by which he had won PLANCINA.

IN the Consulship of MARCUS SILANUS and LUCIUS NORBANUS, GERMANICUS travell’d to Egypt, to view the famous Antiquities of the country ; tho’ for the motives of the journey, the care and inspection of the province were publickly alledg’d : and, indeed, by opening the granaries, he mitigated the price of corn, and practis’d many things grateful to the people ; walking without guards, his feet bare, and his habit the same with that of the Greeks ; after the example of PUBLIUS SCIPIO, who, we are told, was constant in the same practices in Sicily, even during the rage of the Punick War there. For these his assum’d manners and foreign habit, TIBERIUS blam’d him in a gentle stile, but censur’d him with

with great asperity for violating an establishment of AUGUSTUS, and entering Alexandria without consent of the Prince. For AUGUSTUS, amongst other secrets of power, had appropriated Egypt, and restrain'd the Senators, and dignified Roman Knights from going thither without licence; as he apprehended that Italy might be distressed with famine by any who seiz'd that province, the key to the Empire by sea and land, and defensible by a light band of men against potent armies.

GERMANICUS, not yet inform'd that his journey was censur'd, sail'd up the Nile, beginning at Canopus, one of it's mouths: it was built by the Spartans, as a monument to CANOPUS; a Pilot buried there, at the time when MENELAUS returning to Greece was driven to different seas and the Lybian continent. Hence he visited the next mouth of the river sacred to Hercules: him the nations averr to have been born amongst them; that he was the most ancient of the name, and that all the rest, who with equal virtue follow'd his example, were, in honour, call'd after him. Next he visited the mighty antiquities of ancient Thebes; where upon huge Obelisks yet remain'd Egyptian Characters describing it's former opulency: one of the oldest Priests was ordered to interpret them; he said they related " that it once contain'd
 " seven hundred thousand fighting men; that with that
 " army King RHAMSES had conquer'd Lybia, Ethiopia, the
 " Medes and Persians, the Bactrians and Scythians; and
 " to his Empire had added the territories of the Syrians, Armenians, and their neighbours the Cappadocians; a tract
 " of countries reaching from the sea of Bithynia to that of
 " Lycia": here also was read the assessment of Tribute laid on the several nations; what weight of silver and gold; what number of horses and arms; what ivory and perfumes, as gifts to the Temples; what measures of grain; what quantities of all necessaries, were by each people paid; revenues equally grand with those exacted by the domination of the Parthians, or by the power of the Romans.

GERMANICUS was intent upon seeing other wonders: the chief were; the effigies of Memnon, a Colossus of stone, yielding when struck by the solar rays, a vocal sound; the Pyramids rising, like mountains, amongst rolling

ing and almost impassable waves of sand ; monuments these of the emulation and opulency of Egyptian Kings ; the artificial Lake, a receptacle of the overflowing Nile ; and elsewhere Abysses of such immense depth, that those who tried, could never fathom. Thence he proceeded to Elphantina and Syene, two Islands, formerly frontiers of the Roman Empire, which is now widen'd to the Red-Sea.

WHILST GERMANICUS spent this summer in several provinces, DRUSUS was sowing seeds amongst the Germans, and thence reap'd no light renown ; and, as the power of MAROBODUUS was already broken, he engaged them to persist and complete his ruin. Amongst the Gotes was a young man of quality, his name CATUALDA, a fugitive long since from the violence of MAROBODUUS, but now in his distress, resolv'd on revenge : hence with a stout band, he enter'd the borders of the Marcomanni, and corrupting their chiefs into his alliance, storm'd the regal palace, and the castle situate near it. In the pillage were found the ancient stores of prey accumulated by the Suevians ; as also many victuallers and traders from our provinces ; men who were drawn hither from their several homes, first by privilege of traffick, then retain'd by a passion to multiply gain, and at last, through utter oblivion of their own country, fix'd, like natives, in a hostile soil.

TO MAROBODUUS on every side forsaken, no other refuge remain'd but the mercy of CESAR : he therefore pass'd the Danube where it washes the province of Norica, and writ to TIBERIUS ; not however in the language of a fugitive or suppliant, but with a spirit suitable to his late grandeur ; “ that many nations invited him to them, as a “ King once so glorious ; but he prefer'd to all the friend- “ ship of Rome ”. The Emperor answer'd, “ that in Italy “ he should have a safe and honourable retreat, and, when “ his affairs requir'd his presence, the same security to “ return ”. But to the Senate he declar'd, “ that never “ had PHILIP of Macedon been so terrible to the A- “ thenians ; nor PYRRHUS, nor ANTIOCHUS to the Ro- “ man people ”. The speech is extant : in it he magnifies “ the greatness of the man, the fierceness and bra- “ very of the nations his subjects ; the alarming near-

“ nefs of fuch an enemy to Italy, and his own artful meafures to destroy him”. MAROBODUUS was kept at Ravenna, for a check and terror to the Suevians; as if, when at any time they grew turbulent, he were there in readinefs to recover their fubjection: yet in eighteen years he left not Italy, but grew old in exile there; his renown too became eminently diminifh’d; fuch was the price he paid for an overpaffionate love of life. The fame fate had CATUALDA, and no other fanctuary; he was foon after expuls’d by the forces of the Hermundurans led by VIBILIUS, and being receiv’d under the Roman protection, was convey’d to Forum Julium, a Colony in Narbon Gaul. The Barbarians their followers, left, had they been mixt with the provinces, they might have difturb’d their prefent quiet, were placed beyond the Danube, between the rivers Marus and Cufus, and for their King had affign’d them VANNIUS, by nation a Quadian.

As foon as it was known at Rome, that ARTAXIAS was by GERMANICUS given to the Armenians for their King, the fathers decreed to him and DRUSUS the leffer Triumph: Triumphal arches were likewise erected, on each fide the Temple of Mars the Avenger, fupporting the ftatues of thefe two Cefars; and for TIBERIUS, he was more joyful to have eftablifh’d peace by policy, than if by battles and victories he had ended the war: he therefore alfo affail’d by the ways of craft RHESCUPORIS a King of Thrace. That whole nation had been fubject to RHEMETALCES; but, upon his death, one moyety was by AUGUSTUS granted to RHESCUPORIS his brother; and one to COTYS his fon: in this partition, the vales, cities, and territories bounding upon Greece, fell to COTYS; to RHESCUPORIS the wilds, the hills, and the parts expos’d to a hostile neighbourhood. The two Kings were likewise diffonant in their genius; the former mild and agreeable; the latter cruel, rapacious, and impatient of equality: yet, at firft they liv’d in hollow friendship; but, in a while, RHESCUPORIS began to break bounds, to fieze for himfelf the portions of COTYS, and, where he met refiftance, to exercife violence; cautiously, ’tis true, and by degrees in the life of AUGUSTUS, to whole grant they ow’d both their Kingdoms; and, if his authority had been
defpifed,

despised, his vengeance was dreaded : but, upon the change of Emperors, he pour'd in bands of robbers, demolish'd forts, and thus sought to provoke war.

TIBERIUS was about no consideration of state so anxious, as that things once settled should never after be molested. He instantly dispatch'd a Centurion to the two Kings, to forbid their proceeding to a decision by arms : and COTYS forthwith dismiss'd the forces he had rais'd : RHESCUPORIS feign'd submission, and desir'd an interview, " for that by treaty, he said, they might adjust all their differences " : and upon the time, the place, and even upon the conditions, they quickly agreed, while one through easiness, one through fraud, yielded and accepted every proposition. RHESCUPORIS, for a sanction, as he pretended, to the league, added a banquet, and the festivity and drinking was prolonged till midnight ; when COTYS warm with wine and feasting, and void of circumspection was suddenly loaded with chains, deprecating in vain the brutal treachery, " by the inviolable rights of Kings, by the common Gods of their family, by that very banquet a sacred pledge of concord and hospitality ". RHESCUPORIS having now seiz'd all Thrace, writ to TIBERIUS, " that bloody snares were contriv'd for him ; but he had anticipated the contriver " ; and pretending a war against the Basternans and Scythians, fortified himself with new forces, horse and foot.

HE had a soft answer, " that if he had practis'd no guile, he might securely trust to his innocence ; but neither could he himself nor the Senate, without hearing the cause, distinguish between justice and violence : that therefore, delivering up COTYS, he should come, and upon him effectually transfer the odium of the crime ". This letter LATINUS PANDUS, Proprætor of Mesia, transmitted to Thrace, by the soldiers sent to receive COTYS. RHESCUPORIS wavering long between fear and rage, determined at last rather to be guilty of a finish'd than an imperfect villany : he caus'd COTYS to be murder'd, and belied his death, as if by his own hands it had been procur'd. Neither yet did TIBERIUS change his favourite course of dissimulation, but upon the death of

PANDUS,

PANDUS, whom RHESCUPORIS alledg'd to have been his enemy, preferr'd to the Government of Mesia POMPONIUS FLACCUS, an ancient officer, one in close friendship with the King, and by it more qualified to betray him; hence chiefly he was preferr'd.

FLACCUS passed into Thrace, and, tho' he found him full of hesitation, and revolving with great dismay upon the crying horror of his own wickedness; yet by mighty promises prevail'd upon him to enter the Roman barrier. Here the King, on pretence of solemnity and honour, was surrounded with a strong party, and a crowd of officers; who dealt with him by earnest exhortations, and many arguments, and the further they travell'd, the more apparent to him was his confinement; so that at last, convinc'd of the necessity of going, he was by them haled to Rome. He was accus'd before the Senate by the wife of COTYS, and condemn'd to exile far from his Kingdom. Thrace was divided between RHEMETALCES his son, who, 'twas manifest, had oppos'd all his father's outrageous measures; and the sons of COTYS: these were minors, and placed with their Kingdom under the administration of TREBELLNIUS RUFUS, formerly Pretor; after the example of our Ancestors, who sent MARCUS LEPIDUS into Egypt, in quality of guardian to the children of PTOLOMY. RHESCUPORIS was transported to Alexandria, and there slain, attempting flight, or falsely charged with it.

AT the same time, VENONES, who had been removed, as I have above related, into Cilicia, corrupted his keepers, and endeavour'd to escape to Armenia, thence to the Albanians and Heniochians, and then to his kinsman the King of Scythia: thus pretending to hunt, and avoiding the maritime coasts, he gain'd the devious recesses of the forests; and then on a sudden, rode full speed to the River Pyramus: but, the country-men, appriz'd of the King's flight, had broken the bridges; neither was the stream to be forded: upon the banks therefore of the river, he was by VIBIUS FRONTO, General of horse, put in bonds; and presently after, by REMMIUS a resum'd Veteran, lately his keeper, run thro' in affected wroth, with a sword: hence arose the stronger belief that, from consciousness of fraud, and dread of discovery, VENONES was slain.

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GERMANICUS returning from Egypt, learn'd that all his orders left with the Legions, and the Eastern cities, were either intirely abolish'd, or contrary regulations establisht: a ground this for his severe reproaches and insults upon PISO. Nor less keen were the efforts and machinations of PISO against GERMANICUS; yet PISO afterwards determined to leave Syria, but was detain'd by the following illness of GERMANICUS: again when he heard of his recovery, and perceiv'd that vows were paid for his restoration; the Lictors, by his command, broke the solemnity, drove away the victims already at the altars; overturn'd the apparatus of the sacrifice; and scatter'd the people of Antioch employ'd in celebrating the festival. He then departed to Seleucia, waiting the event of the malady, which had again assaulted GERMANICUS. His own persuasion too, that poyson was given him by PISO, heighten'd the cruel vehemence of the disease: indeed, upon the floors and walls were found fragments of human bodies, the spoils of the grave; with charms and incantations; and the name of GERMANICUS grav'd on sheets of lead; carcases half burnt, besmear'd with gore; and other witchcrafts, by which souls are thought doom'd to the infernal gods: besides there were certain persons, charged as creatures of PISO, purposely sent and employ'd to watch the progress and efforts of the disease.

THESE things fill'd GERMANICUS with apprehensions great as his resentment: "if his doors, he said, were besieg'd, if under the eyes of his enemies he must render up his spirit, what was to be expected to his unhappy wife, what to his infant children? The progress of poyson was thought too slow; PISO was impatient, and urging with eagerness to command alone the Legions, to possess alone the province: but GERMANICUS was not sunk to such lowness and impotence, that the price of his murder should remain with the murderer": and by a Letter to PISO, he renounced his friendship: some add, that he commanded him to depart the province. Nor did PISO tarry longer, but took ship; yet check'd her sailing in order to return with the more quickness, should the death of GERMANICUS the while leave the Government of Syria vacant.

GERMANICUS, after a small revival, drooping again; when his end approach'd, spoke on this wise to his attending friends: "Were I to yield to the destiny of nature; Just, even then, were my complaints against the Gods, for hurrying me from my parents, my children, and my country, by a hasty death, in the prime of life: now shorten'd in my course by the malignity of PISO, and his wife, to your breasts I commit my last prayers: tell my father, tell my brother, with what violent persecutions afflicted, with what mortal snares circumvented, I end a most miserable life by death of all others the worst. All they whose hopes in my fortune, all they whose kindred blood, and even they whose envy, possess'd them with impressions about me whilst living, shall bewail me dead; that once great in glory, and surviving so many wars, I fell at last by the dark devices of a woman. To you will be place left to complain in the Senate, and place to invoke the aid and vengeance of the Laws. To commemorate the dead with slothful wailings, is not the principal office of friends: they are to remember his dying wishes, to fulfil his last desires. Even strangers will lament GERMANICUS: you are my friends; if you lov'd me rather than my fortune, you will vindicate your friendship: shew the people of Rome my wife, her who is the grand-daughter of AUGUSTUS, and enumerate to them our six children. Their compassion will surely attend you who accuse; and the accused, if they pretend clandestine warrants of iniquity, will not be believ'd; if believ'd, not pardon'd". His friends, as a pledge of their fidelity, touching the hand of the dying Prince, swore that they would foregoe their lives sooner than their revenge. Then turning to his wife, he besought her that in tenderness to his memory, in tenderness to their common children, she would banish her haughty spirit, yield to her hostile fortune, nor, upon her return to Rome, by an impotent competition for ruling, irritate those who were masters of rule". So much openly, and more in secret; whence he was believ'd to have warn'd her of guile and danger from TIBERIUS. Soon after he expir'd, to the heavy sorrow of the province, and of all the neighbouring

bouring countries; infomuch that remote nations and foreign Kings were mourners: such had been his complacency to our confederates; such his humanity to his enemies! Alike venerable he was; whether you saw him or heard him; and without ever departing from the grave port and dignity of his sublime rank, he yet liv'd destitute of arrogance and untouch'd by envy.

THE funeral, which was perform'd without exteriour pomp or a procession of images, drew it's solemnity from the loud praises and amiable memory of his virtues. There were those who from his loveliness, his age, his manner of dying, and even from the proximity of places where both departed, compar'd him in the circumstances of his fate, to Great ALEXANDER: "each of a graceful person, each of illustrious descent; in years neither much exceeding thirty; both victims to the malice and machinations of their own people, in the midst of foreign nations: but GERMANICUS gentle towards his friends; his pleasures moderate; confin'd to one wife; all his children by one bed; nor less a warrior, tho' not so rash, and however hinder'd from a final reduction of Germany, broken by him in so many victories, and ready for the yoke: so that had he been sole arbiter of things, had he acted with the sovereignty and title of Royalty, he had easier overtaken him in the glory of conquests, as he surpass'd him in clemency, in moderation, and in other virtues". His body, before its commitment to the pile, was exhibited naked in the Forum of Antioch, the place where the pile was erected: whether it bore the marks of poyson, remain'd undecided: for, people as they were divided in their affections, as they pitied GERMANICUS, and presum'd the guilt of PISO, or were partial to him, gave opposite accounts.

It was next debated amongst the legates of the Legions and the other Senators there, to whom should be committed the administration of Syria: and after the faint efforts of others, it was long disputed between VIBIUS MARSUS and CNEIUS SENTIUS: MARSUS at last yielded to SENTIUS, the older man and the more vehement competitor. By him one MARTINA, infamous in that province for practices in poysoning, and a close confident of PLAN-

CINA,

CINA, was sent to Rome, at the suit of VITELLIUS, VERANIUS, and others, who were preparing criminal articles against PISO and PLANCINA, as against persons evidently guilty.

AGRIPPINA, tho' overwhelm'd with sorrow, and her body indispos'd, yet impatient of all delays to her revenge, imbark'd with the ashes of GERMANICUS and her children, attended with universal commiseration, "that a
" Lady, in quality a Princess, wont to be beheld in her
" late splendid wedlock with applauses and adorations,
" was now seen bearing in her bosom her husband's fu-
" neral Urn, uncertain of vengeance for him and fearful
" for her self; unfortunate in her fruitfulness, and from
" so many children obnoxious to so many blows of for-
" tune". PISO the while was overtaken at the Isle of
Cous by a message, "that GERMANICUS was deceas'd",
and receiv'd it intemperately, slew victims and repair'd
with thanksgiving to the Temples: and yet, however im-
moderate and undisguis'd was his joy, more arrogant and
insulting prov'd that of PLANCINA, who immediately
threw off her mourning, which for the death of a sister
she wore, and assum'd a dress adapted to gayety and gladness.

ABOUT him flock'd the Centurions with officious re-
presentations, "that upon him particularly were bent the
" affections and zeal of the Legions, and he should pro-
" ceed to resume the province, at first injuriously taken
" from him and now destitute of a Governor". As he
therefore consulted what he had best pursue, his son MAR-
CUS PISO advis'd "a speedy journey to Rome: hitherto,
" he said, nothing past expiation, was committed; nor
" were impotent suspicions to be dreaded; nor the idle
" blazonings of fame: his variance and contention with
" GERMANICUS was perhaps subject to hate and aversion,
" but to no prosecution or penalty; and, by bereaving
" him of the province, his enemies were gratified: but
" if he return'd thither, as SENTIUS would certainly
" oppose him with arms, a civil war would thence be
" actually begun: neither would the Centurions and sol-
" diers persist in his party; men with whom the recent
" memory of their late Commander, and an inveterate
" love to the Cæsarian General, were still prevalent".

DOMITIUS

DOMITIUS CELER, one in intimate credit with PISO, argu'd on the contrary; " that the present event must by
 " all means be improv'd; it was PISO and not SENTIUS
 " who had commission to govern Syria; upon him were con-
 " ferr'd the jurisdiction of Pretor, and the badges of Ma-
 " gistracy, and with him the Legions were intrusted: so that
 " if acts of hostility were by his opponents attempted,
 " with how much better warrant could he avow assuming
 " arms in his own right and defence, who was thus vested
 " with the authority of General; and acted under special or-
 " ders from the Emperor. Rumours too were to be neglect-
 " ed, and left to perish with time: in truth to the sallies and
 " violence of recent hate the innocent were often unequal:
 " but were he once possessed of the Army, and had well
 " augmented his forces, many things, not to be foreseen,
 " would from fortune derive success. Are we then
 " preposterously hastning to arrive at Rome with the
 " ashes of GERMANICUS, that you may there fall, un-
 " heard and undefended, a victim to the wailings of A-
 " GRIPPINA, a prey to the passionate populace govern'd
 " by the first impressions of rumour? LIVIA, it is true,
 " is your confederate; TIBERIUS is your friend; but both
 " secretly: and indeed none will more pompously bewail
 " the violent fate of GERMANICUS, than such as for it
 " do most sincerely rejoice".

PISO of himself prompt to violent pursuits, was with no great labour persuaded into this opinion, and, in a Letter transmitted to TIBERIUS, accus'd GERMANICUS " of luxu-
 " ry and pride: that for himself, he had been expuls'd, to
 " leave room for dangerous designs against the State, and
 " now resum'd, with his former faith and loyalty, the care
 " of the Army". In the mean time he put DOMITIUS on board a galley, and order'd him to avoid appearing upon the Coasts or amongst the Isles, but, through the main sea, to sail to Syria. The deserters, who from all quarters were flocking to him in crowds; he form'd into companies, and arm'd all the retainers to the Camp; then sailing over to the continent, intercepted a regiment of recruits, upon their march into Syria; and wrote to the small Kings of Cilicia to assist him with present succours: nor was the younger PISO slow in prosecuting all the measures of war, tho' to adventure a war had been against his sentiments and advice.

As they coasted LYCIA and PAMPHILIA, they encounter'd the ships which carried AGRIPPINA, with hostile spirits on each side, and each at first prepar'd for combat; but as equal dread of one another possess'd both, proceeded not further than mutual contumelies. VIBIUS MARSUS particularly summon'd PISO, as a criminal, to Rome, there to make his defence: he answer'd with derision "that
 " when the Pretor, who was to sit upon poysonings, had
 " assign'd a day to the accusers and the accused, he would
 " attend". DOMITIUS, the while, landing at Laodicea a city of Syria, would have proceeded to the winter quarters of the sixth Legion, which he believ'd to be the most prone to engage in novel attempts, but was prevented by PACUVIUS, it's commander. SENTIUS represented this by Letter to PISO, and warn'd him, "at his peril to infect the Camp by ministers of corruption; or to assail
 " the province by war"; and drew into a body such as he knew lov'd GERMANICUS, or such as were averse to his foes: upon them he inculcated with much ardour, that PISO was with open arms attacking the majesty of the Prince, and invading the Roman state; and then march'd at the head of a puissant body, equipp'd for battle and resolute to engage.

NEITHER fail'd PISO, tho' his enterprizes had thus far miscarried, to apply the securest remedies to his present perplexities; and therefore siez'd a Castle of Cilicia strongly fortified, it's name Celendris: for, to the Auxiliary Cilicians, sent him by the petty Kings, he had join'd his body of deserters, as also the recruits lately intercepted, with all his own and PLANCINA's slaves; and thus in number and bulk, had of the whole compos'd a Legion. To them he thus harangued; "I who am the
 " Lieutenant of CESAR, am yet violently excluded from
 " the province which to me CESAR has committed:
 " not excluded by the Legions (for by their invitation I am
 " arriv'd) but by SENTIUS, who thus disguises under
 " feign'd crimes against me, his own animosity and personal hate: but with confidence you may stand in battle, where the opposite army, upon the sight of PISO,
 " a Commander lately by themselves stil'd their *Father*,
 " will certainly refuse to fight; they know too, that were
 " right.

“ right to decide it, I am the stronger ; and of no mean
 “ puissance in a trial at arms ”. He then array’d his men
 without the fortifications, on a hill steep and craggy, for
 all the rest was begirt by the sea : against them stood the
 Veterans regularly embattled, and supported with a body
 of reserve ; so that here appear’d the force of men, there
 only the terrour and stubbornness of situation. On PISO’s
 side was no spirit, nor hope, nor even weapons save those
 of rusticks, for instant necessity hastily acquir’d. As soon
 as they came to blows, the issue was no longer doubtful
 than while the Roman Cohorts struggled up the steep : the
 Cilicians then fled, and shut themselves up in the Castle.

PISO having the while attempted in vain to storm the
 fleet, which rode at a small distance, as soon as he return’d,
 presented himself upon the walls ; where, by a succession
 of passionate complaints and entreaties, now bemoaning
 in agonies the bitterness of his lot, then calling and cajoling
 every particular soldier by his name, and by rewards tempt-
 ing all, he labour’d to excite a sedition ; and thus much
 had already effected, that the Eagle-bearer of the sixth
 Legion revolted to him with his Eagle. This alarm’d
 SENTIUS, and instantly he commanded the cornets and
 trumpets to sound, a mount to be rais’d, the ladders pla-
 ced, and the bravest men to mount, and others to pour
 from the Engines volleys of darts and stones, and flaming
 torches. The obstinacy of PISO was at last vanquish’d ;
 and he desir’d “ that upon delivering his arms he might
 “ remain in the Castle till the Emperor’s pleasure, to whom
 “ he would commit the Government of Syria, were known” ;
 conditions which were not accepted ; nor was ought grant-
 ed him save ships and a passport to Rome.

AFTER the illness of GERMANICUS grew current
 there, and all its circumstances, like rumours magnified by
 distance, were related with many aggravations ; sadness
 seized the people ; they burn’d with indignation, and even
 pour’d out in plaints the anguish of their souls. “ For
 “ this, they said, he had been banish’d to the extremities
 “ of the Empire, for this the province of Syria was com-
 “ mitted to PISO, and these the fruits of LIVIA’s myste-
 “ rious conferences with PLANCINA : truly had our fathers
 “ spoken concerning his father DRUSUS ; that the possessors
 “ of

“ of rule beheld with an evil eye the popular spirit of
 “ their sons ; nor for ought else were they sacrific’d, but
 “ for their equal treatment of the Roman people, and
 “ studying to restore the popular state”. These lamentations of the populace were, upon the tydings of his death, so inflam’d, that, without staying for an Edict from the Magistrates, without a decree of Senate, they by general consent assum’d a vacation ; the publick Courts were deserted, private houses shut up, prevalent every where were the symptoms of woe, heavy groans, dismal silence : the whole a scene of real sorrow, and nothing devis’d for form or shew ; and, tho’ they forbore not to bear the exterior marks and habilements of mourning ; in their souls they mourned still deeper. Accidentally some Merchants from Syria, who had left GERMANICUS still alive, brought more joyful news of his condition : these were instantly believ’d, and instantly proclaim’d : each, as fast as they met, inform’d others, who forthwith convey’d their light information with improvements and accumulated joy to more, and all flew with exultation thro’ the city ; and, to pay their thanks and vows, burst open the Temple doors : the night too heighten’d their credulity, and affirmation was bolder in the dark. Nor did TIBERIUS restrain the course of these fictions, but left them to vanish with time : hence with more bitterness they afterwards griev’d for him, as if anew snatch’d from them.

HONOURS were invented and decreed to GERMANICUS, various as the affections and genius of the particular Senators who propos’d them : “ that his name should be
 “ sung in the Salian Hymns ; Curule Chairs placed for him
 “ amongst the Priests of AUGUSTUS, and over these Chairs
 “ Oaken Crowns hung ; his Statue in Ivory preccede in the
 “ Circensian Games ; none but one of the Julian race be,
 “ in the room of GERMANICUS, created Flamen or Augur” : Triumphal arches were added ; one at Rome ; one upon the banks of the Rhine ; one upon mount Amanus, in Syria ; with Inscriptions of his exploits, and a testimony subjoin’d, “that he died for the Commonwealth” : a Sepulchre at Antioch, where his corps was burnt ; a Tribunal at Epidaphne, the place where he ended his life. The multitude of statues, the many places where divine honours were

were appointed to be paid him, would not be easily recounted. They would have also decreed him, as to one of the masters of Eloquence, a golden shield, signal in bulk as in metal; but TIBERIUS offer'd "to dedicate one himself, such as was usual and of a like size with others; for that Eloquence was not measur'd by fortune; and it was sufficient glory if he were rank'd with ancient Writers". The Battalion call'd after the name of the JUNII was now, by the Equestrian order, entitled the Battalion of GERMANICUS, and a rule made that, on every fifteenth of July, these troops should follow, as their standard, the effigies of GERMANICUS: of these honours many continue; some were instantly omitted, or by time are utterly obliterated.

IN the height of this publick sorrow, LIVIA, sister to GERMANICUS, and married to DRUSUS, was deliver'd of male twins: an event even in middling families, rare and acceptable, and to TIBERIUS such mighty matter of joy, that he could not refrain boasting to the fathers, "that to no Roman of the same eminence, before him, were never two children born at a birth": for to his own glory he turn'd all things, even things fortuitous. But to the people, at such a sad conjuncture, it brought fresh anguish; as they fear'd that the family of DRUSUS thus increas'd, would press heavy upon that of GERMANICUS.

THE same year the lubricity of women was by the Senate restrain'd with severe laws; and it was provided, "that no woman should become venal, if her father, grandfather or husband, were Roman Knights". For VISTILIA, a Lady born of a Pretorian family, had before the Ediles publish'd her self a prostitute; upon a custom allow'd by our ancestors, who thought that prostitutes were by thus avowing their infamy, sufficiently punish'd. TITIDIUS LABEO too was questioned, that in the manifest guilt of his wife, he had neglected the punishment prescrib'd by the law; but he alledg'd that the sixty days allow'd for consultation, were not claps'd; and it was deem'd sufficient to proceed against VISTILIA, who was banish'd to the Isle of Seriphos. Measures were also taken for exterminating the solemnities of the Jews and Egyptians; and by decree of Senate four thousand descendents of franchis'd slaves, all defiled with that superstition, but of proper

strength and age, were to be transported to Sardina; to restrain the Sardinian robbers; and if, through the malignity of the climate, they perish'd, despicable would be the loss: the rest were doom'd to depart Italy, unless by a stated day they renounced their profane rites.

AFTER this TIBERIUS represented that, to supply the place of OCCIA, who had presided seven and fifty years with the highest sanctimony over the Vestals, another Virgin was to be chosen; and thank'd FONTEIUS AGRIPPA and ASINIUS POLLIO, that by offering their daughters, they contended in good offices towards the Commonwealth. POLLIO's daughter was preferr'd; for nothing else but that her mother had ever continued in the same wedlock: for AGRIPPA, by a divorce, had impair'd the credit of his house: upon her who was postpon'd, TIBERIUS, in consolation, bestow'd for her fortune a thousand great sestertia.

As the people murmur'd at the severe dearth of corn, he settled grain at a price certain to the buyer, and undertook to pay fourteen pence a measure to the seller: neither yet would he accept the name of *Father of his Country*, a title offer'd him before, and for these bounties, now again; nay, he sharply rebuk'd such as stil'd these provisions of his, *divine occupations*, and him, *Lord*: hence freedom of speech became cramp'd and insecure, under such a Prince; one who dreaded liberty, and abhor'd flattery.

I find in the Writers of those times, some of them Senators, that in the Senate were read Letters from ADGANDESTRIUS, Prince of the Cattans, undertaking to dispatch ARMINIUS, if in order to it poyson were sent him; and an answer return'd, "that not by frauds and blows in the dark, but arm'd and in the face of the sun, the Roman people took vengeance on their foes". In this TIBERIUS gain'd equal glory with our ancient Captains, who rejected and disclos'd a plot to poyson King PYRRIUS. ARMINIUS however, who upon the departure of the Romans and expulsion of MAROBODUUS, aim'd at Royalty, became thence engaged in a struggle against the Liberty of his country; and, in defence of their Liberty, his country-men took arms against him: so that, while with various fortune he contended with them, he fell by the treachery of his own kindred: the deliverer of Germany without doubt he was; one who assail'd the Roman power, not like other Kings
and

and Leaders, in its first elements, but in its highest pride and elevation; one sometimes beaten in battle, but never conquer'd in war: thirty seven years he liv'd; twelve he commanded; and, amongst these barbarous nations, his memory is still celebrated in their songs; but his name unknown in the Annals of the Greeks, who only admire their own national exploits and renown; nor even amongst the Romans, does this great Captain bear much distinction, while, overlooking instances of modern prowess and glory, we only delight to magnify men and feats of old.

THIRD ANNAL.

AGRIPPINA, notwithstanding the roughness of winter, pursuing without intermission her boisterous voyage, put in at the Island Corcyra, situate over against the coasts of Calabria. Here to settle her spirit, she spent a few days, violent in her grief, and a stranger to patience. Her arrival being the while divulged, all the particular friends to her family, mostly men of the sword, many who had serv'd under GERMANICUS, and even many strangers from the neighbouring towns, some in officiousness towards the Emperor, more for company, crowded to the City of Brundisium, the readiest port in her way and the safest landing. As soon as the fleet appear'd in the deep, instantly were fill'd, not the port alone and adjacent shores, but the walls and roofs, and as far as the eye could go; fill'd with the sorrowing multitude. They were consulting one from one, how they should receive her landing, "whether with universal silence, or with some note of acclamation". Nor was it manifest which they would do, when the fleet stood slowly in, not as usual with joyful sailors and chearful oars, but all things impress'd with the face of sadness. After she descended from the ship, accompanied with her two Infants, carrying in her bosom the melancholy Urn, with her eyes cast steddily down; equal and universal were the groans of the beholders: nor could you distinguish relations from strangers, nor the wailings of men from those of women, unless that the new comers, who were recent in their sallies of grief, exceeded AGRIPPINA's attendents, wearied out with long lamentations.

TIBERIUS had dispatch'd two Pretorian Cohorts, with directions, that the Magistrates of Calabria, Apulia and Campania, should pay their last offices to the memory of his son: upon the shoulders therefore of the Tribunes and Centurions his ashes were borne; before went the Ensigns rough and unadorn'd, with the Fasces revers'd. As they pass'd through the Colonies, the populace were in black, the Knights in purple; and each place, according to its wealth, burnt precious rayment, perfumes and whatever else is us'd in funeral solemnities: even they whose cities lay remote, attended: to the Gods of the dead they slew victims, they erected altars, and with tears and united lamentations, testified their common sorrow. DRUSUS came as far as Terracina, with CLAUDIUS the brother of GERMANICUS, and those of his children who had been left at Rome. The Consuls MARCUS VALERIUS and MARCUS AURELIUS (just then enter'd upon their office) the Senate, and great part of the people, fill'd the road; a scatter'd procession, each walking and weeping his own way: in this mourning flattery had no share; for all knew how real was the joy, how hollow the grief of TIBERIUS for the death of GERMANICUS.

TIBERIUS and LIVIA avoided appearing abroad: publick lamentation they thought below their grandeur; or perhaps they apprehended that their countenances, examin'd by all eyes, might shew deceitful hearts. That ANTONIA, mother to the deceas'd, bore any part in the Funeral, I do not find either in the Historians or in the City Journals: tho', besides AGRIPPINA, and DRUSUS, and CLAUDIUS, his other relations are likewise there recorded by name: whether by sickness she was prevented; or whether her soul vanquish'd by sorrow, could not bear the representation of such a mighty calamity. I would rather believe her constrain'd by TIBERIUS and LIVIA, who left not the palace; and affecting equal affliction with her, would have it seem that, by the example of the mother, the grand-mother too and uncle were detain'd.

THE day his remains were repositd in the Tomb of AUGUSTUS, various were the symptoms of publick grief; now the vastness of silence; now the uproar of lamentation; the city in every quarter full of processions; the field of Mars on a blaze of torches: here the soldiers under arms, the Magistrates without the Insignia, the people by their
tribes,

tribes, all cried in concert that “ the Commonwealth was
 “ fallen, and henceforth there was no remain of hope ”; so
 openly and boldly that you would have believ’d they had
 forgot who bore sway. But nothing pierced TIBERIUS
 more than the ardent affections of the people towards
 AGRIPPINA, while such titles they gave her as “ the
 “ ornament of her country, the only blood of AUGUSTUS;
 “ the single instance of ancient virtue ”; and, while ap-
 plying to Heaven, they implor’d “ the continuance of her
 “ Issue, that they might survive the persecuting and ma-
 “ lignant ”.

THERE were those who mis’d the Pomp of a publick
 Funeral, and compar’d with this the superiour honours and
 magnificence bestow’d by AUGUSTUS on that of DRUSUS
 the father of GERMANICUS; “ that he himself had tra-
 “ vell’d, in the sharpness of winter, as far as Pavia, and
 “ thence, continuing by the corps, had with it enter’d the
 “ city; round his head were placed the Images of the CLAU-
 “ DIU and JULIU; he was mourn’d in the Forum; his Enco-
 “ mium pronounced in the Rostra’s; all sorts of honours;
 “ such as were the inventions of our ancestors, or the im-
 “ provements of their posterity, were heap’d upon him. But
 “ to GERMANICUS were denied the ordinary Solemnities,
 “ and such as were due to every distinguish’d Roman. In
 “ a foreign country indeed, his corps because of the long
 “ journey, was burnt without pomp: but afterwards, it
 “ was but just to have supplied the scantiness of the first
 “ ceremony by the solemnity of the last: his brother met
 “ him but one day’s journey; his uncle not even at the gate.
 “ Where were those generous observations of the ancients;
 “ the Effigies of the dead borne on a bed, Hymns compos’d
 “ in memory of their virtue, with the Oblations of praises
 “ and tears? Where at least were the ceremonies and even
 “ outside of sorrow ”?

ALL this was known to TIBERIUS; and, to suppress the
 discourses of the populace, he publish’d an Edict, “ that
 “ many illustrious Romans had died for the Commonwealth,
 “ but none so vehemently lamented: this however was to
 “ the glory of himself and of all men; if a measure were
 “ observ’d. The same things which became private families
 “ and small states, became not Princes and an Imperial
 F f “ people:

“ people : fresh grief indeed requir’d vent and ease by lamentation ; but it was now time to recover and fortify their minds. Thus the deified JULIUS, upon the loss of an only daughter ; thus the deified AUGUSTUS, upon the hasty death of his grandsons, had both vanquish’d their sorrow. More ancient examples were unnecessary ; how often the Roman people sustain’d with constancy the slaughter of their Armies, the death of their Generals, and intire destruction of their noblest families : Princes were mortal ; the Commonwealth was eternal : they should therefore resume their several vocations ”. And because the Megalensian Games were at hand, he added, “ that they should even apply to the usual festivities ”.

THE vacation ended, publick affairs were resum’d ; DRUSUS departed for the Army in Illyricum, and the minds of all men were bent upon seeing vengeance done upon PISO. They repeated their resentments, that while he wander’d over the delightful countries of Asia and Greece, he was stinging, by contumacious and deceitful delays, the evidences of his crimes ; for it was bruited abroad, that MARTINA, she who was famous for poysonings, and sent, as I have above related, by CNEIUS SENTIUS towards Rome, was suddenly dead at Brundisium ; that poyson lay conceal’d in a knot of her hair, but upon her body were found no symptoms of self-murder.

PISO, sending forward his son to Rome, with instructions how to soften the Emperor, proceeded himself to DRUSUS : him he hop’d to find less rigid for the death of a brother, than favourable for the removal of a rival. TIBERIUS, to make shew of a spirit perfectly unbiass’d, receiv’d the young man graciously, and honour’d him with the presents usually bestow’d on young Noblemen. The answer of DRUSUS to PISO was, “ that if the current rumours were true, he stood in the first place of grief and revenge ; but he hop’d they were false and chimerical, and that the death of GERMANICUS would be pernicious to none ”. This he declar’d in publick, and avoided all privacy : nor was it doubted but the answer was dictated by TIBERIUS ; when a youth, otherwise easy and unwary, practis’d thus the wiles and cunning of age.

PISO having cross’d the sea of Dalmatia, and left his ships at Ancona, took first the road of Picenum and then the Flaminian

minian way, following the Legion which was going from Pannonia to Rome, and thence to garrison in Africa. This too became the subject of popular censure, that he officiously mix'd with the soldiers, and courted them in their march and quarters: he therefore, to avoid suspicion; or, because when men are in dread, their conduct wavers, did at Narni embark upon the Nar, and thence sail'd into the Tiber. By landing at the burying place of the Cæsars, he heighten'd the wrath of the populace: besides, he and PLAN-CINA came a shore in open day, in the face of the city who were crowdin the banks, and proceeded with gay countenances; he attended by a long band of Clients, she by a train of Ladies. There were yet other provocations to hatred; the situation of his house, proudly overlooking the Forum, and adorn'd and illuminated as for a festival; the banquet and rejoicings held in it, and all as publick as the place.

THE next day FULCINIUS TRIO arraign'd PISO before the Consuls, but was oppos'd by VITELLIUS, VERANIUS and others, who had accompanied GERMANICUS: they said, "that in this prosecution TRIO had no part; nor
" did they themselves act as accusers, but only gather'd
" materials, and, as witnesses, produced the last injuncti-
" ons of GERMANICUS". TRIO dropp'd that accusation; but got leave to call in question, his former life: and now the Emperor was desir'd to undertake the Trial; a request which the accus'd did not at all oppose, dreading the inclinations of the people and Senate: he knew
" TIBERIUS, on the contrary, resolute in despising popu-
" lar rumours, and in guilt confederate with his mother:
" besides that truth and misrepresentations were easiest
" distinguish'd by a single judge, but in assemblies odium
" and envy often prevail'd". TIBERIUS was aware of the weight of the Trial, and with what reproaches he was assaulted. Admitting therefore a few confidents, he heard the charge of the accusers, as also the apology of the accus'd; and left the cause intire to the Senate.

DRUSUS return'd the while from Illyricum; and tho' the Senate had for the reduction of MAROBODUUS, and other his exploits the summer before, decreed him the Triumph of Ovation; he postpon'd the honour, and privately enter'd the city. PISO, for his advocates, desir'd

TITUS ARRUNTIUS, FULCINIUS, ASINIUS GALLUS, SERVINUS MARCELLUS, and SEXTUS POMPEIUS: but they all fram'd different excuses; and he had, in their room, MARCUS LEPIDUS, LUCIUS PISO and LIVENEIUS REGULUS. Now earnest were the expectations of all men; "how great would prove the fidelity of the friends of GERMANICUS; what the assurance of the criminal, what the behaviour of TIBERIUS; whether he would sufficiently smother, or betray his sentiments". He never had a more anxious part; neither did the people ever indulge themselves in such secret murmurs against their Emperor, nor harbour in silence severer suspicions.

WHEN the Senate met, TIBERIUS made a speech full of labour'd moderation: "that PISO had been his father's Lieutenant and friend; and lately appointed by himself, at the direction of the Senate, Coadjutor to GERMANICUS in administering the affairs of the East: whether he had there by contumacy and opposition exasperated the young Prince, and exulted over his death, or wickedly procur'd it, they were then to judge with minds unprejudiced. For, if he who was the Lieutenant of my son, violated the limits of his commission, cast off obedience to his General, and even rejoiced at his decease and at my affliction; I will detest the man, I will banish him from my house, and for domestick injuries exert domestick revenge; not the revenge of an Emperor. But for you; if his guilt of any man's death whatsoever, is discover'd, shew your just vengeance, and by it satisfy yourselves, satisfy the children of GERMANICUS, and us his father and grandmother. Consider too especially whether he viciated the discipline and promoted sedition in the Army; whether he sought to debauch the affections of the soldiers, and to recover the province by arms: or whether these allegations are not publish'd falsely and with aggravations by the accusers, with whose over passionate zeal, I am justly offended: for, whither tended the stripping the corps and exposing it to the eyes and examination of the populace; with what view was it proclaim'd even to foreign nations, that his death was the effect of poyson; if all this was still doubtful, and remains yet to be tried? It is true I bewail my son, and shall ever bewail him: but neither do I hinder the accus'd to do
" what

“ what in him lies to manifest his innocence, even at the
 “ expence of GERMANICUS; if ought blameable was in him.
 “ From you I intreat the same impartiality: let not the
 “ connexion of my sorrow with this cause, mislead you to
 “ take crimes for prov’d because they are imputed. For
 “ PISO; if the tenderness of kinsmen, if the faith of friends,
 “ has furnish’d him with patrons, let them aid him in his
 “ peril, shew their utmost eloquence, and exert their best
 “ diligence. To the same pains, to the same firmness I
 “ exhort the accusers. Thus much we will grant to the
 “ memory of GERMANICUS, that the inquest concerning
 “ his death, be held rather here than in the Forum, in the
 “ Senate than the common Tribunals. In all the rest, we
 “ will descend to the ordinary methods. Let no man in
 “ this cause consider DRUSUS’s tears; let none regard my
 “ sorrow, no more than the probable fictions of calumny
 “ against us ”.

Two days were then appointed for maintaining the
 charge; six for preparing the defence, and three for mak-
 ing it. FULCINIUS began with things stale and imperti-
 nent, about the ambition and rapine of PISO in his admi-
 nistration of Spain: things which, tho’ prov’d, brought him
 under no penalty, if acquitted of the present charge; nor,
 tho’ he had been clear’d of former faults, could he escape the
 load of greater enormities. After him SERVEUS, VERA-
 NIUS and VITELLIUS, all with equal zeal, but VITELLIUS
 with great Eloquence urg’d “ that PISO, in hatred to GER-
 “ MANICUS, and passionate for innovations, had by tole-
 “ rating general licentiousness, and the oppression of the
 “ Allies, corrupted the common soldiers to that degree, that
 “ by the most profligate he was stil’d *Father of the Legions*:
 “ he had, on the contrary, been outrageous to the best
 “ men, above all to the friends and companions of GERMA-
 “ NICUS; and, at last, by witchcraft and poyson destroy’d
 “ GERMANICUS himself: hence the infernal charms and
 “ immolations practis’d by him and PLANCINA: he had
 “ then attack’d the Commonwealth with open arms; and,
 “ before he could be brought to be tried, they were forced
 “ to fight and defeat him ”.

In every article but one his defence was faltering. For,
 neither his dangerous intrigues in debauching the soldiery,

nor his abandoning the province to the most profligate and rapacious, nor even his insults to GERMANICUS, were to be denied. He seem'd only to wipe off the charge of poyson; a charge which in truth was not sufficiently corroborated by the accusers; since they had only to alledge, "that at an entertainment of GERMANICUS, PISO, while he sat above him, with his hands poyson'd the meat". It appear'd absurd that amongst so many attending slaves besides his own, in so great a presence, and under the eye of GERMANICUS, he would attempt it: he himself requir'd that the waiters might be rack'd, and offer'd to the rack his own domesticks: but the Judges were implacable, implacable from different motives; TIBERIUS for the war rais'd in the province; and the Senate could never be convinced that the death of GERMANICUS was not the effect of fraud. Some mov'd for the Letters writ to PISO from Rome; a motion oppos'd by TIBERIUS no less than by PISO. From without, at the same time, were heard the cries of the people, "that if he escap'd the judgment of the Senate, they would with their own hands destroy him". They had already dragg'd his Statues to the place from whence Malefactors were precipitated, and there had broken them; but by the orders of TIBERIUS they were rescued and replaced. PISO was put into a litter and carried back by a Tribune of a Pretorian Cohort; an attendance variously understood, whether as a guard for his safety, or a minister of death.

PLANCINA was under equal publick hatred, but had more secret favour: hence it was doubted how far TIBERIUS durst proceed against her. For her self; while her husband's hopes were yet plausible, she profess'd "she would accompany his fortune whatever it were, and, if he fell, fall with him". But when by the secret sollicitations of LIVIA, she had secur'd her own pardon, she began by degrees to drop her husband, and to make a separate defence. After this fatal warning, he doubted whether he should make any further efforts; but, by the advice of his sons, fortifying his mind, he again enter'd the Senate: there he found the prosecution renew'd, suffer'd the declar'd indignation of the fathers, and saw all things cross and terrible; but nothing so much daunted him as to behold TIBERIUS, without mercy, without wrath, close, dark, unmovable, and bent
against

against every access of tenderness. When he was brought home, as if he were preparing for his further defence the next day, he wrote somewhat, which he seal'd and deliver'd to his Freedman: he then wash'd and anointed, and took the usual care of his person. Late in the night, his wife leaving the chamber, he order'd the door to be shut, and was found, at break of day, with his throat cut, his sword lying by him.

I remember to have heard from ancient men, that in the hands of PISO was frequently seen a bundle of writings, which he did not expose, but which, as his friends constantly averr'd, "contain'd the Letters of TIBERIUS and his cruel
 " orders towards GERMANICUS: that he resolved to lay
 " them before the fathers and to charge the Emperor, but was
 " deluded by the hollow promises of SEJANUS: and that
 " neither did PISO die by his own hands, but by those of
 " an express and private executioner". I dare affirm neither; nor yet ought I to conceal the relations of such as still liv'd when I was a youth. TIBERIUS, with an assum'd air of sadness, complain'd to the Senate that PISO, by that sort of death, had aim'd to load him with obloquy; and ask'd many questions how he had pass'd his last day, how his last night? The Freedman answer'd to most with prudence, to some in confusion. The Emperor then recited the Letter sent him by PISO. It was conceiv'd almost in these words:
 " Oppress'd by a combination of my enemies and the im-
 " putation of false crimes; since no place is left here to
 " truth and my innocence; to the immortal Gods I appeal;
 " that towards you, CESAR, I have liv'd with sincere faith,
 " nor towards your mother with less reverence. For my
 " sons I implore her protection and yours: my son CNEIUS
 " had no share in my late management whatever it were,
 " since, all the while, he abode at Rome: and my son
 " MARCUS dissuaded me from returning to Syria. Oh that,
 " old as I am, I had yielded to him, rather than he, young
 " as he is, to me! Hence more passionately I pray that in-
 " nocent as he is, he suffer not in the punishment of my
 " guilt: by a series of services for five and forty years, I
 " entreat you; by our former fellowship in the Consulship;
 " by the memory of the deified AUGUSTUS, your father;
 " by his friendship to me; by mine to you, I entreat you
 " for

“ for the life and fortune of my unhappy son. It is the last
 “ request I shall ever make you ”. Of PLANCINA he said
 nothing.

TIBERIUS, upon this, clear’d the young man of any crime
 as to the Civil War : he alledg’d “ the orders of his father,
 “ which a son could not disobey ”. He likewise bewail’d
 “ that noble house, and even the grievous lot of PISO him-
 “ self, however deserv’d ”. For PLANCINA he pleaded
 with shame and guilt, alledging the importunity of his mo-
 ther ; against whom more particularly the secret murmurs
 of the best people wax’d bitter and poignant. “ Was it then
 “ the tender part of a grand-mother to admit to her sight
 “ the murders of her grandson, to be intimate with her,
 “ and to snatch her from the vengeance of the Senate ? To
 “ GERMANICUS alone was denied what by the Laws was
 “ granted to every Citizen. By VITELLIUS and VERA-
 “ NIUS, the cause of that Prince was mourn’d and pleaded :
 “ by the Emperor and his mother, PLANCINA was defended
 “ and protected. Henceforth she might pursue her infernal
 “ arts so successfully tried, repeat her poisonings, and by
 “ her arts and poisons assail AGRIPPINA and her children ;
 “ and, with the blood of that most miserable house, satiate
 “ the worthy grand-mother and uncle ”. In this Mock-Trial
 two days were wasted ; TIBERIUS, all the while, animating
 the sons of PISO to defend their mother : when the pleaders
 and witnesses had vigorously push’d the charge, and no re-
 ply was made, commiseration prevail’d over hatred. The
 Consul AURELIUS COTTA was first ask’d his opinion : for,
 when the Emperor collected the voices, the Magistrates like-
 wise voted. COTTA’s sentence was, “ that the name of
 “ PISO should be raz’d from the Annals, part of his estate
 “ forfeited, part granted to his son CNEIUS, upon changing
 “ that name ; his son MARCUS be divested of his dignity,
 “ and content with fifty thousand great sestercia, be banish’d
 “ for ten years : and to PLANCINA, at the request of LI-
 “ VIA, indemnity should be granted ”.

MUCH of this sentence was abated by the Emperor ; par-
 ticularly that of striking PISO’s name out of the Annals,
 when “ that of MARC ANTHONY, who made war upon his
 “ country ; that of JULUS ANTONIUS, who had by adul-
 “ tery violated the house of AUGUSTUS, continued still
 “ there ”.

“ there ”. He also exempted MARCUS PISO from the ignominy of degradation, and left him his whole paternal inheritance; for, as I have already often observ’d, he was to the temptations of money incorruptible, and from the shame of having acquitted PLANCINA, render’d then more than usually mild. He likewise withstood the motion of VALERIUS MESSALINUS, “ for erecting a golden Statue in the “ Temple of Mars the Avenger”; and that of CECINA SEVERUS, “ for founding an Altar to Revenge”. Such Monuments “ as these, he argued, were only fit to be rais’d upon foreign victories; domestick evils were to be buried in sadness ”. MESSALINUS had added, “ that to TIBERIUS, “ LIVIA, ANTONIA, AGRIPPINA and DRUSUS, publick “ thanks were to be render’d for having reveng’d the death “ of GERMANICUS ”; but had omitted to mention CLAUDIUS. MESSALINUS was ask’d by LUCIUS ASPRENAS, in the presence of the Senate, “ whether by design he had “ omitted him ”? and then at last the name of CLAUDIUS was subjoin’d. To me, the more I revolve the events of late or of old, the more of mockery and flipperiness appears in all human wisdom and the transactions of men: for, in popular fame, in the hopes, wishes and veneration of the publick, all men were rather destin’d to the Empire, than he for whom fortune then reserv’d the sovereignty in the dark.

A few days after, VITELLIUS, VERANIUS and SERVUS, were by the Senate preferr’d to the honours of the Priesthood, at the motion of TIBERIUS. To FULCINIUS he promis’d his interest and suffrage towards preferment, but advis’d him “ not to embarrass his Eloquence by impetuosity ”. This was the end of revenging the Death of GERMANICUS; an affair ambiguously related, not by those only who then liv’d and interested themselves in it, but likewise in following times: so dark and intricate are all the highest transactions; while some hold for certain facts, the most precarious hearsays; others turn facts into falsehood; and both are swallow’d and improv’d by the credulity of posterity. DRUSUS went now without the City, there to renew the ceremony of the Auspices, and presently re-enter’d in the Triumph of *Ovation*. A few days after died VIPSIANIA his mother; of all the children of AGRIPPA, the only one who made a pacifick end: the rest manifestly perish’d,

or are believ'd to have perish'd, by the sword, poyson, and famine.

THE same year, TACFARINAS, whom I have mention'd to have been the former summer defeated by CAMILLUS, renew'd the war in Africa; first by roving devastations, so sudden that they escap'd unchastiz'd; next he sack'd towns and bore away mighty plunder; at last he begirt a Roman Cohort, a small distance from the river Pagida. It was a fort commanded by DECRIUS, a brave soldier, exercis'd in war, and now touch'd with the ignominy of such a siege. Encouraging therefore his men to offer open battle, he drew them up without the walls: at the first shock the Cohort was repuls'd; but the resolute DECRIUS brav'd the enemy's darts, oppos'd the runaways, and upbraided the standard-bearers, "that upon vagabonds and undisciplined robbers the Roman soldiers turn'd their backs". He had already receiv'd several wounds, and his eye was beat out; but still he faced the foe, nor ceas'd fighting 'till, wholly deserted by his men, he at last was slain.

LUCIUS APRONIUS had succeeded CAMILLUS. As soon as he learnt this defeat, piqued rather by the infamy of his own men, than the glory of the enemy, he practis'd an exemplary severity, at this time rare, but agreeable to ancient discipline; by executing with a club every tenth man of that ignominious Cohort, drawn by lot: such too was the effect of this rigour, that those very forces of TACFARINAS, as they besieged the Fortrefs of Thala, were routed by a squadron of five hundred Veterans. In this battle RUFUS HELVIUS, a common soldier, acquir'd the glory of saving a Citizen, and was by APRONIUS presented with the Spear and Collar: TIBERIUS added the Civic Crown, complaining rather than resenting, that APRONIUS had not, in right of Proconsul, granted that also. TACFARINAS, now his Numidians were dismay'd and bent against sieges, made a desultory war; flying when attack'd, and, upon a retreat, assaulting the rear. As long as the African observ'd this method, he, with impunity to himself, mocked and harass'd the Romans; but after he drew down to the maritime places, the allurements and quantities of plunder confin'd him to his Camp. Hither APRONIUS CESIANUS was by his father dispatched with the cavalry and auxiliary

liary Cohorts, to which was added a detachment of the best Legionary foot; and, having successfully fought the Numidians, drove them back to the deserts.

AT Rome the while, EMILIA LEPIDA, who, besides the nobleness of the Emilian family, was great grand daughter to POMPEY and SYLLA, was charg'd with imposing a false birth upon PUBLIUS QUIRINIUS her husband, a man rich and childless. The charge was swell'd with "adulteries, " poysonings, and treasonable dealings with the Chaldeans " about the fate and continuance of the Imperial house". Her brother MANIUS LEPIDUS defended her; and guilty and infamous as she was, the persecution from her husband (continued after their divorce) drew compassion upon her. In this Trial, it was no easy matter to discover the heart of TIBERIUS; with such subtlety he mix'd and shifted the symptoms of indignation and clemency. At first, he besought the Senate, "not to meddle with the articles of treason"; and presently engaged MARCUS SERVILIUS, once Consul, and the other witnesses, to produce the very evidences of treason which he would have appear'd desirous to suppress: and yet, he took the slaves of LEPIDA from the guard of soldiers, and surrender'd them to the Consuls; nor would he suffer them to be examin'd by torture, as to her practises against himself; he even excus'd DRUSUS from voting first, as Consul elect. This some understood as an instance of complaisance, "that the rest might not be " oblig'd to follow the example of DRUSUS": some ascrib'd it to cruelty; "for that only with design to have her " condemn'd, that concession was made".

THE publick Games interrupted the Trial, and in the recess, LEPIDA accompanied with other Ladies of great quality, enter'd the Theatre: there with doleful lamentations invoking her illustrious ancestors, especially the great POMPEY, whose statues stood round in view, the Theatre itself a monument of his raising; she excited such universal commiseration, that the Spectators burst into tears, and uttering cruel and direful imprecations against QUIRINIUS, declar'd their indignation, "that to his childless old age and mean " blood, should be given a Lady once design'd for the wife " of LUCIUS CESAR, and for the daughter-in-law of the deified AUGUSTUS". At last, by racking her slaves, her crimes were

were made manifest, and the judgment of RUBELLIUS BLANDUS prevailed, for interdicting her from fire and water. To this judgment DRUSUS assented, tho' others had propos'd a milder. That her estate should not be forfeited, was granted to SCAURUS, who by her had had a daughter: and now after condemnation, TIBERIUS advertis'd the Senate; that "from the slaves too of QUIRINIUS he had learnt her attempts to poyson him".

As a consolation to the illustrious Families of Rome, for their late calamities (for the *Calpurnian* house had suffered the loss of PISO, and, just after, the *Emilian* house that of LEPIDA) DECIUS SILANUS was now restor'd to the *Junian* family. I will briefly recite his disgrace. As against the Republick, the fortune of AUGUSTUS was prevalent; so, in his family, it was unhappy; occasioned by the lewdness of his daughter and grand daughter, whom he turned out of Rome, and with death or exile punish'd their adulterers. For, to a fault common between men and women, he gave the heinous name of sacrilege and treason, and thence had a colour for departing from the tenderness of our ancestors, and for violating his own laws. But I shall hereafter relate the fate of others from this his severity, as also the other transactions of that time, if, having finish'd my present undertaking, life remains for other studies. SILANUS, who had viciated the grand daughter of AUGUSTUS, tho' he felt no higher indignation than to be excluded from the friendship and presence of the Emperor, yet understood this as a denunciation of banishment; nor durst he, till the reign of TIBERIUS, supplicate the Prince and Senate for leave to return, and then only trusted to the prevailing credit of his brother MARCUS SILANUS, distinguish'd by his illustrious quality, and eminent for his great Eloquence. MARCUS having return'd thanks to TIBERIUS, had this answer before the Senate; "that he himself also rejoiced that
 " his brother was return'd from travels so long and remote:
 " that his return home was perfectly unexceptionable;
 " since neither by decree of Senate, nor by any sentence of
 " law had he been driven thence: that to himself how-
 " ever still remain'd intire the resentments of his father
 " towards him; nor by the return of SILANUS were the
 " purposes of AUGUSTUS violated". Thence forward he
 remain'd

remain'd in Rome, but distinguish'd by no preferment in the State.

THE qualifying of the Law Papia Poppea was afterwards propos'd; a Law which, to enforce those of JULIUS CESAR, AUGUSTUS had made when he was old, for punishing Celibacy and enriching the Exchequer. Nor even by this means had marriages and children multiplied, while a passion to live single and childless still prevail'd: but, in the meantime, the numbers threaten'd and in danger by it increas'd daily, while by the glosses and chicane of the impleaders every family was undone. So that, as before the city labour'd under the weight of crimes, so now under the pest of laws. From this thought I am led backwards to the first rise of Laws, and to open the steps and causes by which we are arriv'd to the present number and excess; a number infinite and perplex'd.

THE first race of men, free as yet from every deprav'd passion, liv'd without guile and crimes, and therefore without chastizements and restraints; nor was there occasion for rewards, when of their own accord they pursued righteousness: and as they courted nothing contrary to justice, they were debar'd from nothing by terrors. But, after they had abandon'd their original equality, and from modesty and shame to do evil, proceeded to ambition and violence; Lordly dominion was introduced and arbitrary rule, and in many nations grew perpetual. Some, either from the beginning, or after they were surfeited with Kings, preferr'd the sovereignty of Laws; which, agreeable to the artless minds of men, were at first short and simple. The laws in most renown were those fram'd for the Cretans by MINOS; for the Spartans by LYCURGUS; and afterwards such as SOLON deliver'd to the Athenians, now greater in number and more exquisitely compos'd. To the Romans justice was administer'd by ROMULUS according to his pleasure: after him, NUMA managed the people by religious devices and laws divine. Some institutions were made by TULLUS HOSTILIUS, some by ANCUS MARTIUS; but above all our laws were those founded by SERVIUS TULLIUS; they were such as even our Kings were bound to obey.

UPON the expulsion of TARQUIN; the people, for the security of their freedom against the encroachment and facti-

ons of the Senate, and for binding the publick concord, prepar'd many ordinances : hence were created the Decemviri, and by them were compos'd the twelve Tables, out of a collection of the most excellent institutions found abroad. The period this of all upright and impartial Laws. What laws follow'd, tho' sometimes made against crimes and offenders, were yet chiefly made by violence, through the animosity of the two Estates, and for siezing unjustly withholden offices or continuing unjustly in them, or for banishing illustrious Patriots, and to other wicked ends. Hence the GRACCHI and SATURNINI, inflamers of the people ; and hence DRUSUS vying, on behalf of the Senate, in popular concessions with these inflamers ; and hence the corrupt promises made to our Italian Allies, promises deceitfully made, or, by the interposition of some Tribune, defeated. Neither during the War of Italy, nor during the Civil War, was the making of regulations discontinued ; many and contradictory were even then made. At last SYLLA the Dictator, changing or abolishing the past, added many of his own, and procur'd some respite in this matter, but not long ; for presently follow'd the turbulent pursuits and proposals of LEPIDUS, and soon after were the Tribunes restor'd to their licentious authority of throwing the people into combustions at pleasure. And now Laws were not made for the publick only, but for particular men particular laws ; and corruption abounding in the Commonwealth, the Commonwealth abounded in laws.

POMPEY was, now in his third Consulship, chosen to correct the publick enormities ; and his remedies prov'd to the State more grievous than its distempers. He made Laws such as suited his ambition, and broke them when they thwarted his will ; and lost by arms the regulations which by arms he had procured. Hence-forward for twenty years discord rag'd, and there was neither law nor settlement ; the most wicked found impunity in the excess of their wickedness ; and many virtuous men, in their uprightness met destruction. At length, AUGUSTUS CESAR in his sixth Consulship, then confirmed in power without a rival, abolish'd the orders which during the Triumvirate he had establish'd, and gave us laws proper for peace and a single ruler. These laws had sanctions severer than any heretofore

fore known : as their guardians, Informers were appointed, who by the Law Papia Poppea were encouraged with rewards, to watch such as neglected the privileges annex to marriage and fatherhood, and consequently could claim no legacy or inheritance, the same, as vacant, belonging to the Roman people who were the publick parent. But these Informers struck much deeper : by them the whole City, all Italy, and the Roman Citizens in every part of the Empire, were infested and persecuted : numbers were stript of their intire fortunes, and terror had seiz'd all ; when TIBERIUS, for a check to this evil, chose twenty Noblemen, five who were formerly Consuls, five who were formerly Pretors, with ten other Senators, to review that law. By them many of its intricacies were explained, its strictness qualified ; and hence some present alleviation was yielded.

TIBERIUS about this time, to the Senate recommended NERO, one of the sons of GERMANICUS, now seventeen years of age, and desir'd " that he might be exempted from " executing the office of the Vigintivirate, and have leave " to sue for the Questorship five years sooner than the laws " directed ". A piece of mockery this request to all who heard it : but, TIBERIUS pretended " that the same concessions had been decreed to himself and his brother DRUSUS, at the request of AUGUSTUS ". Nor do I doubt but there were then such who secretly ridicul'd that sort of petitions from AUGUSTUS : such policy was however natural to that Prince, while he was but yet laying the foundations of the Imperial power, and while the Republick and its late laws were still fresh in the minds of men : besides, the relation was lighter between AUGUSTUS and his wife's sons, than between a grandfather and his grandsons. To the grant of the Questorship was added a seat in the College of Pontifs ; and the first day he enter'd the Forum in his manly Robe, a donative of corn and money was distributed to the populace, who exulted to behold a son of GERMANICUS now of age. Their joy was soon heighten'd by his marriage with JULIA the daughter of DRUSUS. But as these transactions were attended with publick applauses ; so the intended marriage of the daughter of SEJANUS with the son of CLAUDIUS was receiv'd with popular indignation. By this alliance the nobility of the Claudian house seem'd stain'd ;

stain'd; and by it SEJANUS already suspected of aspiring views, was lifted still higher.

AT the end of this year died LUCIUS VOLUSIUS and SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS; great and eminent men. The family of VOLUSIUS was ancient, but, in the exercise of publick offices, rose never higher than the Pretorship; it was he who honoured it with the Consulship: he was likewise created Cenfor for modelling the classes of the Equestrian Order; and first accumulated the wealth which gave that family such immense grandeur. CRISPUS was born of an Equestrian house, great nephew by a sister to CAIUS SALLUSTIUS, the renown'd Roman Historian, and by him adopted: the way to the great offices was open to him; but, in imitation of MECENAS, he liv'd without the dignity of Senator, yet outwent in power many who were distinguish'd with Consulships and triumphs: his manner of living, his dress and daintiness were different from the ways of antiquity; and, in expence and affluence, he border'd rather upon luxury. He possessed however a vigour of spirit equal to great affairs, and exerted the greater promptness for that he hid it in a shew of indolence and sloth: he was therefore, in the life time of MECENAS, the next in favour, afterwards chief confident in all the secret Counsels of AUGUSTUS and TIBERIUS, and privy and consenting to the order for slaying AGRIPPA POSTHUMUS. In his old age he preserv'd with the Prince rather the outside than the vitals of authority: the same had happened to MECENAS. It is the fate of power, which is rarely perpetual; perhaps from satiety on both sides, when Princes have no more to grant, and Ministers no more to crave.

NEXT followed the Consulship of TIBERIUS and DRUSUS; to TIBERIUS the fourth, to DRUSUS the second: a Consulship remarkable, for that in it the father and son were Collegues. There was indeed the same fellowship between TIBERIUS and GERMANICUS, two years before; but besides the distastes of jealousy in the uncle, the ties of blood were not so near. In the beginning of the year, TIBERIUS, on pretence of his health, retired to Campania; either already meditating a long and perpetual retirement, or to leave to DRUSUS, in his father's absence, the honour of executing the Consulship alone: and there
happet'd

happen'd a thing which, small in it self, yet as it produced mighty contestation, furnish'd the young Consul with matter of popular affection. DOMITIUS CORBULO, formerly Pretor, complain'd to the Senate of LUCIUS SYLLA, a noble youth, "that in the shew of Gladiators, SYLLA would not yield him place". Age, domestick custom, and the ancient men were for CORBULO: on the other side, MAMERCUS SCAURUS, LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS, and others labour'd for their kinsman SYLLA: warm speeches were made, and the examples of our ancestors were urg'd, "who by severe decrees had censur'd and restrain'd the irreverence of the youth". DRUSUS interpos'd with arguments proper for calming animosities, and CORBULO had satisfaction made him by SCAURUS, who was to SYLLA both father-in-law and uncle, and the most copious Orator of that age. The same CORBULO, exclaiming against "the condition of most of the roads through Italy, that through the fraud of the undertakers and negligence of the overseers, they were broken and unpassable"; undertook of his own accord the cure of that abuse; an undertaking which he executed not so much to the advantage of the publick as to the ruin of many private men in their fortunes and reputation, by his violent mulcts and unjust judgments and forfeitures.

SOON after TIBERIUS by a Letter acquainted the Senate, "that by the incursions of TACFARINAS there were fresh commotions in Africa; and that they must choose a Proconsul, one of military experience, vigorous, and equal to that war". SEXTUS POMPEIUS, taking this occasion to discharge his hate, reproach'd MARCUS LEPIDUS "as dastardly, indigent, a scandal to his ancestors, and therefore to be divested even of the Government of Asia, his province by lot". The Senate oppos'd him: they took LEPIDUS for a man rather mild than slothful; and that, as in his narrow fortune bequeath'd to him, but not impair'd by him, he supported his quality without blemish, he merited honour rather than contumely: he was therefore sent to Asia. Concerning Africa, it was decreed that the appointment of a Governor should be left to the Emperor.

UPON this occasion CECINA SEVERUS propos'd, "that
 " no Magistrate should go into any province accompani-
 " ed by his wife ". He introduced this motion with a
 long preface, "that he liv'd with his own in perfect con-
 " cord, by her he had six children; and what he offer'd
 " to the publick he had practis'd himself, having during
 " forty years service, left her still behind him, confin'd
 " to Italy. It was not indeed, without cause, establish'd of
 " old, that women should neither be carried by their hus-
 " bands into confederate nations nor foreign. A train of
 " women introduced luxury in peace, by their fears retard-
 " ed war, and made a Roman army resemble, in their
 " march, a mixt host of Barbarians. The sex was not
 " tender only and unfit for travel, but, if suffer'd, cruel,
 " aspiring and greedy of authority: they even march'd
 " amongst the foldiers, and were obey'd by the officers. A
 " woman had lately presid'd at the exercises of the troops,
 " and at the decursions of the Legions. The Senate them-
 " selves might remember that as often as any of the Ma-
 " gistrates were charg'd with plundering the provinces,
 " their wives were always engaged in the guilt. To the La-
 " dies the most profligate in the province ever apply'd; by
 " them all affairs were undertaken, by them transacted:
 " at home two distinct courts were kept, and abroad the
 " wife had her distinct train and attendance. The Ladies
 " too issued distinct orders, but more imperious and better
 " obey'd. Such feminine excesses were formerly restrain'd
 " by the Oppian and other Laws; but now these restraints
 " were violated, women ruled all things, their families, the
 " Forum, and even the armies ".

THIS speech was heard by few with approbation, and
 many proclaim'd their dissent; "for that neither was that
 " the point in debate; nor was CECINA considerable
 " enough to censure so weighty an affair ". He was present-
 ly answer'd by VALERIUS MESSALINUS, who was the son of
 MESSALA and inherited a sparkling of his father's Eloquence:
 " that many rigorous institutions of the ancients were sof-
 " ten'd and chang'd for the better: for, neither was Rome
 " now, as of old, beset with wars, nor Italy with hostile
 " provinces; and a few concessions were made to the con-
 " veniences of women, who were so far from burdening
 " the

“ the provinces, that to their own husbands there they were
 “ no burden. As to honours, attendance and expence, they
 “ enjoy’d them in common with their husbands, who could
 “ receive no embarrassment from their company in time of
 “ peace. To war indeed we must go equipp’d and unin-
 “ cumber’d; but after the fatigues of war, what was more
 “ allowable than the consolations of a wife? But it seem’d,
 “ the wives of some Magistrates had given a loose to ambi-
 “ tion and avarice? And were the Magistrates themselves free
 “ from these excesses? were not most of them govern’d by
 “ many exorbitant appetites? did we therefore send none into
 “ the provinces? It was added, that the husbands were cor-
 “ rupted by their corrupt wives: and were therefore all single
 “ men uncorrupt? The Oppian Laws were once thought ne-
 “ cessary, because the exigencies of the State requir’d their
 “ severity: they were afterwards relax’d and mollified,
 “ because that too was expedient for the State. In vain we
 “ cover’d our own sloth with borrow’d names: if the wife
 “ broke bounds, the husband ought to bear the blame. It
 “ was moreover unjustly judg’d, for the weak and uxorious
 “ spirit of one or a few, to bereave all others of the fel-
 “ lowship of their wives, the natural partners of their pro-
 “ sperity and distress. Besides, the sex, weak by nature,
 “ would be left defenceless, expos’d to the luxurious bent
 “ of their native passions, and a prey to the allurements of
 “ adulterers: scarce under the eye and restraint of the hus-
 “ band, was the marriage bed preserv’d inviolate: what
 “ must be the consequence, when by an absence of many
 “ years, the ties of marriage would be forgot, forgot as
 “ it were in a divorce? It became them therefore, so to
 “ cure the evils abroad as not to forget the enormities at
 “ Rome”. To this DRUSUS added somewhat concerning
 his own wedlock. “ Princes, he said, were frequently ob-
 “ liged to visit the remote parts of the Empire: how
 “ often did the deified AUGUSTUS travel to the East; how
 “ often to the West, still accompanied with LIVIA? He
 “ himself too had taken a progress to Illyricum, and, if it
 “ were expedient, was ready to visit other nations; but
 “ not always with an easy spirit, if he were to be torn
 “ from his dear wife, her by whom he had so many chil-
 “ dren”. Thus was CECINA’s motion eluded.

WHEN

WHEN the Senate met next, they had a Letter from TIBERIUS. In it he affected to chide the fathers, “that upon him they cast all publick cares”; and nam’d them M. LEPIDUS and JUNIUS BLESUS, to choose either for Proconsul of Africa. They were then both heard as to this nomination: LEPIDUS excused himself with earnestness; he pleaded “his bodily frailty, the tender age of his children, and a daughter fit for marriage”. There was another reason too, of which he said nothing; but it was easily understood: BLESUS was uncle to SEJANUS, and therefore had the prevailing interest. BLESUS too made a shew of refusing, but not with the like positiveness, and was heard with partiality by the flatterers of power.

Now at last broke out a grievance which had lain hitherto smother’d in the uneasy minds of men. The Statues of the Emperor were become sanctuaries to every profligate, who by laying hold on these Statues had assumed the licentious insolence of venting with impunity their invectives and hatred against worthy men: even slaves and freedmen were thence grown terrible to their masters; and wantonly insulted and threaten’d them. Against this abuse it was argued by CAIUS SESTIUS the Senator, “that Princes were indeed the representatives of the Gods; but by the Gods just petitions only were heard: nor did any one betake himself to the Capitol, or the other Temples of Rome, that under their shelter he might exercise villanies. That the laws were abolish’d and finally overturn’d, if a criminal convict could in the publick Forum, nay at the door of the Senate, assault her prosecutor with invectives and menaces: and yet thus had ANNIA RUFILLA assaulted him; she whom he had got judicially condemn’d for forgery: neither durst he seek relief from the law, for that she protected her self with the Emperor’s Statue”. Much the same reasoning was offer’d by others: some aggravated the offence with greater bitterness, and besought DRUSUS to shew an exemplary instance of vengeance. So she was summon’d, convicted of the charge, and by his command committed to prison.

CANSIDIUS EQUUS too, and CELIUS CURSOR, Roman Knights, were at the motion of DRUSUS, punish’d by a decree of Senate, for forging a charge of treason against

against the Pretor MAGIUS CECILIANUS. From this their punishment and that of RUFILLA, DRUSUS reap'd publick praise; "that by him, living thus sociably at Rome, and
 " frequenting the publick assemblies, the dark spirit and
 " designs of his father were soften'd ". Neither did the luxury in which the young Prince liv'd, give much offence.
 " Let him, it was said, be rather thus imploy'd, his days
 " in shews and acts of popularity, his nights in banqueting,
 " than in dismal solitude, withdrawn from publick gayety,
 " worried with incessant distrusts, and fostering black de-
 " signs ".

FOR neither was TIBERIUS nor the impleaders, yet tir'd with accusations. ANCHARIUS PRISCUS had accus'd CESIUS CORDUS, Proconsul of Crete, of robbing the publick, with an additional charge of high treason; a charge, which at that time was the main bulwark of all accusations. ANTISTIUS VETUS, a Nobleman of the first rank in Macedonia, had been tried for adultery and absolv'd: this offended TIBERIUS, who reproach'd the Judges, and recall'd him to be tried for treason, as a disturber of the publick, and confederate with the late King RHESCUPORIS, when having slain his brother COTYS, he meditated war against us. So that VETUS was condemn'd, and interdicted from fire and water: to this sentence it was added, "that he should be confin'd to an Island neither in the
 " neighbourhood of Macedon nor of Thrace ". For, upon the division of that Kingdom between RHEMETALCES and the sons of COTYS, who being children had for their guardian TREBELLIENUS RUFUS; the Thracians not us'd to our Government, wax'd discontented and tumultuous; nor did they less censure RHEMETALCES than TREBELLIENUS, for leaving unpunish'd the violences done them. The Celeteans, Odrysians, and others, all powerful nations, took arms, under distinct Captains, but equal in incapacity. For this reason, their armies were not united, nor did the war wax terrible: some committed ravages at home; others travers'd Mount Hemus, to engage in the insurrection the distant provinces: the greatest part, and best appointed, besieg'd Philippopolis, (a City founded by PHILIP of Macedon) and in it King RHEMETALCES.

PUBLIUS VELLEIUS commanded the army in the neighbouring province. When he heard of these commotions, he dispatch'd parties of horse and light foot; some against those who roam'd about for plunder; some against such as rambled from place to place to solicit succours: he himself led the body of the Infantry to raise the siege. These several enterprizes were at once successfully executed: the rovers were cut off; divisions arose amongst the besiegers, and the King fortunately sallied, just as the Roman forces arriv'd. This gang of Thracians deserve not the name of an army, nor this rout to be call'd a battle, where vagabonds half arm'd were slaughter'd, without blood on our side.

THE same year the Cities of Gaul, stimulated by their excessive debts, began a Rebellion. The most vehement incendiaries were JULIUS FLORUS, and JULIUS SACROVIR; the first amongst those of Treves, the second amongst the Eduans. They were both distinguish'd by their nobility, and by the good services of their ancestors, who thence had acquir'd of old the right of Roman Citizens; a privilege rare in those days, and then only the prize of virtue. When by secret meetings they had gain'd those who were most prompt to rebel; with such as were desperate through indigence, or, from guilt of past crimes, forced to commit more; they agreed that FLORUS should begin the insurrection in Belgia; SACROVIR amongst the neighbouring Gauls. In order to this, they had many consultations and cabals, where they utter'd seditious harangues; they urg'd “ their tribute
“ without end, their devouring usury, the pride and cruelty
“ of their Governors: that they had now a glorious opportu-
“ nity to recover their liberty; for that since the report of
“ the murder of GERMANICUS, discord had sicz'd the Ro-
“ man soldiery: they need only consider their own strength
“ and numbers; while Italy was poor and exhausted; the
“ Roman populace weak and unwarlike, the Roman armies
“ destitute of all vigour, but that deriv'd from foreign-
“ ers ”.

SCARCE one City remain'd untainted with the seeds of this Rebellion; but it first broke at Angiers and Tours. The former were reduced by ACILIUS AVIOLA, a Legate, with the assistance of a Cohort drawn from the garrison at Lions. Those of Tours were suppressed by the same

AVIOLA,

AVIOLA, assisted with a detachment sent from the Legions, by VISELLIUS VARRO, Lieutenant-Governor of lower Germany. Some of the Chiefs of the Gauls had likewise join'd him with succours, the better to disguise their defection, and to push it with more effect hereafter. Even SACROVIR was beheld engaged in fight for the Romans, with his head bare, *a demonstration*, he pretended, *of his bravery*; but the prisoners averr'd, that "he did it to be known to his country-men, and to escape their darts".

AN account of all this was laid before TIBERIUS, who slighted it, and by hesitation foster'd the war. FLORUS the while push'd his designs, and tried to debauch a Regiment of horse, levied at Treves, and kept under our pay and discipline: he would have engaged them to begin the war, by putting to the sword the Roman Merchants; and some few were corrupted, but the body remain'd in their allegiance. A rabble however of his own followers and desperate debtors, took arms and were making to the Forest of Arden, when the Legions sent from both armies by VISELLIUS and CAIUS SILIUS, thro' different routs to intercept them, marr'd their march: and JULIUS INDUS, one of the same country with FLORUS, at enmity with him, and therefore more eager to engage him, was dispatch'd forward with a chosen band, and broke the ill appointed multitude. FLORUS by lurking from place to place, frustrated the search of the conquerors: but at last, when he saw all the passes beset with soldiers, he fell by his own hands. This was the issue of the insurrection at Treves.

AMONGST the Eduans the revolt was stronger, as much stronger as the state was more opulent; and the forces to suppress it were to be brought from afar. Augustodunum the capital of the nation, was siez'd by SACROVIR, and in it all the noble youth of Gaul, who were there instructed in the Liberal Arts. By securing these pledges he aim'd to bind in his interest their parents and relations; and at the same time distributed to the young men the arms which he had caus'd to be secretly made. He had forty thousand men, the fifth part arm'd like our Legions, the rest with poles, hangers, and other weapons us'd by hunters. To the number were added such of the slaves as had been appointed to be Gladiators; these were cover'd, after the fashion of the country,
with

with a continued armour of iron; and stil'd *Crupellarii*; a sort of militia unweildy at excercising their own weapons, and impenetrable by those of others. These forces were still increas'd by Volunteers from the neighbouring Cities; where, tho' the publick body did not hitherto avow the revolt, yet the zeal of particulars was manifest: they had likewise leisure to increase from the contention of the two Roman Generals; a contention for some time undecided, while each demanded the command in that war. At length VARRO, old and infirm, yielded to the superior vigour of SILIUS.

Now at Rome, “not only the insurrection of Treves
“and of the Eduans, but likewise, that threescore and four
“Cities of Gaul had revolted; that the Germans had join'd
“in the revolt, and that Spain fluctuated”; were reports all believ'd with the usual aggravations of fame. The best men griev'd in sympathy for their country: many from hatred of the present government and thirst of change, rejoiced in their own perils: they inveighed against TIBERIUS, “that
“in such a mighty uproar of rebellion, he was only employ'd
“in perusing the informations of the State-Accusers”. They ask'd, “did he mean to surrender JULIUS
“SACROVIR to the Senate, to try him for treason”? They exulted, “that there were at last found men, who would
“with arms restrain his bloody orders for private murders”. And declar'd “that even War was a happy change for a
“most wretch'd peace”. So much the more for this, TIBERIUS affected to appear wrapt up in security and unconcern; he neither changed place nor countenance, but behav'd himself at that time as at other times; whether from elevation of mind, or whether he had learnt that the state of things was not alarming, and only heighten'd by vulgar representation.

SILIUS the while sending forward a band of Auxiliaries, march'd with two Legions, and in his march ravaged the villages of the Sequanians next neighbours to the Eduans, and their associates in arms. He then advanced towards Augustodunum; a hasty march, the Standard-bearers mutually vying in expedition, and the common men breathing ardour and eagerness: they desir'd, “that no time might be wasted
“in the usual refreshments, none of their nights in sleep;
“let them only see and confront the foe: they wanted no
“more

“ more to be victorious”. Twelve miles from Augustodunum SACROVIR appear'd with his forces upon the plains: in the front he had placed the iron troop; his Cohorts in the wings; the half arm'd in the rear: he himself, upon a fine horse, attended by the other chiefs, address'd himself to them from rank to rank; he reminded them “ of the glorious achievements of the ancient Gauls; of the victorious mischiefs they had brought upon the Romans; of the liberty and renown attending victory; of their redoubled and intolerable servitude, if once more vanquish'd ”.

A short speech, and an unattentive, and dishearten'd audience! For, the embattled Legions approach'd; and the crowd of townsmen, ill appointed and novices in war, stood astonish'd, bereft of the present use of eyes and hearing. On the other side, SILIUS, tho' he presumed the victory, and thence might have spar'd exhortations, yet call'd to his men, “ that they might be with reason ashamed that they, the Conquerors of Germany, should be thus led against a rabble of Gauls as against an equal enemy: one Cohort had newly defeated the rebels of Tours; one Regiment of horse those of Treves; a handful of this very army had routed the Sequanians: the present Eduans, as they are more abounding in wealth, as they wallow more in voluptuousness, are by so much more soft and unwarlike: this is what you are now to prove, and your task to prevent their escape”. His words were return'd with a mighty cry. Instantly the horse surrounded the foe; the foot attack'd their front, and the wings were presently routed: the iron-band gave some short obstruction, as the bars of their coats withstood the strokes of sword and pike: but the soldiers had recourse to their hatchets and pick-axes, and, as if they had batter'd a wall, hew'd their bodies and armour: others with clubs, and some with forks, beat down the helpless lumps, who as they lay stretch'd along, without one struggle to rise, were left for dead. SACROVIR fled first to Augustodunum; and thence, fearful of being surrender'd, to a neighbouring town, accompanied by his most faithful adherents: there he slew himself, and the rest one another; having first set the town on fire, by which they were all consum'd.

NOW at last TIBERIUS writ to the Senate about this war, and at once acquainted them with its rise and conclusion, neither aggravating facts nor lessening them; but added “that
 “ it was conducted by the fidelity and bravery of his Lieu-
 “ tenants, guided by his counsels”. He likewise assigned the reasons why neither he, nor DRUSUS, went to that war;
 “ that the Empire was an immense body; and it became
 “ not the dignity of a Prince, upon the revolt of one or
 “ two towns, to desert the capital, whence motion was
 “ deriv’d to the whole: but since the alarm was over, he
 “ would visit those nations and settle them”. The Senate decreed vows and supplications for his return, with other customary honours. Only CORNELIUS DOLABELLA, while he strove to outdo others, fell into ridiculous sycophancy, and mov’d “that from Campania he should enter
 “ Rome in the Triumph of Ovation”. This occasioned a Letter from TIBERIUS: in it he declared, “ he was not
 “ so destitute of glory, that after having in his youth sub-
 “ dued the fiercest nations, and enjoyed or flighted so many
 “ Triumphs, he should now in his old age seek empty ho-
 “ nours from a short progress about the suburbs of Rome”.

ABOUT the same time he desired of the Senate, that “the
 “ corps of PUBLIUS QUIRINIUS might be distinguished
 “ with a publick Funeral”. QUIRINIUS was born at Lanuvium, a Municipal town, and no wise related to the ancient Patrician family of the SÜLPITII; but being a brave foldier, was for his vigorous military services to AUGUSTUS, rewarded with the Consulship; and soon after with a Triumph, for driving the Homonades out of their strong holds in Cilicia: next when the young CAIUS CESAR was sent to settle the affairs of Armenia, QUIRINIUS was appointed his Governor, and at the same time paid all court to TIBERIUS, then in his retirement at Rhodes. This the Emperor represented now to the Senate; he extoll’d the kind offices of QUIRINIUS, and branded MARCUS LOLLIVS as the author of the perverse behaviour of CAIUS CESAR to himself, and of all the jarring between them. In other instances the memory of QUIRINIUS was not acceptable to the Senate, for his above mention’d deadly persecution against LEPIDA, and for his sordid and formidable old age.

AT the end of the year, CAIUS LUTORIUS PRISCUS, a Roman Knight, who had compos'd a celebrated Poem, bewailing the Death of GERMANICUS, and receiv'd a reward from TIBERIUS, was attacked by an informer. His charge was, "that during an illness of DRUSUS, he had compos'd another, which, if the distemper prov'd mortal, he hoped to publish with a reward still greater". This Poem LUTORIUS had, in the fulness of vanity, rehearsed at the house of PUBLIUS PETRONIUS, in the presence of VITELLIA, mother-in-law to PETRONIUS, and of other Ladies of quality; who were all summon'd by the impleader, and all, except VITELLIA, were terrified into a confession: she alone persisted that she had heard nothing. But the evidence tending to destroy him had most credit; and it was the sentence of HATERIUS AGRIPPA, Consul elect, that death should be his punishment.

THIS was oppos'd by M. LEPIDUS who spoke on this wise. "Conscript fathers, if we only regard, with what abominable effusions LUTORIUS PRISCUS has defil'd his own soul, and the ears of men; neither dungeon; nor rope; nor indeed the punishments peculiar to slaves, are sufficient for him. But tho' wickedness and enormities abound without measure; yet since in coercions and penalties, we must observe the limits set by the moderation of the Prince, set by precedents made by our ancestors and ourselves; and since we must distinguish the vanity of the head from the malignity of the heart, and words from evil doings: there is room left for a middle judgment, by which neither his offence need escape unpunish'd, nor we repent of our tenderness or severity. I have often heard our Prince complain, when any criminal had, by a desperate death, prevented his mercy. The life of LUTORIUS is still untouch'd: to save it, will no wise endanger the State; nor will the taking it away have any influence upon others. His studies, as they are full of wildness, are likewise empty and perishing: neither is ought important or terrible to be apprehended from one who thus betrays his own follies, and makes his court not to the minds of men, but the imaginations of women: let him however be expell'd Rome, interdicted from fire and water, and his estate be forfeited: which judgment of mine

" is

“ is the same as if he were charged with high treason ”.

OF all the Consulars, only RUBELLIUS BLANDUS assented to this opinion of LEPIDUS; the rest voted with AGRIPPA. PRISCUS was led to the dungeon, and instantly put to death. TIBERIUS, in a Letter to the Senate, discontended upon this proceeding, with his usual doubles and ambiguities; he magnified “ their tenderness and zeal in avenging thus with severity even the slight injuries done to the Prince ”; he entreated them, “ not to be sudden in punishing for words ”; he praised LEPIDUS, and censured not AGRIPPA. Hence an order was made, “ that the decrees of Senate should not in less than ten days be carried to the Exchequer, and to the condemn’d so much time should be granted ”. But to the Senate remain’d no liberty of revival or annulling; nor was TIBERIUS ever soften’d by time.

CAIUS SULPITIUS and DECIMUS HATERIUS were the following Consuls. Their year was exempt from disturbances abroad; but at home some severe blow was apprehended against luxury, which prevail’d monstrously in all things that create a profusion of money. But as the more pernicious articles of expence were cover’d by concealing their prices; therefore from the excesses of the table, which were become the common subject of daily animadversion, apprehensions were rais’d of some rigid correction from a Prince, who observ’d himself the ancient parcimony. For, CAIUS BIBULUS having begun the complaint, the other Ediles took it up, and argued “ that the sumptuary Laws were despised; the pomp and expence of plate and entertainments, in spite of restraints, increas’d daily, and by moderate penalties were not to be stopped ”. This grievance thus represented to the Senate, was by them refer’d intire to the Emperor. TIBERIUS having long weigh’d with himself whether such an abandon’d propensity to prodigality could be stemmed; whether the stemming it would not bring heavier evils upon the publick; how dishonourable it would be to attempt what could not be effected, or at least effected by the disgrace of the nobility, and by the subjecting illustrious men to infamous punishments; wrote at last to the Senate in this manner:

“ IN

“ IN other matters, Conscript Fathers, perhaps it might
 “ be more expedient for you to consult me in the Senate,
 “ and for me to declare there what I judge for the publick
 “ weal: but in the debate of this affair, it was best that my
 “ eyes were withdrawn; lest, while you mark’d the coun-
 “ tenances and terror of particulars charg’d with scandalous
 “ luxury, I too should have observ’d them, and, as it were,
 “ caught them in it. Had the vigilant Ediles first ask’d
 “ counsel of me, I know not whether I should not have
 “ advis’d them rather to have pass’d by potent and invete-
 “ rate corruptions, than only make it manifest, what enor-
 “ mities are an over-match for us: but they in truth have
 “ done their duty, as I would have all other Magistrates
 “ fullfil theirs. But for my self, it is neither commendable
 “ to be silent; nor does it belong to my station to speak
 “ out; since I neither bear the character of an Edile, nor of
 “ a Pretor, nor of a Consul: something still greater and
 “ higher is requir’d of a Prince. Every one is ready to
 “ assume to himself the credit of whatever is well done,
 “ while upon the Prince alone are thrown the miscarriages
 “ of all. But what is it that I am first to prohibit, what ex-
 “ cess retrench to the ancient standard? Am I to begin
 “ with that of our country seats, spacious without bounds;
 “ and with the number of domesticks, a number distributed
 “ into nations in private families? or with the quantity of
 “ plate, silver, and gold? or with the pictures, and works,
 “ and statues of brass, the wonders of art? or with the gor-
 “ geous vestments, promiscuously worn by men and wo-
 “ men? or with what is peculiar to the women, those pre-
 “ cious stones, for the purchase of which our corn is carried
 “ into foreign and hostile nations? I am not ignorant that
 “ at entertainments and in conversation, these excesses
 “ are censur’d, and a regulation is requir’d: and yet
 “ if an equal Law were made, if equal penalties were
 “ prescrib’d, these very censurers would loudly complain,
 “ *that the State was utterly overturn’d, that snares and*
 “ *destruction were prepar’d for every illustrious house, that no*
 “ *men could be guiltless, and all men would be the prey of in-*
 “ *formers.* And yet bodily diseases grown inveterate and
 “ strengthen’d by time, cannot be check’d but by medicines
 “ rigid and violent: it is the same with the soul: the sick

“ and raging foul, it self corrupted and scattering its corrup-
 “ tion, is not to be qualified but by remedies equally strong
 “ with its own flaming lusts. So many Laws made by our
 “ ancestors, so many added by the deified AUGUSTUS; the
 “ former being lost in oblivion, and (which is more heinous)
 “ the latter in contempt, have only serv’d to render luxury
 “ more secure. When we covet a thing yet unforbid, we are
 “ apt to fear that it may be forbid; but when once we can
 “ with impunity and defiance o’er-leap prohibited bounds,
 “ there remains afterwards nor fear nor shame. How there-
 “ fore did Parcimony prevail of old? It was because, eve-
 “ ry one was a Law to himself; it was because we were then
 “ only masters of one City: nor afterwards, while our do-
 “ minion was confin’d only to Italy, had we found the same
 “ instigations to voluptuousness. By foreign Conquests we
 “ learn’d to waste the property of others, and in the Civil
 “ Wars to consume our own. What a mighty matter is it
 “ that the Ediles remonstrate! how little to be weigh’d in
 “ the balance with others? It is wonderful that no body
 “ represents, that Italy is in constant want of foreign sup-
 “ plies; that the lives of the Roman people are daily at
 “ the mercy of uncertain seas and of tempests: were it not
 “ for our supports from the provinces; supports, by which
 “ the masters, and their slaves, and their estates, are main-
 “ tain’d; would our own Groves and Villas maintain us?
 “ This care therefore, Conscrip Fathers, is the business of
 “ the Prince; and by the neglect of this care, the foundati-
 “ ons of the state would be dissolved. The cure of other
 “ defects depends upon our own private spirits: some of
 “ us shame will reclaim; necessity will mend the poor;
 “ satiety the rich. Or if any of the Magistrates from a
 “ confidence of his own firmness and perseverance, will un-
 “ dertake to stemm the progress of so great an evil; he
 “ has both my praises, and my acknowledgment, that he
 “ discharges me of part of my fatigues: but if such will
 “ only impeach corruptions, and when they have gained
 “ the glory, would leave upon me the indignation; (in-
 “ dignation of their own raising;) believe me, Conscrip
 “ Fathers, I am not fond of bearing resentments: I already
 “ suffer many for the Commonwealth; many that are grie-
 “ vous and almost all unjust; and therefore with reason I
 “ intreat

“ intreat that I may not be loaded with such as are wantonly and vainly rais’d, and promise no advantage to you nor to me ”.

THE Senate, upon reading the Emperor’s Letter, releas’d the Ediles from this pursuit: and the luxury of the table which, from the battle of Actium till the revolution made by GALBA, flow’d, for the space of an hundred years, in all profusion; at last gradually declin’d. The causes of this change are worth knowing. Formerly the great families, great in nobility or abounding in riches, were carried away with a passion for magnificence: for even then it was allow’d to court the good graces of the Roman people, with the favour of Kings, and confederate Nations; and to be courted by them: so that each was distinguish’d by the lustre of popularity and dependences, in proportion to his affluence, the splendour of his house, and the figure he made. But after Imperial fury had long raged in the slaughter of the Grandees, and the greatness of reputation was become the sure mark of destruction; the rest grew wiser: besides, new men frequently chosen Senators from the Municipal towns, from the Colonies, and even from the Provinces, brought into the Senate their own domestick parcimony; and tho’, by fortune or industry, many of them grew wealthy as they grew old, yet their former frugal spirit continued. But above all, VESPASIAN prov’d the promoter of thrifty living, being himself the pattern of ancient Oeconomy in his person and table: hence the compliance of the publick with the manners of the Prince, and an emulation to practise them; an incitement more prevalent than the terrors of Laws and all their penalties. Or perhaps all human things go a certain round, and, as in the revolutions of time, there are also vicissitudes in manners: nor indeed have our ancestors excell’d us in all things; our own age has produced many excellences worthy of praise and the imitation of posterity. Let us still preserve this strife in virtue with our forefathers.

TIBERIUS having gained the fame of moderation; because, by rejecting the project for reforming luxury, he had disarmed the growing hopes of the accusers; wrote to the Senate, to desire the *Tribunitial Power* for DRUSUS. AUGUSTUS had devis’d this title as best suiting the unbounded height of his views, while avoiding the odious name of *King*
or

or *Dictator*, he was yet obliged to use some particular appellation, under it to controul all other powers in the State. He afterwards assumed MARCUS AGRIPPA into a fellowship in it; and, upon his death, TIBERIUS; that none might doubt who was to be his successor. By this means, he conceiv'd, he should defeat the aspiring views of others: besides, he confided in the moderation of TIBERIUS, and in the mightiness of his own authority. By his example, TIBERIUS now advanced DRUSUS to the supreme Magistracy; whereas, while GERMANICUS yet liv'd, he acted without distinction towards both. In the beginning of his Letter he besought the Gods "that by his counsels the Republick might prosper", and then added a modest testimony concerning the qualities and behaviour of the young Prince, without aggravation or false embellishments; "that he had a wife and three children, and was of the same age with himself when call'd by the deified AUGUSTUS to that office: that DRUSUS was not now by him adopted a partner in the toils of Government, precipitately; but after eight years experience made of his qualifications; after seditions suppress'd, wars concluded, the honour of Triumph and two Consulships".

THE Senators had foreseen this address; hence they received it with the more elaborate adulation. However, they could devise nothing to decree, but "Statues to the two Princes, altars to the Gods, arches", and other usual honours: only that MARCUS SILANUS strove to honour the Princes by the disgrace of the Consulship: he propos'd "that all records publick and private should, for their date, be inscrib'd no more with the names of the Consuls, but of those who exercis'd the Tribunitial power". But HATERIUS AGRIPPA, by moving to have "the Decrees of that day engrav'd in Letters of gold, and hung up in the Senate", became an object of derision; for that, as he was an ancient man, he could reap from his most abominable flattery no other fruit but that of infamy.

IN the mean time, as the Province of Africa was continued to JUNIUS BLESUS; SERVIUS MALUGINENSIS Priest of Jupiter, demanded that of Asia. He insisted "that it was vainly alledged that such Priests were not allow'd to leave Italy: that he was under no other restriction than
" those

“ those of Mars and Romulus ; and if they were ad-
 “ mitted to the lots of Provinces, why were those of Ju-
 “ piter debarr’d ? That the same was neither adjudged by
 “ the authority of the people, nor in the books which af-
 “ certain’d the sacred rites. That frequently, when the
 “ Priests of Jupiter were detain’d by sickness, or engaged
 “ in the publick ; their function was supplied by the Pon-
 “ tifs. That the function itself lay unfill’d for two and
 “ seventy years together, after the Death of CORNELIUS
 “ MERULA, and yet the exercise of Religion never ceas’d.
 “ Now if in such a series of years, Religion could subsist
 “ unhurt without the creation of any such Priest at all ; how
 “ much easier might his absence be borne in the exercise of
 “ the Proconsular power, for one year ? That it was to
 “ satiate private piques, if formerly the Priests of Jupiter
 “ were by the chief Pontifs debarr’d from the Government
 “ of Provinces. But now, by the goodness of the Gods,
 “ the chief Pontif was also the chief of men ; a Pontif to
 “ whom emulation, hatred, and other personal prepos-
 “ sessions, had no access ”.

To these his reasonings several answers were made by
 LENTULUS the Augur, and others, but all disagreeing ;
 so that the result was “ to wait for the decision of the su-
 “ preme Pontif ”. TIBERIUS in his answer to the Senate,
 postponing his notice of the pretensions of the Priest of
 Jupiter, qualified the honours decreed to DRUSUS with
 the Tribunitial power ; and especially censur’d the “ extra-
 “ vagance of the motion of golden letters, as contrary to the
 “ custom of Rome ”. Letters from DRUSUS were likewise
 read, and tho’ modest in expression, were construed to be
 full of haughtiness ; “ had all things then taken such a mis-
 “ rable turn, that even a youth, and a youth just distin-
 “ guish’d with such supreme honour, daign’d not to visit
 “ the Gods of Rome, nor appear in Senate, nor begin in
 “ his native City the auspices of his dignity ? No war detain’d
 “ him ; he had no journey to make from remote countries,
 “ while he was only diverting himself upon the lakes and
 “ shores of Campania, and pleasure his chief avocation. With
 “ such tuition was he prepar’d the future ruler of human
 “ kind ; and this the lesson he had learnt from the maxims
 “ of his father ! In truth, the Emperor himself, an ancient
 O o “ man,

“ man, might find uneasiness in living under the eye of the
 “ publick, and plead a life already fatigued with age and
 “ occupations ; but what besides pride and stateliness could
 “ obstruct DRUSUS ” ?

TIBERIUS, while he fortified the vitals of his own domination, afforded the Senate a shadow of their ancient Jurisdiction ; by referring to their examination petitions and claims from the Provinces. For there had now prevail'd amongst the Greek Cities a latitude of instituting Sanctuaries at pleasure. Hence the Temples were fill'd with the most profligate fugitive slaves : here debtors found protection against their creditors ; and hither were admitted such as were pursued for capital crimes. Nor was any force of Magistracy or Laws sufficient to bridle the mad zeal of the people, who confounding the sacred villanies of men with the worship peculiar to the Gods, seditiously defended these profane sanctuaries. It was therefore order'd that these cities should send deputies to represent their claims. Some of the cities voluntarily relinquish'd the nominal privileges which they had arbitrarily assum'd : many confided in their rights ; a confidence grounded on the antiquity of their superstitions, or on the merits of their kind offices to the Roman people. Glorious to the Senate was the appearance of that day, when the grants from our ancestors, the engagements of our confederates, the ordinances of Kings, such Kings who had reign'd as yet independent of the Roman power ; and when even the sacred worship of the Gods, were now all subjected to their inspection, and their judgment free, as of old, to ratify or abolish with absolute power.

FIRST of all the Ephesians applied. They alledged, that “ Diana and Apollo were not, according to the credu-
 “ lity of the vulgar, born at Delos : in their territory flow'd
 “ the river Cenchris ; where also stood the Ortygian Grove :
 “ there the big-bellied Latona, leaning upon an Olive-
 “ tree, which even then remain'd, was deliver'd of these
 “ Deities ; and thence by their appointment the Grove be-
 “ came sacred. Thither Apollo himself, after his slaughter
 “ of the Cyclops, retir'd for a sanctuary from the wrath of
 “ Jupiter : soon after, the victorious Bacchus pardon'd the
 “ suppliant Amazons, who sought refuge at the Altar of
 “ Diana : by the concession of Hercules, when he reign'd
 “ in

“ in Lydia, her Temple was dignified with an augmenta-
 “ tion of immunities; nor during the Persian Monarchy
 “ were they abridged: they were next maintain’d by the
 “ Macedonians, and then by us ”.

THE Magnesians next asserted their claim, founded on an establishment of LUCIUS SCIPIO, confirmed by another of SYLLA: the former after the defeat of Antiochus; the latter after that of Mithridates, having, as a testimony of the faith and bravery of the Magnesians, dignified their Temple of the Leucophrynean Diana with the privileges of an inviolable Sanctuary. After them, the Aphrodisians and Stratoniceans produced a grant from CESAR the Dictator, for their early services to his party; and another lately from AUGUSTUS, with a commendation inserted, “ that with
 “ zeal unshaken towards the Roman people, they had
 “ borne the irruption of the Parthians ”. But these two people ador’d different Deities: Aphrodisium was a city devoted to Venus; that of Stratonicea maintain’d the worship of Jupiter and of Diana Trivia. Those of Hierocesarea exhibited claims of higher antiquity, “ that they possess’d
 “ the Persian Diana, and her Temple consecrated by King
 “ CYRUS ”. They likewise pleaded the authorities of PORPENNA, ISAURICUS, and of many more Roman Captains, who had allow’d the same sacred immunity not to the Temple only, but to a precinct two miles round it. Those of Cyprus pleaded right of sanctuary to three of their Temples; the most ancient founded by AERIAS to the Paphian Venus; another by his son AMATHUS to the Amathusian Venus; the third to the Salaminian Jupiter by TEUCER, the son of TELAMON, when he fled from the fury of his father.

THE deputies too of other cities were heard. But the Senate tir’d with so many, and because there was a contention begun amongst particular parties for particular cities; gave power to the Consuls “ to search into the validity
 “ of their several pretensions, and whether in them no fraud
 “ was interwoven ”; with orders “ to lay the whole mat-
 “ ter once more before the Senate ”. The Consuls reported, that, besides the cities already mention’d, “ they had
 “ found the Temple of ESCULAPIUS at Pergamos to be a
 “ genuine Sanctuary: the rest claim’d upon originals, from
 “ the

“ the darknefs of antiquity, altogether obfcure. Smyrna
 “ particularly pleaded an Oracle of Apollo, in obedience
 “ to which they had dedicated a Temple to Venus Stra-
 “ tonices ; as did the Ifle of Tenos an oracular order from
 “ the fame God, to erect to Neptune a Statue and Temple.
 “ Sardis urged a later authority, namely a grant from the
 “ Great ALEXANDER ; and Miletus infifted on one from
 “ King DARIUS : as to the Deities of thefe two cities ;
 “ one worfhiped Diana ; the other, Apollo. And Crete
 “ too demanded the privilege of Sanctuary to a Statue of
 “ the deified AUGUSTUS”. Hence diverfe orders of Se-
 nate were made, by which, tho’ great reverence was ex-
 prefs’d towards the Deities, yet the extent of the Sanctuaries
 was limited ; and the feveral people were injoin’d “ to hang
 “ up in each Temple the prefent Decree engraven in brafs,
 “ as a facred Memorial, and a reftRAINT againft their lapfing,
 “ under the colour of Religion, into the abufes and claims
 “ of fuperftition”.

AT the fame time, a vehement diftemper having fiez’d
 LIVIA, obliged the Emperor to haften his return to Rome ;
 feeing hitherto the mother and fon lived in apparent una-
 nimity ; or perhaps mutually disguis’d their hate : for,
 not long before, LIVIA, having dedicated a Statue to the
 deified AUGUSTUS, near the Theatre of MARCELLUS, had
 the name of TIBERIUS infcrib’d after her own. This he
 was believed to have refented heinoufly, as a degrading
 the dignity of the Prince ; but to have buried his refent-
 ment under dark diffimulation. Upon this occafion
 therefore, the Senate decreed “ fupplications to the Gods ;
 “ with the celebration of the greater Roman Games, under
 “ the direction of the Pontifs, the Augurs, the College of
 “ fifteen, affifted by the College of feven, and the frater-
 “ nity of Auguftal Priests”. LUCIUS APRONIUS had
 mov’d, that “ with the reft might prefide the company of
 “ Heralds”. TIBERIUS oppos’d it ; he diftinguifh’d be-
 tween the jurifdiction of the Priests and theirs ; “ for that
 “ at no time had the Heralds arriv’d to fo much prehemi-
 “ nence : but for the Auguftal fraternity, they were there-
 “ fore added, becaufe they exercis’d a Priefthood peculiar
 “ to that family for which the prefent vows and folemnities
 “ were made”.

IT is no part of my purpose to trace all the votes of particular men, unless they are memorable for integrity, or for notorious infamy: this I conceive to be the principal duty of an Historian, that he suppress no instance of virtue; and that by the dread of future infamy and the censures of posterity, men may be deterr'd from detestable actions and prostitute speeches. In short, such was the abomination of those times, so prevailing the contagion of flattery, that not only the first Nobles, whose obnoxious splendour found protection only in obsequiousness; but all who had been Consuls, a great part of such as had been Pretors, and even many of the unregister'd Senators, strove for priority in the vileness and excess of their votes. There is a tradition, that TIBERIUS, as often as he went out of the Senate, was wont to cry out in Greek, *Ob men prepar'd for bondage!* Ye, even TIBERIUS, he who could not bear publick liberty, nauseated this prostitute tameness of slaves.

HENCE by degrees they proceeded from acts of abasement to those of vengeance. CAIUS SILANUS, Proconsul of Asia, accus'd by these our Allies of robbing the publick, was farther impleaded by MAMERCUS SCAURUS once Consul; JUNIUS OTHO Pretor, and BRUTIDIUS NIGER Edile: they charged him with "violating the Divinity of AUGUSTUS, and with despising the Majesty of TIBERIUS". MAMERCUS boasted, that he imitated the great examples of old; "that LUCIUS COTTA was accus'd by SCIPIO; SERVIUS GALBA by CATO the Cenfor; PUBLIUS RUTILIUS by MARCUS SCAURUS". A wild comparison! as if such crimes, then not existing, and now begot by flattery, were avenged by SCIPIO and CATO; or by that very SCAURUS, whom this same MAMERCUS his great grandson, and the reproach of his progenitors, was now disgracing by the vile occupation of an Informer! The old employment of JUNIUS OTHO, was that of a Schoolmaster. Thence being by the power of SEJANUS created a Senator, he labour'd by notorious attempts to triumph over the baseness of his original. BRUTIDIUS abounded in worthy accomplishments; and, had he proceeded in the upright road, was in the ready way to every the most distinguish'd honour: but eagerness hurried him, while he push'd to out-travel first his equals, afterwards his superiors, and at last his own

very hopes: a course which has overwhelm'd even many virtuous men, who scorning acquirements that came slow but attended with security, grasp'd at such as were sudden tho' link'd to destruction.

GELLIUS POPLICOLA, and MARCUS PACONIUS increas'd the number of the accusers; the former Questor to SILANUS, the other his Lieutenant. Neither was it doubted but the accus'd was guilty of cruelty and extortion. But he was beset with a series of hardships, dangerous even to the innocent; when, besides so many Senators his open foes, he was to reply single to the most eloquent pleaders of all Asia, chosen purposely to accuse him; ignorant as he was of pleading and beset with capital terrors; a circumstance which disables the most practis'd Eloquence: neither did TIBERIUS spare him; but, with an awful voice and countenance, daunted and interrupted him with incessant questions; nor was he allow'd leisure to refute or evade them; nay, he was often forced to confess, lest the Emperor should have ask'd in vain. The slaves too of SILANUS, in order to be examin'd by torture, were deliver'd in sale to the City-Steward; and that none of his relations might engage in his defence, or aid him under such a heavy prosecution, crimes of Treason were subjoin'd; a sure bar to all help, and a seal upon their lips. Having therefore requested an interval of a few days, he tried the Emperor by a Memorial, in which he menaced him with the publick odium, and blended expostulations with prayers.

TIBERIUS, the better to palliate by precedent his purposes against SILANUS, caus'd to be recited a Representation from AUGUSTUS, concerning VOLESUS MESSALA, Proconsul of the same province, and the Decree of Senate made against him. He then ask'd LUCIUS PISO his opinion: PISO, after a long preface of the Emperor's clemency, propos'd "to interdict SILANUS from fire and water, " and to banish him into the Island Gyarus". The rest voted the same thing; only that CNEIUS LENTULUS mov'd "that the estate descending from his mother CORNELIA should be distinguish'd from his own, and restor'd " to his son". TIBERIUS assented. But CORNELIUS DOLABELLA pursuing his old strain of adulation, and having first expos'd the morals of SILANUS, added "that no
"man

“ man of profligate manners, and mark'd with infamy, should
 “ be admitted to the lot of Provinces ; and of this their
 “ character the Prince was to judge. 'Transgressions, he said,
 “ were punish'd by the Laws : but how much more mer-
 “ ciful would it be to prevent transgressors ! more merciful
 “ to the men themselves, more to the Provinces ”.

AGAINST this TIBERIUS reason'd, “ that in truth he
 “ was not ignorant of the prevailing rumours concerning
 “ the conduct of SILANUS ; but establishments must not
 “ be built upon rumours : in the administration of Pro-
 “ vinces, many had disappointed our hopes ; and many our
 “ fears. Some were by the great weight of affairs, rous'd
 “ into vigilance and amendment ; others degenerated and
 “ sunk under them : the Prince could not within his own
 “ view comprize all things ; nor was it at all expedient for
 “ him to make himself answerable for the characters of o-
 “ ther men engaged in pursuits of ambition. Laws were
 “ therefore appointed against facts committed, because all
 “ things future are hid in uncertainty. Such were the in-
 “ stitutions of our ancestors ; that if crimes preceded, pun-
 “ ishments were to follow : nor should they change esta-
 “ blishments wisely contriv'd and always approv'd. The
 “ Prince had already sufficiency of burdens, and even
 “ sufficiency of power : the authority of the Laws decreas'd
 “ when that of the Prince advanced ; nor was Sovereign-
 “ ty to be exercised where the Laws would serve ”. A po-
 pular speech ; and the more joyfully heard as acts of po-
 pularity were rare with TIBERIUS. To it he added, pru-
 dent as he was in mitigating excesses, where his own proper
 resentments did not controul him ; “ that Gyarus was an
 “ un hospitable Island, and devoid of human culture ; that,
 “ in favour to the Junian family, and to a Patrician lately
 “ of their own Order, they should allow him for his place of
 “ exile the Isle of Cythera : that this too was the request of
 “ TORQUATA the sister of SILANUS, a Vestal virgin of
 “ primitive sanctity ”. This motion prevail'd.

THE Cyrenians were afterwards heard ; and CESIUS
 CORDUS charged by them, and implacated by ANCHARIUS
 PRISCUS, for plundering the Province, was condemn'd.
 LUCIUS ENNIUS a Roman Knight, was impeach'd of Trea-
 son, “ for that he had converted an Effigies of the Prince
 “ into

“ into common uses of silver ”; but TIBERIUS withstood admitting him as a criminal. Against this acquittal ATEIUS CAPITO openly declar’d his Protest from an affected spirit of liberty: “ for that the Emperor ought not to snatch from
 “ the fathers the power of penalties ; nor ought such
 “ a mighty iniquity to pass unpunish’d : that truly he
 “ might be passive under his own grievances ; but let him
 “ not give up the indignation of the Senate and the injuries
 “ done the Commonwealth ”. TIBERIUS consider’d rather the drift of these words than the expression, and persisted in his interposition. The infamy of CAPITO was the more signal, because learned as he was in Laws human and divine, he thus debas’d the dignity of the State, and his own personal accomplishments.

THE next was a religious debate, in what Temple to place the gift vow’d by the Roman Knights to *Fortune* stil’d the *Equesstrian*, for the recovery of LIVIA: for, tho’ in the City were many Temples to this Goddess, yet none had that title. At last it was discover’d that at Antium was one thus named: and as all the religious Institutions in the cities of Italy, all the Temples and Statues of the Deities, were included in the Jurisdiction and Sovereignty of Rome; the gift was order’d to be presented there. While matters of Religion were on foot, the answer lately deferr’d, concerning SERVIUS MALUGINENSIS, Priest of Jupiter, was now produced by TIBERIUS, who recited a Statute of the Pontiffs, “ that when the Priest of Jupiter was taken ill, he
 “ might with the consent of the Chief Pontif be absent two
 “ nights, except on days of publick sacrifice, and never
 “ more than twice in the same year ”. This regulation made under AUGUSTUS, sufficiently shew’d that a year’s absence and the administration of Provinces, were not allow’d to the Priests of Jupiter. He likewise quoted the example of LUCIUS METELLUS, Chief Pontif, who restrain’d to Rome AULUS POSTUMIUS, who was under that character. So the lot of Asia was conferr’d on that Consul who was next in seniority to MALUGINENSIS.

DURING this time LEPIDUS ask’d leave of the Senate, to strengthen and beautify at his expence the Basilick of Paulus; a peculiar Monument of the Emilian family. For even then it was usual with private men to be magnificent

in

in publick structures. Nor had AUGUSTUS blam'd TAURUS; PHILIPPUS, or BALBUS, for applying their overflowing wealth, or the spoils of the enemy, towards the decoration of the City, and the perpetuation of their own renown. By their example LEPIDUS, tho' but moderately rich, meant now to refresh with this solemnity the venerable glory of his Ancestors. But, as the Theatre of Pompey was consum'd by accidental fire, TIBERIUS undertook to rebuild it; because none of the family were equal to the charge; and promis'd that it should, notwithstanding, be still call'd by the name of POMPEY. At the same time, he celebrated the praises of SEJANUS, and to his vigilance and efforts ascrib'd it, that a flame so violent was stopp'd at one building only. Hence the fathers decreed a Statue to SEJANUS, to be placed upon the Theatre of Pompey: nor was it long after that the Emperor, when he dignified JUNIUS BLESUS with the ensigns of Triumph, declar'd "that in honour to SEJANUS he did it"; for, to SEJANUS, BLESUS was uncle.

AND yet the actions of BLESUS were entitl'd to so much distinction. For, TACFARINAS, tho' often repuls'd, yet still repairing his forces in the heart of Africa, had arriv'd to such a pitch of arrogance, that he sent Embassadors to TIBERIUS with demands, "for a settlement to himself and
" his army"; otherwise he threaten'd "everlasting War". They say that upon no occasion did ever TIBERIUS, for any insult offer'd himself and the Roman name; manifest a more sensible indignation; "that a deserter and
" a robber should thus, like an equal foe, offer terms:
" when, in truth, not to such a terrible foe as SPARTACUS
" was granted an admission to the privilege of treaty and
" pacification, while, after the slaughter of so many Consular armies, he still carried, with impunity, fire and desolation through Italy; tho' the Commonwealth, then engaged in two mighty wars, with SERTORIUS and MITHRIDATES, was gasping under them. Much less was
" TACFARINAS, a free booter, when the Roman people were
" in their most glorious elevation, to be bought off by terms
" of peace and the concession of lands". Hence he commission'd BLESUS, "to engage all his followers, by the
" hopes of indemnity, to lay down their arms; but to get
" into

“ into his hands the leader himself, by whatever means ”.

So that by this pardon many were brought over ; and the war was forthwith prosecuted against him by stratagems not unlike his own. For as he, who in strength of men was unequal, but in arts of stealth and pillaging superior, made his incursions in separate bands, and thence could at once elude any attack of ours, and harass us by ambushes of his ; so on our side, three distinct routs were resolv'd, and three several bodies form'd. *Scipio*, the Proconsul's Lieutenant, commanded on that quarter whence *Tacfarinas* made his depredations upon the Leptitanians, and then his retreat amongst the Garamantes : in another quarter *Blesus* the son led a band of his own, to protect the territory of the Cirtensians from ravages : between both march'd the Proconsul himself, with the flower of the army, erecting forts and casting up entrenchments in convenient places. By these dispositions he cramp'd the foe, cross'd their motions, and made all their proceedings painful : for which ever way they turn'd, still some party of the Roman forces was upon them ; in front ; in flank ; and often at their heels : and by this means were many slain, or made prisoners. This triple army was again split by *Blesus* into bands still smaller, and over each a Centurion of tried bravery placed. Neither did he, as usual at the end of the season, draw off his forces from the field, or dispose them into winter-quarters in the old Province ; but, as in the first heat of war, having rais'd more forts, he dispatch'd light parties, acquainted with the wilderness, who drove *Tacfarinas* before them, continually shifting his huts ; 'till having taken his brother, he retreated ; too suddenly however for the good of the province, as there were still left behind instruments to rekindle the war. But *Tiberius* took it for concluded, and likewise granted to *Blesus* that he should be by the Legions saluted *Imperator* : an ancient honour, usually done to the old Roman Captains, who, upon their successful exploits for their country, were in the shouts and vehemence of victory, thus complemented by their armies : and there have been at once several *Imperators* ; without any pre-eminence of one over the rest. It was a title vouchsafed to some even by *Augustus* ; and now, for the last time, by *Tiberius* to *Blesus*.

THESE

THIS year died two illustrious men; the first, ASINIUS SALONINUS, splendid in his relations and descent: MARCUS AGRIPPA and ASINIUS POLLIO were his grandfathers; DRUSUS his half brother, and himself betroth'd to the Emperor's grand-daughter. The second, ATEIUS CAPITO, already mention'd above: in civil acquirements, the foremost man in Rome; for pedigree, his grandfather was only a Centurion under SYLLA, but his father arriv'd to the Pretorship. AUGUSTUS had push'd him early into the Consulship, that by the grandeur of that office, he might be set above ANTISTIVS LABEO, who excell'd in equal accomplishments; for, that age produced together these two ornaments of peace: but LABEO preserv'd unstain'd a spirit of liberty, and thence was more the object of popular renown; while CAPITO gain'd by obsequiousness, greater credit with those who bore rule. The former, as he was never suffer'd to rise beyond the Pretorship, met with matter of praise from a source of injury: to the other, with the glory of the Consulate, accrued likewise the envy, and with envy hatred.

JUNIA too, now sixty four years after the Battle of Philippi, finish'd her course; the niece of CATO, sister of BRUTUS and wife of CASSIUS. Her Will made much noise amongst the populace; for that being immensely rich, and having honourably distinguish'd with legacies almost all the great men of Rome, she omitted TIBERIUS: an omission which he took civilly, nor hinder'd her Panegyrick from being pronounced in publick, nor her Funeral from being celebrated with other customary solemnities. Before it, were borne the Images of twenty the most noble families, the MANLIJ, the QUINCTIJ, and other names of equal lustre: but superior to all shone CASSIUS and BRUTUS, on this very account, that their Images were not, upon this occasion, seen.

FOURTH ANNAL.

WHEN CAIUS ASINIUS and CAIUS ANTISTIVS were Consuls, TIBERIUS was in his ninth year; the state compos'd, and his family flourishing (for the death
of

of GERMÁNICUS he reckon'd amongst the incidents of his prosperity) when suddenly fortune began to grow boisterous, and he himself to tyrannize, or to furnish others with the weapons of tyranny. The beginning and cause of this turn arose from ELIUS SEJANUS, Captain of the Pretorian Cohorts. Of his power I have above made mention; I shall now explain his original, his manners, and by what black deeds he strove to snatch the Sovereignty. He was born at Vulfinii, son to SEJUS STRABO a Roman Knight; in his early youth he was a follower of CAIUS CESAR (grand-son of AUGUSTUS) and lay then under the contumely of having for hire expos'd himself to the constupration of APICIUS; a debauchee wealthy and profuse: next by various artifices he so enchanted TIBERIUS, that he who to all others was dark and unsearchable, became to SEJANUS alone destitute of all restraint and caution: nor did he so much accomplish this by any superior efforts of policy (for at his own stratagems he was vanquish'd by others) as by the rage of the Gods against the Roman State, to which he prov'd alike destructive when he flourish'd and when he fell. His person was hardy and equal to fatigues; his spirit daring but cover'd; sedulous to disguise his own counsels, dextrous to blacken others; alike fawning and imperious; to appearance exactly modest; but in his heart fostering the lust of domination; and, with this view, engaged at one time in profusion, largesses, and luxury; and again, often laid out in application and vigilance; qualities no less pernicious, when personated by ambition for the acquiring of Empire.

THE authority of his Command over the Guards, which was but moderate before his time, he extended, by gathering into one Camp all the Pretorian Cohorts then dispersed over the City; that thus united, they might all at once receive his orders, and by continually beholding their own numbers and strength, conceive confidence in themselves and prove a terror to all other men. He pretended, “that
 “ the soldiers, while they liv'd scatter'd, liv'd loose and
 “ debauch'd; that when gather'd into a body, there could,
 “ in any hasty emergency, be more reliance upon their
 “ succour; and that when encamp'd, remote from the al-
 “ lurements of the town, they would in their discipline
 “ be

“ be more exact and severe ”. When the encampment was finish’d, he began gradually to allure the affections of the soldiers, by all the ways of affability, court, and familiarity : it was he too who chose the Centurions, he who chose the Tribunes. Neither in his pursuits of ambition did the Senate escape him ; but by distinguishing his followers in it with offices and provinces, he cultivated power and a party there : for, to all this TIBERIUS was intirely resign’d ; and even so passionate for him, that not in conversation only, but in publick, in his speeches to the Senate and people, he treated and extoll’d him, as *the sharer of his burdens* ; nay, allow’d his Effigies to be publickly ador’d, in the severall Theatres, in all places of popular convention, and even amongst the Eagles of the Legions.

BUT to his designs were many retardments: the Imperial house was full of Cefars ; the Emperor’s son a grown man, and his grand-sons of age: and because the cutting them off all at once, was dangerous ; the treason he meditated, requir’d a gradation of murders. He however chose the darkeſt method, and to begin with DRUSUS ; against whom he was transported with a freſh motive of rage. For, DRUSUS impatient of a rival, and in his temper inflammable, had upon ſome occaſional conteſt, ſhaken his fiſt at SEJANUS, and, as he prepar’d to reſiſt, given him a blow on the face. As he therefore caſt about for every expedient of revenge, the readieſt ſeem’d to apply to LIVIA his wife : ſhe was the ſiſter of GERMANICUS, and from an uncomely perſon in her childhood, grew afterwards to excel in lovelineſs. As his paſſion for this Lady was vehement, he tempted her to adultery, and having fulfil’d the firſt iniquity (nor will a woman, who has ſacrificed her chaſtity, ſtick at any other) he carried her greater lengths, to the views of marriage, a partnership in the Empire, and even the murder of her husband. Thus ſhe, the niece of AUGUSTUS, the daughter-in-law of TIBERIUS, the mother of children by DRUSUS, defil’d her ſelf, her anceſtors, and her poſterity, with a municipal adulterer ; and all to exchange an honourable condition poſſeſs’d, for pursuits flagitious and uncertain. Into a fellowſhip in the guilt was aſſum’d EUDEMUS Phyſician to LIVIA, and, under colour of his profeſſion, frequently with her in private. SEJANUS too, to avoid the jealouſy of the adultereſs, diſcharged from his bed API-

CATA his wife, her by whom he had three children. But still the mightiness of the iniquity terrified them, and thence created caution, delays, and frequently opposite counsels.

DURING this, in the beginning of the year, DRUSUS one of the sons of GERMANICUS, put on the manly Robe; and upon him the Senate conferr'd the same honours decreed before to his brother NERO. A speech was added by TIBERIUS with a large Encomium upon his son, "that with the tenderness of a father he us'd the children of his brother". For, DRUSUS, however rare it be for power and unanimity to subsist together, was esteem'd benevolent, certainly not ill dispos'd, towards these youths. Now again was reviv'd by TIBERIUS the proposal of a progress into the Provinces; a stale proposal, always hollow, but often feign'd. He pretended "the multitude of Veterans discharged, and thence the necessity of recruiting the armies; that Volunteers were wanting, or if already such there were, they were chiefly the necessitous and vagabonds, and destitute of the like modesty and courage". He likewise cursorily recounted the number of the Legions, and what Countries they defended: a detail which I think it behoves me also to repeat; that thence may appear what was then the complement of the Roman forces, what Kings their confederates, and how much more narrow the limits of the Empire.

ITALY was on each side guarded by two fleets; one at Misenum, one at Ravenna; and the coast joining to Gaul, by the Gallies taken by AUGUSTUS at the Battle of Actium, and sent powerfully mann'd to Forojulium. But the chief strength lay upon the Rhine; they were eight Legions, a common guard upon the Germans and the Gauls. The reduction of Spain, lately completed, was maintain'd by three. Mauritania was possessed by King JUBA; a Realm which he held as a gift from the Roman people: the rest of Africa by two Legions; and Egypt by the like number. Four Legions kept in subjection all the mighty range of country, extending from the next limits of Syria, as far as the Euphrates, and bordering upon the Iberians, Albanians, and other Principalities, who by our might are protected against foreign Powers. Thrace was held by RHOMETALCES, and the sons of COTYS; and both banks of the Danube by four Legions; two in Pannonia, two in

Mesia.

Mesia. In Dalmatia likewise were placed two ; who, by the situation of the country, were at hand to support the former, and had not far to march into Italy, were any sudden succours requir'd there : tho' Rome too had her peculiar soldiery ; three City-Cohorts, and nine Pretorian, listed chiefly out of Etruria and Umbria, or from the ancient Latium and the old Roman Colonies. In the several Provinces, besides, were disposed, according to their situation and necessity, the fleets of the several confederates, with their squadrons and battalions ; a number of forces not much different from all the rest : but the particular detail would be uncertain ; since, according to the exigency of times, they often shifted stations, with numbers sometimes enlarged, sometimes reduced.

It will, I believe, fall in properly here to review also the other parts of the Administration, and by what measures it was hitherto conducted, 'till with the beginning of this year the Government of TIBERIUS began to wax worse. First then, all publick, and every private business of moment, was determin'd by the Senate : to the great men he allow'd liberty of debate : those who in their debates laps'd into flattery, he check'd : in conferring preferments, he was guided by merit, by ancient nobility, renown in war abroad, by civil accomplishments at home ; insomuch that it was manifest, his choice could not have been better. There remain'd to the Consuls, there remain'd to the Pretors the usual marks of their dignities ; to inferiour Magistrates the independent exercise of their charges ; and the Laws, where the power of the Prince was not concern'd, were in proper force. The tributes, duties, and all publick receipts, were directed by companies of Roman Knights : the management of his own revenue he committed only to those of the most noted qualifications ; mostly known by himself, and to some known by reputation alone : and when once taken, they were continued, without all restriction of term ; since most grew old in the same employments. The populace were indeed aggriev'd by the dearth of provisions ; but without any fault of the Prince : nay, he spar'd no possible expence nor pains to remedy the effects of barrenness in the earth, and of wrecks at sea. He provided that the Provinces should not be oppress'd with new impositions ; and that no extortion, or violence should be committed
by

by the Magistrates in raising the old: there were no infamous corporal punishments, no confiscations of goods.

THE Emperor's possessions through Italy, were thin; the behaviour of his slaves modest; the freedmen who managed his house, few; and in his disputes with particulars, the Courts were open and the Law equal. All which restraints he observ'd, not, in truth, in the ways of complaisance and popularity; but always stern, and for the most part terrible; yet still he retain'd them, 'till by the death of DRUSUS they were abandon'd: for, while he liv'd they continued; because SEJANUS, while he was but laying the foundations of his power, studied to recommend himself by good counsels. He then had besides, an avenger to dread, one who disguis'd not his enmity, but was frequent in his complaints; "that when the son was in
" his prime, another was call'd, as Coadjutor, to the Government; nay, how little was wanting to his being declar'd Colleague in the Empire? That the first advances to
" Sovereignty are steep and perillous; but, once you are enter'd, parties and instruments are ready to espouse you.
" Already a Camp for the Guards was form'd, by the pleasure and authority of the Captain: into his hands the
" soldiers were deliver'd: in the Theatre of Pompey his Statue was beheld: in his grand-children would be mixt
" the blood of the DRUSI with that of SEJANUS. After
" all this what remain'd but to supplicate his modesty
" to rest contented". Nor was it rarely that he utter'd these disgusts, nor to a few; besides, his wife being debauch'd, all his secrets were betray'd.

SEJANUS therefore judging it time to dispatch, chose such a poyson as by operating gradually, might preserve the appearances of a casual disease. This was administer'd to DRUSUS by LYGDUS the Eunuch, as, eight years after, was learnt. Now during all the days of his illness, TIBERIUS disclosed no symptoms of anguish (perhaps from ostentation of a firmness of spirit) nay, when he had expir'd, and while he was yet unburied, he enter'd the Senate; and finding the Consuls placed upon a common seat, as a testimony of their grief; he admonish'd them of their dignity and station: and as the Senators burst into tears, he smother'd his rising sighs, and, by a Speech utter'd without hesitation, animated them. "He, in truth, was not ignorant
" norant

“ norant, he said, that he might be censur’d, for having thus
 “ in the first throbs of sorrow, beheld the face of the Senate;
 “ when most of those who feel the fresh pangs of mourning,
 “ can scarce endure the soothings of their kindred, scarce
 “ behold the day: neither were such to be condemn’d of
 “ weakness: but for himself, he had more powerful consola-
 “ tions; such as arose from embracing the Commonwealth,
 “ and pursuing her welfare”. He then lamented “ the ex-
 “ treme age of his mother, the tender years of his grand-sons,
 “ his own days in declension”; and desir’d that, “as the on-
 “ ly alleviation of the present evils, the Children of GERMA-
 “ NICUS might be introduced”. The Consuls therefore went
 for them, and having with kind words fortified their young
 minds, presented them to the Emperor. He took them by the
 hand and said, “Conscript Fathers, these infants, bereft of
 “ their father, I committed to their uncle; and besought him
 “ that, tho’ he had issue of his own, he would rear and nou-
 “ rish them no otherwise than as the immediate offspring of
 “ his blood; that he would appropriate them as stays to him-
 “ self and posterity. DRUSUS being snatch’d from us, to
 “ you I address the same prayers; and in the presence of the
 “ Gods, in the face of your country, I adjure you, receive
 “ into your protection, take under your tuition the great
 “ grand-children of AUGUSTUS; children, descended from an-
 “ cestors the most glorious in the State: towards them ful-
 “ fil your own, fulfil my duty. To you, NERO; to you,
 “ DRUSUS, these Senators are in the stead of a father; and
 “ such is the situation of your birth, that on the Common-
 “ wealth must light all the good and evil which befalls you”.

ALL this was heard with much weeping, and followed
 with propitious prayers and vows: and had he only gone thus
 far, and in his speech observ’d a medium, he had left the souls
 of his hearers full of sympathy and applause. But, by renewing
 an old project, always chimerical and so often ridicul’d, about
 “ restoring the Republick, reinstating it again in the Consuls,
 “ or whoever else would undertake the administration”; he
 forfeited his faith even in assertions which were commendable
 and sincere. To the memory of DRUSUS were decreed the
 same solemnities as to that of GERMANICUS; with many su-
 peradded; agreeably to the genius of flattery, which delights
 in variety and improvements. Most signal was the lustre of
 the Funeral in a conspicuous procession of Images; when at

it appear'd in a pompous train, ENEAS, father of the Julian race ; all the Kings of Alba, and ROMULUS founder of Rome ; next the Sabine Nobility, ATTUS CLAUSUS, and his descendents of the Claudian family.

IN relating the death of DRUSUS, I have follow'd the greatest part of our Historians; and the most faithful: I would not however omit a rumour which in those times was so prevailing that it is not extinguish'd in ours; " that SEJANUS having by adultery gain'd LIVIA to the murder, had likewise engaged by constupration the affections and concurrence of LYGDUS the Eunuch; because LYGDUS was, for his youth and loveliness, dear to his master, and one of his chief attendants: that when the time and place of poysoning, were by the conspirators concerted; the Eunuch carried his boldness so high, as to charge upon DRUSUS a design of poysoning TIBERIUS; and secretly warning the Emperor of this, advis'd him to shun the first draught offer'd him in the next entertainment at his son's: that the old man possessed with this fictitious Treason, after he had sat down to table, having received the cup deliver'd it to DRUSUS, who ignorantly and gayly drank it off: that this heighten'd the jealousy and apprehensions of TIBERIUS, as if thro' fear and shame his son had swallow'd the same death, which for his father he had contriv'd".

THESE bruitings of the populace, besides that they are supported by no certain Author, may be easily refuted. For, who of common prudence (much less TIBERIUS so long practised in great affairs) would to his own son, without hearing him, present the mortal bare; with his own hands too, and cutting off for ever all possibility of retraction? Why would he not rather have tortured the minister of the poyson? Why not inquir'd into the author of the poyson? Why not observ'd towards his only son, a son hitherto convicted of no iniquity, that slowness and hesitation, which even in his proceedings against strangers, was inherent in him? But as SEJANUS was reckon'd the framer of every wickedness, therefore, from the excessive fondness of TIBERIUS towards him, and from the hatred of all others towards both; things the most fabulous and direful, were believed of them; besides that common fame is ever most fraught with tales of horror upon the departure of Princes. In truth, the plan and process of the murder were first discover'd by APICATA, wife of SEJANUS, and

and laid open upon the rack by EUDEMUS and LYGDUS. Nor has any Writer appear'd so outrageous to charge it upon TIBERIUS; tho' in other instances they have sedulously collected and inflam'd every action of his. My own purpose in recounting and censuring this rumour, was to blast, by so glaring an example, the credit of groundless tales; and to request of those into whose hands our present undertaking shall come, that they would not prefer hear-says, void of credibility and rashly swallow'd, to the narrations of truth not adulterated with romance.

To proceed; whilst TIBERIUS was pronouncing in publick the Panegyrick of his son, the Senate and people assum'd the port and accent of mourners, rather in appearance than cordially; and in their hearts exulted to see the house of GERMANICUS begin to revive. But this dawn of fortune, and the conduct of AGRIPPINA, ill disguising her hopes, quicken'd the overthrow of that house. For SEJANUS, when he saw the death of DRUSUS pass unrevenge'd upon his murderers; and no publick lamentation following it; undaunted as he was in villany since his first efforts had succeeded; cast about in himself, how he might destroy the sons of GERMANICUS, whose succession to the Empire was now unquestionable. They were three, and, from the distinguish'd fidelity of their Governours, and incorruptible chastity of AGRIPPINA, could not be all circumvented by poyson. He therefore chose to attack her another way; to raise alarms from the haughtiness and contumacy of her spirit; to rouse the old hatred of LIVIA the elder, and the guilty mind of his late accomplice, LIVIA the younger; that to the Emperor they might represent her "as elated with the credit and renown of her fruitfulness; " and that confiding in it, and in the zeal of the populace, " she grasp'd with open arms at the Empire ". The young LIVIA acted in this engagement by crafty calumniators; amongst whom she had particularly chosen JULIUS POSTHUMUS, a man every way qualified for her purposes; as he was the adulterer of MUTILIA PRISCA, and thence a confident of her grand-mother's; (for over the mind of the Empress, PRISCA had powerful influence) and by their means the old woman, in her own nature tender and anxious of power, was render'd utterly irreconcilable to the widow of her grand-son. Such too as were nearest the person of AGRIPPINA, were promoted to be continually enraging her tempestuous heart by perverse representations.

TIBE-

TIBERIUS the while no ways relaxing the cares of Government, but applying for consolation to affairs, attended the administration of justice at Rome, and dispatch'd the petitions from the Provinces. By a Decree of Senate, at his motion, the City of Cibyra in Asia, and that of Egyra in Achaia, both overthrown by an Earthquake, were eas'd of tribute for three years. VIBIUS SERENUS too, Proconsul of the furthestmost Spain, was condemn'd for arbitrary administration; and for the savageness of his conduct banish'd into the Isle of Amorgos. CARSIUS SACERDOS, charged with supplying corn to the enemy TACFARINAS, was acquitted; as was CAIUS GRACCHUS of the same crime. This CAIUS was in his childhood carried by his father SEMPRONIUS into the Island Cercina, a companion in his exile: he grew up there amongst fugitives and men destitute of liberal education; and afterwards sustain'd himself by sordid traffick between Africa and Sicily: nor thus low did he escape the perils that wait on elevated fortune: but, had not EILIUS LAMIA and LUCIUS APRONIUS, successively Proconsuls of Africa, protected him; he must have fallen an innocent victim to the obnoxious splendour of his illustrious unhappy race, and to the calamitous fate of his father.

THIS year also brought deputations from the Grecian Cities; one from the people of Samos; one from those of Coos; the former to request that the ancient right of Sanctuary in the Temple of Juno might be confirm'd; the latter to solicit the same confirmation for that of Esculapius. The Samians claim'd upon a Decree of the Council of Amphictions, the supreme Judicature of Greece, at the time when the Greeks by their Cities founded in Asia, possessed the maritime Coasts. Nor had they of Coos a weaker title to Antiquity; to which likewise accrued the pretensions of the place to the friendship of Rome: for they had lodg'd in the Temple of Esculapius all the Roman Citizens there, when by the order of King MITHRIDATES, such were universally butchered throughout all the Cities of Asia and the Isles. And now after many complaints from the Pretors, for the most part ineffectual, the Emperor at last made a representation to the Senate, concerning the licentiousness of the Players; "that in
 " many instances they raised seditious tumults, and violated
 " the publick peace; and, in many, promoted debauchery
 " in private families: that the *Oscan Farce*, formerly only
 " the contemptible delight of the vulgar, was risen to such

“ a prevailing pitch of credit and enormity, that it requir’d
 “ the authority of the Senate to check it ”. The Players
 therefore were driven out of Italy.

THE same year carried off one of the twins of DRUSUS, and thence afflicted the Emperor with fresh woe; nor with less for the death of a particular friend. It was LUCILLIUS LONGUS, the inseparable companion of all the traverses of his fortune smiling or sad; and, of all the Senators, the only one who accompanied him in his retirement at Rhodes. For this reason, tho’ but a new man, the Senate decreed him a publick Funeral; and a Statue to be placed, at the expence of the Treasury, in the square of AUGUSTUS. For by the Senate even yet all affairs were transacted; insomuch that LUCILLIUS CAPITO, the Emperor’s Comptroller in Asia, was, at the accusation of the Province, brought upon his defence before them: the Emperor too upon this occasion protested with great earnestness, “ that from him LUCILLIUS had no authority but
 “ over his slaves, and in collecting his domestick rents: that
 “ if he had usurp’d the Jurisdiction of Pretor, and employ’d
 “ military force, he had so far violated his orders; they
 “ should therefore hear the allegations of the Province ”. Thus the accus’d was upon trial condemn’d. For this just vengeance, and that inflicted the year before on CAIUS SILANUS, the Cities of Asia decreed a Temple to TIBERIUS, and his mother, and the Senate; and obtain’d leave to build it. For this concession NERO made a speech of thanks to the Senators and his grandfather; a speech which charm’d the affections of his hearers, who, as they were full of the Memory of GERMANICUS, fancied it was him they heard, and him they saw. There was also in the youth himself an engaging modesty, and a gracefulness becoming a princely person: ornaments, which, by the known hatred that threaten’d him from SEJANUS, became still more dear and ador’d.

ABOUT the same time the Emperor made a discourse
 “ about the choice of a new Priest of Jupiter, in the room of
 “ SERVIUS MALUGINENSIS deceas’d: for that it was the
 “ ancient custom to name three, born of parents who had in
 “ their nuptials observ’d the form of Confarreation: but now
 “ that the business of Confarreation was quite omitted, or by
 “ few observ’d; there remain’d not then as formerly the same
 “ scope for choice ”. He represented, “ the several causes
 “ of that omission; the principal, a want of zeal both in men

‘T t

“ and

“ and women for that rite ; the cumbersome difficulties too
 “ attending it, prompted them to avoid it ; besides that the pa-
 “ ternal authority was for ever lost over any son who acquir’d
 “ that Priesthood ; and over any daughter who thus marry’d
 “ him. The Senate therefore ought by some expedient to re-
 “ move these discouragements ; after the example of AUGUS-
 “ TUS, who had soften’d some rigid usages of antiquity, and
 “ adapted them to the genius of the times ”. The Senate
 therefore having discuss’d the grounds and qualifications of
 that Priesthood, agreed “ to make no change from the first
 “ institution ”. Only a Law pass, “ that the Priestess of Ju-
 “ piter, should, in the administration of things sacred, be un-
 “ der the dominion of her husband ; but enjoy, in other
 “ things, the common privileges of other women ”. To con-
 clude, MALUGINENSIS the son succeeded his father. And to
 raise the reputation of the Priesthood, and warm the affecti-
 ons of the Priests themselves towards sacred solemnities ; a pre-
 sent of two thousand great sesterces was decreed to CORNELIA,
 chosen Superior of the Vestal virgins in the place of SCANTIA ;
 and to AUGUSTA a privilege granted, that as often as she went
 to the Theatre, she should sit amongst them.

IN the Consulship of CORNELIUS CETHEGUS and VI-
 SELLIVS VARRO ; the Pontifs, and by their example the o-
 ther Priests, while they were offering vows for the prosperity
 of the Emperor, recommended likewise NERO and DRUSUS
 to the care of the same Gods : not so much from any ten-
 derness towards these youths, as from the meanness of flatte-
 ry ; a practice which, when the publick manners are corrupt,
 it is dangerous to exceed in, and alike dangerous to forbear.
 For, TIBERIUS, never benevolent to the house of GERMA-
 NICUS, was now provok’d beyond all patience, that “ no dif-
 “ ference was made between their youth and his years ” ; and
 sending for the Pontifs, examin’d them, “ whether to the en-
 “ treaties, or menaces of AGRIPPINA, they had paid that
 “ compliment ” ? And tho’ they deny’d both, he reprov’d
 them ; but reprov’d them gently, for most of them were his
 own kinsmen, or men of the first distinction in Rome. But
 in the Senate he made a set Speech, warning all of them for
 the time to come, “ not to intoxicate the giddy spirit of the
 “ youths with the pride of over-early and precipitate honours ”.
 He was in truth instigated continually by SEJANUS, who urg-
 ed, “ that Rome was rent into contending parties ; rent as in
 “ a

“ a Civil War: that already there were those who boldly call’d
 “ themselves the Partizans of AGRIPPINA; and if no stop
 “ were put, the faction would increafe. Nor was there any
 “ other remedy for the prevailing spirit of faction, than the
 “ cutting off, under other pretences, one or two of the most
 “ formidable ”.

WITH this view he fell upon CAIUS SILIUS and TITUS SABINUS. The friendship of GERMANICUS was fatal to both; but other confiderations help’d to ruin SILIUS: he had for seven years commanded a powerful army; he had for his exploits in Germany been distinguish’d with the ensigns of Triumph; he had subdued the revolting Gauls under SACROVIR; hence he was mark’d for a facrifice; because the higher and more signal he fell, the more extensive and effectual would be the terror of his fall. It was believ’d by many that by his own intemperate speeches he had heighten’d the displeasure conceiv’d against him; while he boasted without measure, “ that his soldiers perfifted in obedience, when others laps’d
 “ into sedition; nor had the Empire remain’d to TIBERIUS,
 “ if in his Legions too there had been a thirst of change ”. By these pretensions of his the Emperor thought his own fortune degraded, and too low to recompence fuch mighty fervices. For benefits are only fo far acceptable, as it feems poffible to difcharge them; but when once they have exceeded all retaliation, hatred is return’d for gratitude.

SOSIA GALLA was wife to SILIUS, and for her dearnefs to AGRIPPINA, hated by TIBERIUS. It was agreed to arraign him and her, and to postpone for fome time the trial of SABINUS. Against them was engaged as an accufer, VARRO the Consul, who under colour “ of revenging his father’s
 “ quarrel ”, gratified, by his own infamy, the vengeance of SEJANUS. The request of the accus’d for a fhort refpit, ’till VARRO ceas’d to be Consul, was thwarted by the Emperor; “ for that it was customary for other Magiftrates to bring par-
 “ ticulars upon trial; nor ought the prerogative of a Consul
 “ in the like inftance to be infringed; fince upon his vigilance
 “ it depended that no damage accrued to the Commonweal ”. It was a policy peculiar to TIBERIUS, to fhelter under venerable old names the methods of violence lately invented. The Senate is therefore fummon’d with great parade and earneftnefs, as if SILIUS were to be dealt with by the Laws, or as if VARRO had been in truth acting as Consul and protect-
 ing

ing the publick, or as if the present domination had been the ancient Republick. SILIUS made no defence, or only enough to shew by whose fury he was oppress'd. To him were objected, " his confederacy with SACROVIR, and thence the " revolt so long conceal'd ; his detestable avarice after victory, " and the behaviour of his wife ". Without doubt, neither could be acquitted of publick rapine : but the whole charge was brought under the article of Treason ; and SILIUS prevented by a voluntary death the impending condemnation.

HIS estate however escap'd not the cruelty of the sentence ; not that out of it might be repaid the money extorted from the Gauls ; for none of the Gauls reclaim'd it : but the president of AUGUSTUS, and his constant bounty to the children of the condemn'd, being now rejected ; an exact calculation and payment was made of all the effects of SILIUS claim'd by the Exchequer. This was, in TIBERIUS, his first attempt upon any man's wealth. SOSIA was sentenced to banishment at the motion of ASINIUS GALLUS, who propos'd, " that half her effects should be forfeited, " half left to her children ". MARCUS LEPIDUS on the contrary voted " the fourth part to the accusers, as the Law " requir'd ; all the rest to the children ". This LEPIDUS I find to have been, for those times, a wise and upright man : for, by him the torrent of flattery was frequently turn'd, and many of its cruel counsels mitigated : nor yet did he in these his interpositions neglect a temperament ; since he still maintain'd at an equal height his character with the publick, and the favour of TIBERIUS. Hence I am driven to doubt, whether the good liking of Princes to some, and their prejudices and antipathy to others, be, like other things, owing to blind fate and the lot of nativity, or whether the difference be determin'd by the wisdom and conduct of men ; and if it be possible to proceed in a safe path, at an equal distance from abrupt contumacy, and slavish submission, neither courting power nor threaten'd by it. COTTA MESSALINUS, a man descended from ancestors no less illustrious than LEPIDUS, but of a different spirit, mov'd to provide by a Decree of Senate ; " that the Magistrates of the several Provinces, however " innocent themselves, and even unacquainted with the mis- " management of others, should yet be equally punish'd for " the crimes of their wives, as for their own.

THE next proceeding was against CALPURNIUS PISO, a man of noble descent, and an undaunted heart. For, it was he who, as I have related, protested with vehemence in the Senate, “that he would abandon Rome, “to escape the implacable bands of the accusers;” it was he who had in defiance of the power of AUGUSTA, dar’d to prosecute her favourite URGULANIA; and to continue the prosecution, tho’ she sought shelter in the palace of the Emperor. All which TIBERIUS pass’d over for the present courteously; but in a soul like his brooding over vengeance, tho’ the transports of resentment had abated, the deep impressions remain’d. QUINTUS GRANIUS charg’d PISO with treasonable words privately utter’d against the Emperor; and added, “that he kept “poison in his house, and came into the Senate arm’d “with a dagger:” an article too heinous to be true, and therefore dropp’d. But for other crimes, which were accumulated manifold, he was put upon his trial; yet, through the intervention of a seasonable death, never condemn’d. Then too came before them the business of CASSIUS SEVERUS, the exile; a man sordid in his birth; in his life mischievous, but a powerful speaker; who in consequence of the enemies he had made, powerful and many without measure, had drawn upon himself an order of Senate, pass’d with the solemnity of swearing, for his banishment into Crete: where, by following continually his wonted practices, he excited a combination of old enmities and new: so that he was now bereft of his estate, interdicted from fire and water, and grew old in exile upon the rocks of Seriphos.

ABOUT the same time PLAUTIUS SILVANUS the Pretor, for what cause is uncertain, kill’d APRONIA his wife, by throwing her headlong. When he was carried by APRONIUS his father-in-law, before the Emperor, he answer’d in confusion of spirit; “as if while he was found “asleep, and unappriz’d, his wife had wilfully dispatch’d “her self.” TIBERIUS instantly hasted to visit the chamber; and in it were apparent the marks of his violence and her struggling. This he reported to the Senate; and Judges being appointed, URGULANIA the grand-mother of PLAUTIUS sent him a dagger; which it was believ’d

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she did by the advice of TIBERIUS, in regard of the friendship of AUGUSTA for her. The criminal having in vain essay'd to use the steel, caus'd his veins to be open'd. Presently after NUMANTINA his former wife, was accus'd of having by charms and potions disorder'd the understanding of her husband; but declar'd innocent.

THIS year at last reliev'd the Romans from a long war with TACFARINAS the Numidian. For, the former Generals, as soon as they believ'd their exploits had entitled them to the ornaments of triumph, always abandon'd the enemy. Insomuch that there were already in Rome three Statues adorn'd with victorious laurel, and still TACFARINAS ravag'd Africa. He was strengthen'd by auxiliaries from the Moors, who, govern'd as they were by Royal freedmen under the thoughtless reign of the youth their King, (PTOLOMY son of JUBA) had exchange'd even for war the domestick domination of slaves. For the harbourer of his plunder, and partner in depredations, he had the King of the Garamantes: not that this King march'd at the head of an army; but only detach'd out light parties, which were magnified by great distance and report. From the province itself too flow'd in all that were indigent in their fortune, all that were disorderly in their lives; the more readily, because the Emperor, after the feasts perform'd by BLESUS, as if there had no longer remain'd any enemy in Africa, had order'd the ninth Legion to be brought back: nor durst PUBLIUS DOLABELLA that year Proconsul there, retain it; as he dreaded more the orders of the Prince than the casualties of the war.

TACFARINAS therefore dispers'd a rumour, “ that several other nations too were tearing piecemeal the Roman state: that hence their forces were by degrees drawing off from Africa: and that the remainder might be wholly destroy'd, if all to whom liberty was dearer than bondage, would with all their might engage them.” By this rumour his forces were augmented, and he begirt the city of Thubuscum. But DOLABELLA drawing together what soldiers there were, at his first approach rais'd the siege, by the terror of the Roman name; and because the Numidians cannot stand the attack of our foot. He likewise

wife fortified the proper places, and at the same time executed the chiefs of the Musulanians, just ready to revolt. Now because by many expeditions against TACFARINAS, it was manifest that, not by a heavy army and a single onset, such a rambling foe was to be effectually push'd; the Proconsul having therefore call'd to his aid King PTOLOMY, with a body of his subjects the Moors, form'd four bands. These he committed to the Commanders of the Legions and Tribunes: certain parties appointed to scour and pillage the country, were conducted by some chosen Moors: he himself mov'd from quarter to quarter to direct the whole.

Not long after tydings came, " that the Numidians
 " had pitch'd their huts about a ruinous castle burnt
 " down formerly by themselves, its name Auzea; trust-
 " ing now to its situation, because it was shut in on
 " every side by vast forests." Forthwith were dispatch'd the horse and foot; a rapid march, themselves not knowing whither; and just at dawn of day, with trumpets sounding and dreadful shouts, they were upon the Barbarians still half asleep, their horses fetter'd or straggling loosely at grass. The Romans were come prepar'd; their foot in close array, their troops marshall'd; all things dispos'd for battle: the enemy, on the contrary, intirely unappriz'd, without arms, or order, or counsel, were, with the passiveness of sheep, caught, slaughter'd and dragg'd away captive. The soldiers embitter'd by the remembrance of all their labours, and against a foe which had so long eluded the fight so often courted, had each his fill of vengeance and blood. Through all the ranks the word ran, " that they must particularly make sure of
 " TACFARINAS, known to them all by so many conflicts:
 " nothing besides killing the leader could extinguish the
 " war." His Guards were already fallen round him; his son was already in bonds, and the Romans on every side pouring upon him; desperately, therefore, he rush'd amongst the darts, and, by a death accompanied with many of ours, escap'd captivity. And thus was an end put to the war.

DOLABELLA desir'd the ensigns of triumph, but was refus'd by TIBERIUS, in complement to SEJANUS; that the late fame of his uncle BLESUS might not thence be obliterated.

obliterated. But this deriv'd no new lustre upon BLE-SUS; while to DOLABELLA more glory accrued from honour denied; since with a smaller army he had slain the General, led many distinguish'd captives, and bore the renown of having wholly concluded the war. He was also attended with Ambassadors from the Garamantes; a rare sight in Rome! that nation struck with the death of TACFARINAS, and conscious of guilt, had sent them to appease the resentment of the Roman people. And now that the zeal of PTOLOMY during that war was known; in his favour was reviv'd a custom of remote antiquity, and one of the Senators sent to deliver him the ivory staff and painted robe; (the presents of the ancient Roman Senate,) and to salute him *King, Friend, and Confederate*.

THE same summer the seeds of a servile war spreading through Italy, were by a chance suppress'd. The author of the stir was TITUS CURTISIUS, formerly a soldier of the Pretorian Guards. His first essays were at clandestine meetings in Brundisium, and the neighbouring towns; afterwards by declarations publicly hung up, he was inciting to liberty the agrarian slaves, who, from living in wild and remote forests, were themselves wild and fierce; when, as it were by the bounty and interposition of the Gods, three galleys belonging to the merchants landed on that coast. CURTIUS LUPUS too, the Questor, was then in these parts, as to him had fallen for his jurisdiction, according to ancient establishment, the restraining of robberies in the woods and roads of the forests. LUPUS marshall'd the seamen, and by them routed the conspiracy, just breaking out: so that STAIUS the Tribune dispatch'd thither by the Emperor, with a stout band, dragg'd the leader himself and his most resolute partizans, to Rome; which was already in a terror, on account of the multitude of domestick slaves, that were still augmenting immensely, while the genuine commonalty daily dwindled.

DURING the same Consuls, were brought into the Senate a father arraign'd and his son the accuser, both nam'd VIBIUS SERENUS; a sad example of horror and unnatural cruelty! the father already an exile, but haul'd back to a fresh trial, in a habit of misery, cover'd with
naftiness

naftiness and deformity, and then bound in chains, heard himself impleaded by his son. The young man dress'd with mighty elegance, his countenance chearful and elated, alledg'd, " a plot fram'd against the Emperor, and that " some of the conspirators were sent into Gaul to instigate a rebellion there;" and thus became against his father a witness as well as an informer. He likewise charg'd " CECILIUS CORNUTUS formerly Pretor, with having " furnish'd money." CORNUTUS had in truth with his own hands dispatch'd himself; but from the pain of anxiety he did it, and because he held accusation only for a signal of destruction. The accus'd, on the other side, with a spirit nothing dejected, turning full upon his son, and shaking his chains, invoc'd " the avenging Gods, " that to himself they would first restore his place of exile, where far from such direful doings he might pass his days; and that just vengeance might one day overtake his son." He insisted too, " that CORNUTUS was " innocent, and only terrified with forg'd crimes; as might " be easily learnt if other accomplices were produced; " for it was not probable that, with one confederate only, " he should have meditated the murder of the Prince, " and a change of the state."

THE accuser then nam'd CNEIUS LENTULUS, and SEIUS TUBERO, to the great confusion of TIBERIUS; when men of the first figure in Rome, his own intimate friends, LENTULUS extremely old, TUBERO broken with infirmities, were charg'd with devising hostile insurrections against the state. But they were both instantly acquitted. Against the father his slaves were examin'd upon the rack; and their examination went against the accuser; who distracted with guilt, and frighten'd besides with the threatnings of the populace, dooming him to the dungeon, the rack, and the pains of parricide, fled out of Rome. He was dragg'd back from Ravenna and compell'd to prosecute his accusation; TIBERIUS no wise concealing his old hatred to the exile SERENUS: for after the condemnation of LIBO, he had by letters upbraided the Emperor, that such signal zeal as he had shewn in that trial remain'd still without reward: he had likewise inserted some expressions more contumacious than safe in the tender ears

of a Prince naturally proud and quick of resentment. His words were eight years after rehears'd by TIBERIUS, who also charg'd him with many misdemeanours during that interval, though through the obstinacy of his slaves nothing, he said, could be discover'd by torture.

THE votes being taken, and SERENUS sentenc'd "to death according to the rigour of antiquity;" TIBERIUS, to soften the publick odium, interpos'd. Then ASINIUS GALLUS mov'd, "to shut him up in the Isle of Gyarus or Donusa:" a motion which TIBERIUS also rejected; arguing, "that both these Isles were destitute of water; and that to whom they granted life, the conveniencies of life ought likewise to be granted." So SERENUS was carried back to Amorgos. And now that CORNUTUS had died by his own hands, it was mov'd, "to abrogate the rewards of the accusers, as often as any person charg'd with treason, should before judgment pass'd, put an end to his own life." And this motion had been follow'd but that TIBERIUS complain'd, with sterneſs, and now contrary to his wonted reserves an open advocate for the accusers, "that by it the laws would be defeated, and the Commonwealth overthrown: let them rather, he said, dissolve the laws than dismiss their guardians." Thus the accusers, a sort of baneful engines invented for the destruction of human kind, and indeed never, by any pains or terrors, sufficiently curb'd, were now allur'd and prompted by wages.

IN such a continued series of doleful proceedings, a small instance of joy interven'd: CAIUS COMINIUS a Roman Knight, the convicted author of a scurrilous Poem against the Emperor, he pardon'd at the supplication of his brother, who was a Senator. From this instance of mercy and the popular effects of it, it was reckon'd the more astonishing, that he who knew better things, he who found what publick renown attended clemency, should yet rather chuse as he did the ways of tyranny and horror. For neither did he transgress through want of discernment; nor is it ever too intricate to be distinguish'd, whether the doings of Princes be applauded with uprightness, or whether only with the false guise of joy. Nay,

TIBERIUS

TIBERIUS himself, who, upon other occasions studied his words, and whose speech seem'd to labour, yet, whenever he spoke as an advocate, spoke with readiness and volubility. At this time, PUBLIUS SILIUS, formerly Questor to GERMANICUS, now convicted of having taken money in an affair where he was to decree as a Judge, was, for his punishment, to be expell'd Italy: a sentence too mild for the Emperor; who adjudg'd him to banishment into an Island; with such impetuosity of spirit, that with the tie and solemnity of an oath he declar'd it "for the interest of the Commonwealth:" a behaviour which at that time was sharply censur'd, but turn'd afterwards to his praise, when SILIUS was again return'd to Rome: a following reign saw that exile; a powerful minion; an abandon'd mercenary, one who possess'd the confidence of CLAUDIUS long, but never honestly. CATUS FIRMIUS the Senator was adjudg'd to the same punishment, "for having forg'd treasonable crimes against his own sister." CATUS, as I have before declar'd, had hir'd LIBO into his pernicious snares, and then, by informing against him, procur'd his overthrow. TIBERIUS mindful of this service, but pretending other motives, besought a reversal of the sentence of banishment; but to his expulsion from the Senate, made no opposition.

I am aware that most of the transactions which I have already related, or shall hereafter relate, may perhaps appear minute, and too trivial to be remember'd. But, none must compare these my Annals with the writings of those who compil'd the Story of the ancient Roman people. They had for their subjects mighty wars, potent cities sack'd, great Kings routed and taken captive: or if they sometimes review'd the domestick affairs of Rome, they there found the mutual strife and animosities of the Consuls and Tribunes; the Agrarian and Frumentary laws, push'd and oppos'd; and the lasting struggles between the Nobles and Populace. Large and noble topicks these, at home and abroad, and recounted by the old Historians with full room and free scope. To me remains a streighten'd task, and void of glory; steady peace, or short intervals of war; the proceedings at Rome sad and affecting; and a Prince careless of extending the Empire:

nor yet will it be without its profit to look minutely into such transactions, as however small at first view, give rise and motion to great events.

FOR, all nations and cities are govern'd either by the populace, by the nobility, or by single rulers. As to the frame of a state chosen and compacted out of all these three, it is easier applauded than accomplish'd; or if accomplish'd, cannot be of long duration. So that, as during the Republick, either when the power of the people prevail'd, or when the Senate bore the chief sway; it was necessary to know the genius of the commonalty, and by what measures they were to be humour'd and restrain'd; and such too who were thoroughly acquainted with the spirit of the Senate and leading men, came to be esteem'd skilful in the times, and men of prowess: so now when that establishment is chang'd, and the present situation such as if one rul'd all; it is of advantage to collect and record these later incidents, as matters of publick example and instruction; since few can by their own wisdom distinguish between things crooked and upright; few between counsels pernicious and profitable; and since most men are taught by the fate of others. But the present detail, however instructive, yet brings scanty delight. It is by the descriptions and accounts of nations; by the variety of battles; by the brave fall of illustrious Captains, that the soul of the reader is engag'd and refresh'd. For my self, I can only give a sad display of cruel orders, incessant accusations, faithless friendships, the destruction of innocents, and endless trials, all attended with the same issue, death and condemnation: an obvious round of repetition and satiety! Besides that the old Historians are rarely censur'd; nor is any man now concern'd whether they chiefly magnify the Roman or Carthaginian armies. But, of many who under TIBERIUS suffer'd punishment, or were mark'd with infamy, the posterity are still subsisting; or if the families themselves are extinct, there are others found, who from a similitude of manners, think that, in reciting the evil doings of others, they themselves are charg'd: nay, even virtue and a glorious name create foes, as they expose in a light too obvious the opposite characters. But I return to my undertaking.

Whilst CORNELIUS COSSUS and ASINIUS AGRIPPA were Consuls, CREMUTIUS CORDUS was arraign'd for that, "having publish'd Annals and in them prais'd BRUTUS, he "had stil'd CASSIUS the last of the Romans:" a new crime, then first created. SATRIUS SECUNDUS and PINARIUS NATTA were his accusers; creatures of SEJANUS: a mortal omen this to the accus'd; besides that TIBERIUS receiv'd his defence with a countenance settled into cruelty. He began it on this wise, casting away all hopes of life:

"As to facts, I am so guiltless, Conscript Fathers, that
 "my words only are accus'd: but neither are any words of
 "mine pointed against the Emperor, or his Mother; who
 "are the only persons comprehended in the Law concern-
 "ing violated Majesty. It is alledg'd that I have prais'd
 "BRUTUS and CASSIUS; men whose lives and actions
 "have been compil'd by a cloud of writers, and their
 "memory treated by none but with honour. TITUS
 "LIVIUS, an historian eminently famous for eloquence
 "and veracity, signaliz'd POMPEY with such abundant
 "encomiums, that he was thence by AUGUSTUS named
 "POMPEIANUS; nor did this prejudice their common
 "friendship. Neither SCIPIO, nor AFRANIUS, nor even
 "this same CASSIUS, nor this same BRUTUS, are any where
 "mention'd by him as *traitors* and *parricides*, the common
 "nick-names now bestow'd on them; but often as great
 "and memorable men. The writings of ASINIUS POL-
 "LIO have convey'd down the memory of the same men
 "under honourable characters. CORVINUS MESSALA
 "gloried to have had CASSIUS for his General: and yet
 "both POLLIO and CORVINUS became signally power-
 "ful in wealth and honours under AUGUSTUS. That
 "Book of CICERO's, in which he exalted CATO to the
 "skies; what other animadversion did it draw from CE-
 "SAR the Dictator, than a written reply, in the same stile
 "and equality as if before his Judges he had made it? The
 "letters of MARC ANTHONY; the speeches of BRUTUS,
 "are full of reproaches, and recriminations against AU-
 "GUSTUS; false in truth, but urg'd with signal asperi-
 "ty: the Poems of BIBACULUS and those of CATUL-
 "LUS, stuffed with virulent satyrs against the CESARS,
 Y y "are

“ are still read. But even the deified JULIUS, even the
 “ deified AUGUSTUS, bore all these invectives and dis-
 “ dain’d them; whether with greater moderation or wis-
 “ dom, I cannot easily say. For, if they are despis’d,
 “ they fade away; if you wax wroth, you seem to avow
 “ them to be just.

“ INSTANCES from the Greeks I bring none: with
 “ them not the freedom only, but even the licentiousness
 “ of speech, is unpunish’d: or if any correction is re-
 “ turn’d, it is only by revenging words with words. It
 “ has been ever allow’d, without restriction or rebuke,
 “ to pass our judgment upon those whom death has with-
 “ drawn from the influence of affection and hate. Are
 “ CASSIUS and BRUTUS now in arms? do they at present
 “ fill with arm’d troops the fields of Philippi? or do I
 “ fire the Roman people, by inflammatory harangues, with
 “ the spirit of civil rage? BRUTUS and CASSIUS, now
 “ above seventy years slain, are still known in their Sta-
 “ tues, which even the conqueror did not abolish: and
 “ as these exhibit their persons, why not the Historian
 “ their characters? Impartial posterity to every man re-
 “ pays his proper praise: nor will there be wanting such
 “ as, if my death is determin’d, will not only revive the
 “ story of CASSIUS and BRUTUS, but even my story.”

Having thus said he withdrew from the Senate, and ended his life by abstinence. The Fathers condemn’d the Books to be by the Ediles burn’d; but they still continued conceal’d and dispers’d: hence we may justly mock the stupidity of those, who imagine that they can, by present power, extinguish the lights and memory of succeeding times: for, quite otherwise, the punishment of writers exalts the credit of the writings: nor did ever foreign Kings, or any else, reap other fruit from it, than infamy to themselves, and glory to the sufferers.

To proceed; for this whole year there was such an incessant torrent of accusations, that even during the solemnity of the Latin festival, when DRUSUS for his inauguration, as Governor of Rome, had ascended the Tribunal, he was accosted by CALPURNIUS SALVIANUS with a charge against SEXTUS MARIUS: a proceeding openly re-
 “ nished.

nished. The city of Cyzicus was next accus'd, " of not
 " observing the establish'd worship of the deified AUGUS-
 " TUS;" with additional crimes, " of violences commit-
 " ted upon some Roman citizens." Thus that city lost
 her liberties; which by her behaviour during the Mithri-
 datick war, she had purchas'd; having in it sustain'd a
 siege; and as much by her own bravery, as by the aid of
 LUCULLUS, repuls'd the King. But FONTEIUS CAPITO,
 who had as Proconsul govern'd Asia, was acquitted, upon
 proof that the crimes brought against him by VIBIUS
 SERENUS were forged: and yet the forgery drew no penalty
 upon SERENUS: nay, the publick hate render'd him the
 more secure: for, every accuser, the more eager and in-
 cessant he was, the more sacred and inviolable he became:
 the sorry and impotent were surrender'd to chastisement.

ABOUT the same time, the furthest Spain besought
 the Senate by their Ambassadors, " that after the exam-
 " ple of Asia, they might erect a Temple to TIBERIUS
 " and his Mother." Upon this occasion, the Emperor,
 always resolute in contemning honours, and now judging
 it proper to confute those, who expos'd him to the popu-
 lar censure, of having deviated into ambition; spoke in
 this manner: " I know, Conscrip't Fathers, that it is ge-
 " nerally blam'd, and ascrib'd to a defect of firmness in
 " me, that when the cities of Asia petition'd for this very
 " thing, I withstood them not. I shall therefore now un-
 " fold at once the motives of my silence then, and the
 " rules which for the future I am determin'd to observe.
 " Since the deified AUGUSTUS had not oppos'd the found-
 " ing at Pergamus a Temple to himself and the city of
 " Rome; I, with whom all his actions and sayings have
 " the force of laws, follow'd an example already approv'd;
 " and follow'd it the more chearfully, because to the
 " worship bestow'd upon me, that of the Senate was an-
 " nex'd. But as the indulging of this, in one instance,
 " will find pardon; so a general latitude of being
 " ador'd through every province, under the sacred repre-
 " sentations of the Deities, would denote a vain spirit;
 " a heart swell'd with ambition. The glory too of AU-
 " GUSTUS will vanish, if by the promiscuous courtship
 " of flattery it comes to be vulgarly prostituted.

“ FOR my self, Conscript Fathers, I am a mortal man;
 “ I am confin’d to the functions of human nature; and if
 “ I well supply the principal place amongst you, it suffices
 “ me. This I acknowledge to you, and this acknowledg-
 “ ment I would have posterity to remember. They will do
 “ abundant right to my memory, if they believe me to have
 “ been worthy of my ancestors; watchful of the Roman
 “ state; unmov’d in perils, and in maintaining the publick
 “ interest, fearless of private enmities. These are the Tem-
 “ ples which in your breasts I would raise; these the fairest
 “ pourtraitures, and such as will endure. As to Tem-
 “ ples and Statues of stone, if the Idol ador’d in them
 “ comes to be hated by posterity, they are despis’d as his
 “ sepulchres. Hence it is I here invoke the Gods, that
 “ to the end of my life they would grant me a spirit
 “ undisturb’d, and discerning in duties human and di-
 “ vine: and hence too I here implore our Citizens and
 “ Allies, that whenever my dissolution comes, they would
 “ with approbation and benevolent testimonies of remem-
 “ brance, celebrate my actions and retain the odour of
 “ my name.” And thenceforward he persever’d in flight-
 ing upon all occasions, and even in private conversation,
 this divine worship of himself. A conduct which was by
 some ascrib’d to modesty; by many to a conscious dif-
 fidence; by others to degeneracy of spirit. “ Since the most
 “ sublime amongst men naturally covet the most exalted
 “ honours: thus HERCULES and BACCHUS amongst the
 “ Greeks, and with us ROMULUS, were added to the
 “ society of the Gods: AUGUSTUS too had chosen the
 “ nobler part, and hop’d for deification: all the other
 “ gratifications of Princes were instantly procur’d: one
 “ only was to be pursued insatiably; the praise and per-
 “ petuity of their name. For by contemning fame, the
 “ virtues that procure it, are contemn’d.

Now SEJANUS, intoxicated with excess of fortune, and
 moreover stimulated by the importunity of LIVIA, who
 with the restless passion of a woman, crav’d the promis’d
 marriage, compos’d a Memorial to the Emperor. For,
 it was then the custom to apply to him in writing, tho’
 he were present. This of SEJANUS was thus conceiv’d:
 “ That such had been towards him the benevolence of

“ AUGUSTUS; such and so numerous, since, the instances
 “ of affection from TIBERIUS, that he was thence ac-
 “ custom’d, without applying to the Gods, to carry his
 “ hopes and prayers directly to the Emperors: yet of them
 “ he had never sought a blaze of honours: watching and
 “ toils like those of common soldiers, for the safe-guard
 “ of the Prince, had been his choice and ambition. How-
 “ ever what was most glorious for him he had attain’d;
 “ to be thought worthy of alliance with the Emperor:
 “ hence the source of his present hopes: and, since he
 “ had heard that AUGUSTUS, in the disposal of his daugh-
 “ ter, had not been without thoughts even of some of
 “ the Roman Knights; he begg’d that if a husband were
 “ sought for LIVIA, TIBERIUS would remember his friend;
 “ one whose ambition aim’d no higher than the pure and
 “ disinterested glory of the affinity: for that he would
 “ never abandon the burden of his present trust; but hold
 “ it sufficient to be, by that means, enabled to support
 “ his house against the injurious wrath of AGRIPPINA;
 “ and in this he only consulted the security of his chil-
 “ dren. For himself; his own life would be abundantly
 “ long, whenever finally spent in the ministry of such a
 “ Prince.”

For a present answer, TIBERIUS prais’d the loyalty of SEJA-
 NUS; recapitulated cursorily the instances of his own favours
 towards him, and requir’d time, as it were for a thorough
 deliberation. At last he made this reply: “ that all other
 “ men were, in their pursuits, guided by the notions of
 “ conveniency: far different was the lot and situation of
 “ Princes, who were in their actions to consider chiefly
 “ the applause and good liking of the publick: he there-
 “ fore did not delude SEJANUS with an obvious and plau-
 “ sible answer; that LIVIA could herself determine whe-
 “ ther, after DRUSUS, she ought again to marry, or still
 “ persist his widow, and that she had a mother and
 “ grand-mother, nearer relations and more interested to
 “ advise. He would deal more candidly with him: and
 “ first as to the enmity of AGRIPPINA; it would flame
 “ out with fresh fury, if by the marriage of LIVIA, the
 “ family of the CESARS were rent as it were into two
 “ contending parties: that even as things stood, the emu-

“ lation of these Ladies broke into frequent fallies, and;
 “ by their animosities, his grand-sons were instigated dif-
 “ ferent ways. What would be the consequence; if, by
 “ such a marriage, the strife were inflam’d? For you are
 “ deceiv’d, SEJANUS, if you think to continue then in
 “ the same rank as now; or that LIVIA, she who was
 “ first the wife of the young CAIUS CESAR, and af-
 “ terwards the wife of DRUSUS; will be of a temper to
 “ grow old with a husband no higher than a Roman
 “ Knight: nay, allowing that I suffer’d you afterwards
 “ to remain what you are; do you believe that they who
 “ saw her father, they who saw her brother; and the an-
 “ cestors of our house, cover’d with the supreme digni-
 “ ties, will ever suffer it? You in truth propose, yourself,
 “ to stand still in the same station: but the great Magi-
 “ strates and Grandees of the state, those very Magi-
 “ strates and Grandees who, in spite of your self, break
 “ in upon you, and in all affairs court you as their Ora-
 “ cle, make no secret of maintaining that you have long
 “ since exceeded the bounds of the Equestrian Order, and
 “ far outgone in power all the confidents of my father;
 “ and from their hatred to you, they also censure me.
 “ But still, AUGUSTUS deliberated about giving his
 “ daughter to a Roman Knight. Where is the wonder,
 “ if perplex’d with a croud of distracting cares, and ap-
 “ priz’d to what an unbounded height above others he
 “ rais’d whomsoever he dignified with such a match, he
 “ talk’d of PROCULEIUS, and some like him; remark-
 “ able for the retiredness of their life, and no wise en-
 “ gag’d in the affairs of state? But if we are influenc’d
 “ by the hesitation of AUGUSTUS, how much more power-
 “ ful is his decision; since he bestow’d his daughter on
 “ AGRIPPA, and then on me? These are considerations
 “ which in friendship I have not with-held: however,
 “ neither your own inclinations, nor those of LIVIA, shall
 “ be ever thwarted by me. The secret and constant pur-
 “ poses of my own heart towards you, and with what
 “ further ties of affinity, I am contriving to bind you still
 “ faster to me; I at present forbear to recount. Thus
 “ much only I will declare, that there is nothing so high
 “ but those abilities, and your singular zeal and fidelity
 “ towards

“ towards me, may justly claim: as when opportunity
 “ presents, either in Senate, or in a popular assembly, I
 “ shall not fail to testify.”

IN answer to this, SEJANUS no longer solliciting the marriage, but fill'd with higher apprehensions, besought him “ to resist the dark suggestions of suspicion; to despise the pratings of the vulgar, nor to admit the hostile breath of envy.” And as he was puzzled about the crouds which incessantly haunted his house; lest by keeping them off he might impair his power; or by encouraging them, furnish a handle for criminal imputations; he came to this result, that he would urge the Emperor out of Rome, to spend his life remote from thence in delightful retirements. From this counsel he foresaw many advantages: upon himself would depend all access to the Emperor; all letters and expresses would, as the soldiers were the carriers, be in great measure under his direction; in a little time the Prince, now in declining age, and then soften'd by recess, would more easily transfer upon him the whole charge of the Empire: he should be remov'd from the multitude of such as to make their court, attended him at Rome; and thence one source of envy would be stopt. So that by discharging the empty phantoms of power, he should augment the essentials. He therefore began by little and little to rail at the hurry of business at Rome, the throng of people, the flock of suitors: he applauded “ retirement and quiet; where,
 “ while they were separate from irksome fatigues, nor
 “ expos'd to the discontents and resentments of particulars, all affairs of moment were best dispatch'd.”

OPPORTUNELY for SEJANUS, there happen'd about that time the trial of VOTIENUS MONTANUS, a man of celebrated wit; a trial which determin'd TIBERIUS to shun all assemblies of the fathers, and thence escape hearing the true and painful reflections which to his face were there utter'd. For, as VOTIENUS was charg'd with contumelious speeches against CESAR; EMILIUS the witness, a man of the sword, from a zeal to make good his evidence, rehears'd every tittle he had heard; and notwithstanding the clamour rais'd to stop his mouth, he persisted in the detail with notable obstinacy. By this means

TIBERIUS

TIBERIUS heard the bitter reproaches by which he was secretly goaded; and he was so stricken that he wax'd vehement, and cried, " he would instantly clear himself " in their presence, or before an assembly of the people:" nor scarce could the prayers of his particular friends, and flatteries of all, calm him. VOTIENUS suffer'd the pains of treason. For TIBERIUS; having learnt that he was upbraided with cruelty towards the accus'd, and growing thence more obstinately cruel, he punish'd AQUILA with exile, for adultery with VARIUS LIGUR; tho' she were already sentenc'd by LENTULUS GETULICUS, Consul elect, to the penalties of the Julian law. He also raz'd APIDIUS MERULA from the list of Senators, " because he had not sworn upon the Acts of the deified " AUGUSTUS."

NEXT were heard Ambassadors from the Lacedemonians and Messenians, about the right that each people claim'd to the Temple of Diana Limenetus; which the Lacedemonians asserted to be theirs, " founded in their " territory, and dedicated by their ancestors," and offer'd as proofs the ancient authority of their Annals, and the Hymns of the old Poets. " It had been in truth taken " from them by the superior force of PHILIP of Macedon, when at war with him; but restor'd afterwards " by the judicial decision of JULIUS CESAR and MARC " ANTHONY." The Messenians, on the contrary, pleaded, " the ancient partition of Peloponnesus amongst " the descendents of HERCULES; whence the territory " where the Temple stood, had fallen to their King; " and the monuments of that allotment still remain'd, engraven in stone and old tables of brass: but, if the " testimony of Histories and Poets were appeal'd to; they " themselves had the most and the fullest. Nor had " PHILIP, in his decision, acted by power, but from equity: the same afterwards was the adjudgment of King " ANTIGONUS; the same that of the Roman Commander MUMMIUS. Thus too the Milesians had awarded, " they who were by both sides chosen arbitrators: and " thus lastly it had been determin'd by ATIDIUS " MINUS, Pretor of Achaia." The Messenians therefore gain'd the suit. The Citizens also of Segestum applied

on behalf of “ the Temple of Venus on Mount Eryx; “ which fallen through age, they desir’d might be re- “ stor’d.” They represented the story of its Origin and Antiquity; a well pleasing flattery to TIBERIUS; who frankly took upon himself the charge, as Kinsman to the Goddess. Then was discuss’d the petition from the Citizens of Marseills, and what they claim’d according to the precedent of PUBLIUS RUTILIUS, was approv’d: for RUTILIUS, tho’ by a law expell’d from Rome, had been by those of Smyrna adopted a citizen: and as VOLCATIUS MOSCHUS, another exile, had found at Marseills the same privilege and reception, he had to their Republick, as to his country, left his estate.

THERE died this year those noble Romans, CNEIUS LENTULUS and LUCIUS DOMITIUS. LENTULUS to his publick honours, those of the Consulship, and the ensigns of triumph over the Getulæ, had added that of private poverty honourably borne; and afterwards the splendor of mighty wealth, virtuously acquir’d and modestly enjoy’d. Upon DOMITIUS devolv’d the lustre of his father, who in the Civil War held the dominion of the sea, till he espous’d first the interest of MARC ANTHONY, and anon that of AUGUSTUS: his grand-father had fallen for the cause of liberty in the battle of Pharsalia. He himself was chosen for the husband of the younger ANTONIA, daughter of OCTAVIA: he afterwards led an army over the Elb, and advanc’d farther into Germany than any Roman before him. These things procur’d him the ensigns of triumph. There also died LUCIUS ANTONIUS, of a race greatly illustrious, but unhappy: for, JULIUS ANTONIUS his father having suffer’d death for adultery with JULIA, AUGUSTUS remov’d this LUCIUS, then a child, and the grand-son of his sister, to the city of Marseills, where under the guise of his studies, the name of his exile might be hid. To his death, however, publick honour was paid; and by a decree of Senate his bones were repositied in the tomb of the OCTAVII.

DURING the same Consuls, a bloody assassination was perpetrated in the nethermost Spain, by a boor in the territory of Termes. By him LUCIUS PISO, Governor of the Province, as he travell’d careless and unattended,

relying on the establish'd peace, was surpriz'd, and dispatch'd at one deadly blow. The assassins however escap'd to a forest by the fleetness of his horse, and there dismiss'd him: from thence travelling over rocks and pathless places, he battled his pursuers: but their ignorance of his person was soon remov'd; for his horse being taken and shewn through the neighbouring villages, it was thence learn'd who was the owner; so that he too was found; but when put to the rack to declare his accomplices, he proclaim'd with a mighty and assur'd voice, in the language of his country, "that in vain they question'd him; his associates might stand safely by and witness his constancy: and that no force of torture could be so exquisite as from him to extort a discovery." Next day as he was dragg'd back to the rack, he burst with a vehement effort from his guard, and dash'd his head so desperately against a stone, that he instantly expir'd. PISO is believ'd to have been assassinated by a plot of the Terrestinians; as in exacting the repayment of some money, seiz'd from the publick, he acted with more asperity, than a rough people could bear.

IN the Consulship of LENTULUS GETULICUS and CAIUS CALVISIUS, the triumphal ensigns were decreed to POPPEUS SABINUS for having routed some clans of Thracians, who living wildy on the high mountains, acted thence with the more outrage and contumacy. The ground of their late commotion, not to mention the savage genius of the people, was their scorn and impatience, to have recruits rais'd amongst them, and all their stoutest men list'd in our armies; accusom'd as they were not even to obey their native Kings further than their own humour, nor to aid them with forces but under Captains of their own chusing, nor to fight against any enemy but their own borderers. Their discontents too were inflam'd by a rumour which then ran current amongst them; that they were to be dispers'd into different regions; and exterminated from their own, to be mixt with other nations. But before they took arms and began hostilities, they sent Ambassadors to SABINUS, to represent "their past friendship and submission, and that the same should continue, if they were provok'd by no fresh imposi-

“ ons: but if like a people subdued by war, they were
 “ doom’d to bondage; they had able men and steel, and
 “ souls determin’d upon liberty or death.” The Ambaf-
 fadors at the same time pointed to their strong holds
 founded upon precipices; and boasted that they had thi-
 ther convey’d their wives and parents; and threaten’d a
 war intricate, hazardous and bloody.

SABINUS amus’d them with gentle answers till he could
 draw together his army; while POMPONIUS LABEO was
 advancing with a Legion from Mœsia, and King RHE-
 METALCES with a body of Thracians who had not re-
 nounc’d their allegiance. With these and what forces he
 had of his own he march’d towards the foe, now settled
 in the passes of the forest: some more bold presented them-
 selves upon the hills: against the last the Roman Gene-
 ral first bent his forces in battle, and without difficulty
 drove them thence, but with small slaughter of the Bar-
 barians, because of their immediate refuge. Here he
 streight rais’d an encampment, and with a stout band took
 possession of a hill, which extended with an even narrow
 ridge to the next fortress, which was garrison’d by a great
 host of arm’d men and rabble: and as the most resolute
 were, in the way of the nation, rioting without the for-
 tification in dances and songs, he forthwith dispatch’d
 against them his select archers. These, while they only
 pour’d in volleys of arrows at a distance did thick and
 extensive execution; but, approaching too near, were by
 a sudden sally put in disorder. They were however sup-
 ported by a Cohort of the Sigambrians, purposely posted
 by SABINUS in readiness against an exigency; a people
 these equally terrible in the boisterous and mixt uproar
 of their voices and arms.

HE afterwards pitch’d his camp nearer to the enemy;
 having in his former entrenchments left the Thracians
 whom I have mention’d to have join’d us. To them too
 was permitted “ to lay waste, burn, and plunder; on
 “ condition that their ravages were confin’d to the day;
 “ and that, at nights, they kept within the camp, secure
 “ under guard.” This restriction was at first observ’d;
 but, anon lapsing into luxury, and grown opulent in
 plunder, they neglected their guards, and resign’d them-
 selves

selves to gayety and banquetting, to the intoxication and sloth of wine and sleep. The enemy therefore appriz'd of their negligence, form'd themselves into two bands; one to set upon the plunderers; the other to assault the Roman camp, with no hopes of taking it; but only that the soldiers alarm'd with shouts and darts, and all intent upon their own defence, might not hear the din of the other battle: moreover to heighten the terror, it was to be done by night. Those who assail'd the lines of the Legions were easily repuls'd: but, the auxiliary Thracians were terrified with the sudden encounter, as they were utterly unprepar'd. Part of them lay along the entrenchments; many were roaming abroad; and both were slain with the keener vengeance, as they were upbraided "for fugitives and traitors, who bore arms to establish servitude over their country and themselves."

NEXT day SABINUS drew up his army in view of the enemy, on ground equal to both; to try, if elated with their success by night, they would venture a battle: and, when they still kept within the fortrefs, or on the cluster of hills, he began to begird them with a siege; and strengthening his old lines and adding new, enclos'd a circuit of four miles. Then to deprive them of water and forage, he streighten'd his entrenchment by degrees, and hemm'd them in still closer. A bulwark was also rais'd, whence the enemy now within throw, were annoy'd with discharges of stones, darts, and fire. But nothing aggriev'd them so vehemently as thirst, whilst only a single fountain remain'd amongst a huge multitude of arm'd men and families: their houses too and cattle, penn'd up with the people, after the barbarous manner of the country, perish'd for want of provender: amongst the carcasses of beasts lay those of men; some dead of thirst, some of their wounds; a noysom mixture of misery and death; all was foul and tainted with putrefaction, stench, and filthy contamination. To these distresses also accrued another, and of all calamities the most consummate, the calamity of discord: some were dispos'd to surrender; others propos'd present death, and to fall upon one another. There were some too who advis'd a sally, and to die avenging their deaths. Nor were these last mean men, tho' dissenting from the rest.

BUT there was one of their leaders, his name DINIS, a man stricken in years, who, by long experience acquainted with the power and clemency of the Romans, argued, "that they must lay down their arms, the same "being the sole cure for their pressing calamities;" and was the first who submitted, with his wife and children to the conqueror. There follow'd him all that were weak through sex or age, and such as had a greater passion for life than glory. The young men were parted between TARS A and TURESIS; both determin'd to fall with liberty: but TARS A declar'd earnestly "for instant death; "and that by it all hopes and fears were at once to be "extinguish'd;" and setting an example, buried his sword in his breast. Nor were there wanting some who dispatch'd themselves the same way. TURESIS and his band staid for night: of which our General was aware. The Guards were therefore strengthen'd with extraordinary reinforcements: and now with the night darkness prevail'd, its horror heighten'd by outrageous rain; and the enemy with tumultuous shouts, and by turns with vast silence, alarm'd and puzzled the besiegers. SABINUS therefore going round the camp, warn'd the soldiers, "that they "should not be misguided by the deceitful voice of up- "roar, nor trust to a feign'd calm, and thence open an "advantage to the enemy, who by these wiles sought it; "but keep immoveably to their several posts; nor throw "their darts at random."

JUST then came the Barbarians, pouring in distinct droves: here, with stones, with wooden javelins harden'd in the fire, and with the broken limbs of trees, they batter'd the palisade: there with hurdles, faggots and dead bodies, they fill'd the trench: by others, bridges and ladders, both before fram'd, were planted against the battlements; these they violently grappled and tore, and struggled hand to hand with those who oppos'd them. The Romans, on the other side, beat them back with their bucklers, drove them down with darts, and hurl'd upon them great mural stakes and heaps of stones. On both sides were powerful stimulations: on ours the hopes of victory almost gain'd, if we persisted; and thence the more glaring infamy, if we recoil'd: on theirs, the last struggle

struggle for their life ; most of them too inspir'd with the affecting presence of their mothers and wives, and made desperate by their dolorous wailings. The night was an advantage to the cowardly and the brave ; by it the former became more resolute ; by it the latter hid their fear : blows were dealt, the striker knew not upon whom ; and wounds receiv'd, the wounded knew not whence : such was the utter indistinction of friend and foe. To heighten the general jumble and blind confusion, the eccho from the cavities of the mountain represented to the Romans the shouts of the enemy as behind them : hence in some places they deserted their lines, as believing them already broken and enter'd : and yet such of the enemy as broke through were very few. All the rest, their most resolute champions being wounded or slain, were at the returning light driven back to their fort ; where they were at length forced to surrender ; as did the places circumjacent of their own accord. The remainder could then be neither forced nor famish'd ; as they were protected by a furious winter, always sudden about Mount Hemus.

AT Rome discord shook the Prince's family : and, to begin the series of destruction which was to end in AGRIPPINA, CLAUDIA PULCHRA her cousin was accus'd, DOMITIUS AGER the accuser. This man, just out of the Pretorship, in estimation small, but hasty to signalize himself by some notable exploit however heinous, alledged against her the " crimes of prostitution, of adultery with FURNIUS, of magical execrations and poison prepar'd against the life of the Emperor." AGRIPPINA ever vehement, and then in a flame for the peril of her kinswoman, flew to TIBERIUS, and by chance found him sacrificing to the Emperor his father. Having got this handle for upbraiding him, she told him " that it
 " ill became the same man to slay victims to the deified
 " AUGUSTUS and to persecute his children : his divine spirit was not transfus'd into dumb Statues : the
 " genuine Images of AUGUSTUS were the living descen-
 " dents from his celestial blood : she herself was one ;
 " one sensible of impending danger, and now in the
 " mournful state of a suppliant. In vain were foreign
 " crimes pretended against PULCHRA ; when the only
 " cause

“ cause of her concerted overthrow was her affection for
 “ AGRIPPINA, foolishly carried even to adoration; for-
 “ getful as she was of the fate of SOSIA, a condemn’d
 “ sufferer for the same fault.” All these bitter words drew
 small answer from the dark breast of TIBERIUS: he re-
 buk’d her by quoting a Greek verse; “ that she was
 “ therefore aggriev’d, because she did not reign:” PUL-
 CHRA and FURNIUS were condemn’d. A FER, having thus
 display’d his genius, and gain’d a declaration from TI-
 BERIUS, pronouncing him *eloquent in his own independent*
right, was rank’d with the most celebrated Orators: af-
 terwards in prosecuting accusations, or in protecting the
 accus’d, he flourish’d more in the fame of Eloquence than
 in that of uprightness: however, old age eminently sunk
 the credit and vigour of his eloquence; while, with parts
 decay’d, he still retain’d a passion for haranguing.

AGRIPPINA still fostering her wrath, and seiz’d too
 with a bodily disorder, receiv’d the Emperor, come pur-
 posely to see her, with many tears and long silence. At
 last she accosted him with invidious expostulations and
 prayers; “ that he would relieve her solitude, and give
 “ her a husband. She was still endow’d with proper
 “ youth; to virtuous women there was no consolation but
 “ that of marriage; and Rome afforded illustrious men
 “ who would readily assent to entertain the wife of GER-
 “ MANICUS, and his children.” TIBERIUS was not ig-
 norant to what mighty power in the state, that demand
 tended; but, that he might betray no tokens of resent-
 ment or fear, he left her, tho’ instant with him, without
 an answer. This passage, not related by the Authors of
 our Annals, I found in the Commentaries of her daughter
 AGRIPPINA; her who was the mother of the Emperor
 NERO, and has publish’d her own Life with the fortunes of
 her family.

As to AGRIPPINA; still grieving and void of foresight,
 she was yet more sensibly dismay’d by an artifice of SE-
 JANUS, who employ’d such as under colour of friendship
 warn’d her, “ that poison was prepar’d for her, and that
 “ she must shun eating at her father-in-law’s table.” She
 was a stranger to all dissimulation: so that as she sat near
 him at table, she continued stately and unmov’d; not a
 word,

word, not a look escap'd her, and she touch'd no part of the meat. TIBERIUS observ'd her, whether accidentally, or that he was before appriz'd; and, to be convinc'd by a more powerful experiment, praising the apples that stood before him, presented some with his own hand to his daughter-in-law. This only increas'd the suspicion of AGRIPPINA; and, without ever putting them to her mouth, she deliver'd them to the servants. For all this, the reserv'd TIBERIUS let not a word drop from him openly; but, turning to his mother; "there was no wonder, he said, if he had really taken harsh measures with her who thus charg'd him as a poisoner." Hence a rumour spread, "that her doom was contriv'd; and that the Emperor not daring to pursue it publicly, chose to have her dispatch'd in secret.

TIBERIUS, as a means to divert upon other matters the popular talk, attended assiduouſly the deliberations of the Senate, and there heard for many days the ſeveral Embaſſadors from Aſia, mutually contending, "in what city ſhould be built the Temple lately decreed." For this honour eleven Cities ſtrove, with equal ambition, tho' different in power: nor did the pleas urg'd by all, greatly vary; namely, "the antiquity of their original, and their diſtinguiſh'd zeal for the Roman people, during their ſeveral wars with PERSEUS, ARISTONICUS, and other Kings." But, the Trallians, the Laodiceans, the Magnefians and thoſe of the Hypepis, were at once diſmiſs'd, as inſufficient for the charge. Nor, in truth, had they of Ilium, who repreſented, "that Troy was the mother of Rome," any ſuperiour advantage, beſides the glory of antiquity. The plea of the Halicarnaffians took ſome ſhort conſideration: they aſſerted, "that for twelve hundred years, no earthquake had ſhaken their town; and that they would fix in a ſolid rock the foundations of the Temple." The ſame conſiderations were urg'd by the inhabitants of Pergamus; where already was erected a Temple to AUGUSTUS; a diſtinction which was judg'd ſufficient for them. The cities too of Ephelus and Miletus ſcem'd fully employ'd in the ceremonies of their own diſtinct Deities; the former in thoſe of Diana; the other in thoſe of Apollo. Thus the diſpute was confin'd

to Sardes and Smyrna. The first recited a decree of the Etrurians, which own'd them for kinsmen: " for that
 " TYRRHENUS and LYDUS, sons of King ATYS, hav-
 " ing between them divided their people, because of their
 " multitude, LYDUS re-settled in his native country; and
 " it became the lot of TYRRHENUS to find out a fresh
 " residence; and by the names of these chiefs the parted
 " people came afterwards to be call'd, Lydians in Asia,
 " Tyrrhenians in Italy. That the opulence of the Lydians
 " spread yet farther, by their Colonies sent under PELOPS
 " into Greece, which from him afterwards took its name."
 They likewise urg'd " the letters of our Generals; their
 " mutual leagues with us during the war of Macedon;
 " their plenty of rivers, temperate climate, and the fer-
 " tility of the circumjacent country."

THE Smyrneans having likewise recounted their an-
 cient establishment, " whether TANTALUS, the son of
 " Jupiter; or THESEUS, the son also of a God; or one
 " of the old Amazons, were their founder;" proceeded to
 considerations in which they chiefly trusted; their friend-
 ly offices to the Roman people, having aided them with
 a naval force, not in their foreign wars only, but in those
 which infested Italy. " It was they who first rear'd a
 " Temple to the city of Rome, in the Consulship of
 " MARCUS PORCIUS; then, in truth, when the power
 " of the Roman people was already mighty, but however
 " not yet rais'd to its highest glory; for the city of Car-
 " thage still stood, and potent Kings govern'd Asia. Wit-
 " nefs too their generosity to SYLLA, when the condition
 " of his army ready to famish in a cruel winter and a
 " scarcity of clothes, being related to the Citizens of
 " Smyrna then assembled; all that were present divested
 " themselves of their rayments, and sent them to our Le-
 " gions." Thus when the votes of the Senators were
 gather'd, the pretensions of Smyrna were preferr'd. It
 was also mov'd by VIBIUS MARSUS, that LENTULUS,
 to whom had fallen the province of Asia, should be attend-
 ed by a Legate extraordinary to supervise the building of
 the Temple; and as LENTULUS himself through modesty
 declin'd to chuse one, several who had been Pretors were
 drawn by lot, and the lot fell upon VALERIUS NASO.

IN the mean time, according to a purpose long meditated, and from time to time deferr'd, TIBERIUS at last retir'd to Campania; in profession to dedicate a Temple to Jupiter at Capua, and one at Nola to AUGUSTUS; but in truth determin'd to remove, for ever, from Rome. The cause of his departure I have before refer'd to the stratagems of SEJANUS; but tho' in it I have followed most of our authors; yet, since after the execution of SEJANUS, he persisted for six years in the like dark recesses; I am rather influenced by a stronger probability, that the ground of his absence is more justly to be ascrib'd to his own spirit, while he strove to hide in the shades of solitude, what in deeds he proclaim'd, the rage of his cruelty and lust. There were those who believ'd that, in his old age, he was ashamed of the figure of his person; for he was very lean, long and stooping, his head bald, his face ulcerous, and for the most besmear'd with salves: he was moreover wont, during his recesses at Rhodes, to avoid the publick, and cover his debauches in secrecy. It is also related that he was driven from Rome by the restless aspiring of his Mother, whom he scorn'd to admit a partner in the Sovereignty; nor yet could intirely seclude, since as her gift he had receiv'd the Sovereignty it self. For, AUGUSTUS had deliberated about setting GERMANICUS at the head of the Roman state; his sister's grand-son, and one ador'd by all men: but subdued by the sollicitations of his wife, he adopted TIBERIUS, and caus'd TIBERIUS to adopt GERMANICUS. With this grandeur of her own procuring LIVIA upbraided her son, and even reclaim'd it.

HIS going was narrowly accompanied; by one Senator, COCCEIUS NERVA, formerly Consul, and accomplish'd in the knowledge of the Laws; and, besides SEJANUS, by one dignified Roman Knight, CURTIUS ATTICUS. The rest were men of Letters, chiefly Greeks; whose conversation pleas'd and amus'd him. The skill'd in Astrology declar'd, "that he had left Rome in such a
 " conjunction of the Planets, as for ever to exclude his
 " return." Hence a source of destruction to many, who conjectur'd his end to be at hand, and publish'd their conjectures: for, it was an event too incredible to be fore-
 x seen,

seen, that for eleven years he should of choice be withdrawn from his country. The sequel discover'd the short bounds between the art and the falshood of the art, and what obscurities perplex even the facts it happens to foretell. *That he should never return to Rome*, prov'd not to be falsly said: as to every thing else about him they were perfectly in the dark; since he still liv'd, never far distant, sometimes in the adjacent champain, sometimes on the neighbouring shore, often under the very walls of the city; and died at last in the fulness and extremity of age.

THERE happen'd to TIBERIUS, about that time, an accident, which, as it threaten'd his life, fir'd the empty Prognosticks at Rome; but to himself prov'd matter of more confidence in the friendship and faith of SEJANUS. They were eating in a Cave at a villa, thence call'd *Spelunca*, between the Amyclean sea and the mountains of Fondi: it was a native cave, and its mouth fell suddenly in, and buried under it some of the attendants: hence dread seiz'd all, and they who were celebrating the entertainment fled: as to SEJANUS; he cover'd the Emperor's body with his own, and stooping upon his knees and hands, expos'd himself to the descending ruin: such was the posture he was found in by the soldiers who came to their relief. He grew mightier from thence; and being now consider'd by TIBERIUS as one regardless of himself, all his counsels, however bloody and destructive, were listen'd to with blind credulity: so that he assum'd the office of a Judge against the offspring of GERMANICUS, and suborn'd such as were to act the parts of accusers, and especially to pursue and blacken NERO, the next in succession; a young Prince modest indeed, but forgetful of that restraint and circumspection which his present situation requir'd. He was misguided by his freedmen and the retainers to his house; who eager to be masters of power, animated him with intemperate counsels; "that he would shew a spirit resolute and assur'd; it was
" what the Roman people wish'd, what the armies long'd
" for: nor would SEJANUS dare then to resist; tho' he
" now equally insulted the tameness of an old man and
" the sloth of a young one."

W H I L E

WHILE he listen'd to these and the like suggestions, there escap'd him, no expressions, in truth, of any criminal purpose, but sometimes such as were resentful and unguarded: these were catch'd up by the spies placed upon him, and charg'd against him with aggravations: neither was he allow'd the privilege of clearing himself. Several threatening appearances moreover dismay'd him: some avoided to meet him; others having just paid him the salute, turn'd instantly away: many, in the midst of conversation, broke off and left him; while the creatures of SEJANUS stood still fearlessly by and sneer'd upon him. For TIBERIUS; he always entertain'd him with a stern face, or a hollow smile; and whether the youth spoke or said nothing, there were crimes in his words, crimes in his silence: nor was he safe even the dead of night; since his uneasiness and watchings, nay his very sighs and dreams were, by his wife, divulg'd to her mother LIVIA, and by LIVIA to SEJANUS; who had also drawn his brother DRUSUS into the combination, by tempting him with the immediate prospect of Empire, if his elder brother, already sinking, were once set effectually aside. The genius of DRUSUS naturally furious, instigated besides by a passion for power, and by the usual hate and competition between brothers, was further kindled by the partiality of AGRIPPINA, who was fonder of NERO. However SEJANUS did not so far favour DRUSUS but that against him too he was even then ripening the studied measures of future destruction; as he knew him to be violent, and thence more obnoxious to snares.

IN the end of the year departed these eminent persons; ASINIUS AGRIPPA, of ancestors more illustrious than ancient, and in his own character not unworthy of them: and QUINTUS HATERIUS, of a Senatorian family, and himself, while he yet liv'd, famous for Eloquence: but the monuments of his genius, since publish'd, are not equally esteem'd. In truth, he prevail'd more by rapidity than accuracy: insomuch that, as the elaborate compositions of others flourish after them; so that enchanting melody of voice in HATERIUS, with that fluency of words which was personal to him, died with him.

IN the Consulship of MARCUS LICINIUS and LUCIUS CALPURNIUS, the casualty of an instant, its beginning unforeseen, and ended as soon as begun, equal'd in calamity the slaughter and overthrow of mighty armies. One ATILIUS had undertaken to erect an Amphitheatre at Fidenæ, there to exhibit a combat of Gladiators: he was of the race of freedmen, and as he began it from no exuberance of wealth, nor to court popularity amongst the inhabitants, but purely for the meanness of gain, he neither establish'd solid foundations, nor rais'd the timber-work with sufficient compactness. Thither throng'd from Rome those of every sex and age, eager for such shews, as during the reign of TIBERIUS they were debarr'd from diversions at home; and, the nearer the place, the greater the crouds: hence the calamity was the more dreadful; for, as the Theatre was furcharg'd with the multitude, the structure burst, and sinking violently in, while its extremities rush'd impetuously out, huge was the press of people, who intent upon the Gladiators within, or gather'd round the walls, were crush'd by the deadly ruin, and even buried under it. And verily, they who in the first fury of the havock were smitten with final death, escap'd as far as in such a doleful disaster they could escape, the misery of torture: much more to be lamented were those, who bereft of joints and pieces of their body, were yet not forsaken of life; those who by day could with their eyes behold their wives and children imprison'd in the same ruins; and by night could distinguish them by their groans, and howlings.

Now others from abroad excited by the sad tidings, found here their several sorrows: one bewail'd his brother, one his kinsman, another his parents: even they whose friends or kindred were absent on a different account, were yet terrified: for, as it was not hitherto distinctly known upon whom the destruction had lighted, the dread was widen'd by uncertainty. When the ruins began to be remov'd, great about the dead was the concourse of the living; frequent the kisses and embraces of tenderness and sorrow; and even frequent the contention about the propriety of the dead, where the features distorted by death or bruises, or where parity of age or

resemblance of person, had confounded the slain, and led into mistakes their several claimers. Fifty thousand souls were destroy'd or maim'd by this sad stroke: it was therefore for the future provided by a decree of Senate, "that
 " no man under the qualification of four hundred thousand sesterces, should exhibit the spectacle of Gladiators; and no Amphitheatre should be founded but upon
 " ground manifestly solid." A TILIUS was punish'd with exile. To conclude; during the fresh pangs of this calamity, the doors of the Grandees were thrown open; medicines were every where furnish'd; they who administer'd medicines, were every where employ'd to attend: and at that juncture the City tho' sorrowful of aspect, seem'd to have recall'd the publick spirit of the ancient Romans; who, after great battles, constantly reliev'd the wounded, sustain'd them by liberality, and restor'd them with care.

THE publick agonies from this terrible blow, were not yet deaden'd, when another superven'd; and the City felt the affliction and violence of fire, which with uncommon rage utterly consum'd Mount Caelius. "It was a deadly
 " and mournful year, they said, and under boding omens
 " the Prince had form'd the design of his absence." It is the way this of the multitude; who to malignant counsels are wont to ascribe events altogether fortuitous. But the Emperor dissipated their murmurs, by bestowing on each sufferer money to the value of his sufferings: hence he had the thanks of men of rank, in the Senate; and was by the populace rewarded with applauses, "for that
 " without the views of ambition, without the application of friends, he had of his own accord even fought
 " out the unknown, and by his bounty reliev'd them." It was likewise mov'd and decreed in Senate, "that Mount
 " Caelius should be for the future stiled *Mount Augustus*, since
 " there the Statue of TIBERIUS, standing in the house
 " of JUNIUS the Senator, escap'd unhurt in the flames,
 " tho' devouring all round them:" It was remember'd, "that the same rare exemption had formerly happen'd to
 " CLAUDIA PULCHRA; that her Statue being twice spar'd
 " by the fury of fire, had thence been placed and consecrated by our ancestors in the Temple of the Mother
 " of

“ of the Gods. Thus sacred were the Claudian race,
 “ and dear to the Deities ; and therefore the place, where
 “ the Gods had testified such mighty honour towards
 “ the Prince, ought to be dignified with consecration.”

IT will not be impertinent to insert here, that this Mount was of old nam'd *Querquetulanus*, from a grove of Oak which grew thick upon it. It was afterwards call'd *Mount Celius*, from CELES VIBENNA, who having led to Rome a body of Tuscan auxiliaries, was presented with that settlement by TARQUINIUS PRISCUS, or some other of our Kings; for in this particular writers differ: about other circumstances there remains no dispute; that these forces were very numerous, and extended their dwellings all along the plain below, as far as the Forum. Hence the *Tuscan street*, so call'd after these strangers.

BUT as the universal zeal of the great men, and the bounties of the Prince, had administer'd publick relief against the blind blows of fortune; so the studied fury of the accusers, which grew daily more prevailing and deadly, rioted in destruction without controul or alleviation. QUINCTILIUS VARUS, a wealthy man and the Emperor's cousin, was assail'd by DOMITIUS AFER, the same who had procur'd the condemnation of CLAUDIA PULCHRA his mother: nor did any man wonder that he who had liv'd long needy, and already wasted the reward lately earn'd, should be prompt to engage in fresh iniquity and spoil: the amazement was, that PUBLIUS DOLABELLA appear'd his associate in the accusation; because as he was nobly descended, he shipwreck'd by such prostitution the antient glory of his house; and being the kinsman of VARUS, was wilfully spilling his own blood. The Senate however stemm'd the process, and voted “ that
 “ the Emperor's return was to be waited:” a temporary refuge this, and the only one against these pointed and urging evils.

TIBERIUS, having dedicated the Temples in Campania; tho' he had by an Edict warn'd the publick, “ that
 “ none should interrupt his quiet;” and tho' soldiers were posted to keep off all confluence from the neighbouring towns; nevertheless, hating the towns themselves, and the colonies, and every part in the continent, imprison'd him-
 self

self in Capreæ, an Island disjoin'd from the point of the Cape of Surrentum by a channel of three miles. I should chiefly believe that he was taken with its solitude, as the sea above it is void of havens, as the stations for the smallest vessels are few and difficult, and as none could put in unperceiv'd by the Guards. The genius of the climate is mild in winter, from the shelter of a mountain which intercepts the rigour of the winds: its summers are refresh'd by gales from the West; and the sea open all round it, makes a delightful view: from thence too was beheld a most lovely landskip, before the eruptions of Mount Vesuvius had chang'd the face of the prospect. It is the tradition of fame that the Greeks occupied the opposite region, and that Capreæ was particularly inhabited by the Teleboi. However it were, TIBERIUS then confin'd his retirement to twelve Villas, their names famous of old and their structure sumptuous. And the more intent he had formerly been upon publick cares, he became now so much the more buried in dark debauches, and resign'd over to mischievous privacy: for, there remain'd still in him his old bent to suspicions, and rash faith in informers; qualities which even at Rome SEJANUS had always foster'd, and here inflam'd more vigorously; his devices against AGRIPPINA and NERO being no longer a secret. About them Guards were placed, by whom every petty circumstance, the messages they sent or receiv'd, their visits and company, their open behaviour, their private conversation, were all as it were minuted into Journals: there were others too instructed to warn them to fly to the armies in Germany; or that embracing the Statue of the deified AUGUSTUS in the great Forum, they would there implore the aid and protection of the Senate and people of Rome. And these counsels, tho' reject'd by them, were father'd and charg'd upon them, as just ripe for execution.

JUNIUS SILANUS and SILIUS NERVA being Consuls, the year began tragically: TITIUS SABINUS an illustrious Roman Knight was hurried to prison; his crime a constant friendship for GERMANICUS; whose wife and children, he only of all his followers, never ceas'd to reverence, never ceas'd to frequent them at home, never to attend them

them in publick: a constancy applauded by the good, and grievous to their persecutors. There combin'd against him LATINIUS LATIARIS, PORCIUS CATO, PETILIUS RUFUS and MARCUS OPSIUS, who having been all Pretors, were now all passionate for the Consulship, to which there was no access but by SEJANUS, and the kindness of SEJANUS to be purchas'd only by iniquity. It was settled amongst them that LATIARIS, who had a small acquaintance with SABINUS, should manage the guile, the rest be witnesses, and then all together begin the accusation. LATIARIS therefore accosted him at first with occasional discourse, and then proceeded to praise his constancy, "that he had not, like others, been only a friend to that family, when in its glory, and deserted it in affliction." He at the same time spoke noble things of GERMANICUS, and bewail'd AGRIPPINA. This affected SABINUS; and, as the human soul is soften'd by calamity and sorrow, he burst into tears and complaints; and, being heated, inveigh'd daringly against SEJANUS, his cruelty, his pride, his traiterous designs; nor, in truth, did TIBERIUS escape his invectives. And now, as if they had mutually trusted each other with matters secret and forbidden, this their conversation created a shew of close friendship: so that SABINUS henceforward sought out LATIARIS, frequented his house, and carried to him, as to a most faithful confidant, all his griefs and discontents.

THE next consultation was how to have these complaints and invectives utter'd in the hearing of all four: for, the place in which they met to over-hear, must retain a solemn look of secrecy; and if they stood behind the door, there was danger of being spied; or their own noise might discover them, or perhaps some sudden apprehension might tempt SABINUS to inspect. They therefore chose the void over head, between the roof of the house and the covering of the room. Into this lurking hole thrust themselves three Roman Senators; a concealment as vile, as the treachery for which they did it, was execrable, and there basely listen'd, with their ears laid to the chafms and crannies. LATIARIS the while found out SABINUS abroad, and, as if full of some late disco-

veries which he meant to recount, drew him home, and into the subdolous chamber: there he display'd the past and instant cruelties (for of both there was abundant store) with an accumulation too of fresh and impending terrors. SABINUS was warm'd; he took up his former detail and resentments, and even with greater prolixity; as the discharges of grief once broach'd, are with difficulty restrain'd. This was enough: the accusation was forthwith dispatch'd; and in a written Memorial to TIBERIUS, these Senators open'd the order and dexterity of the fraud, and made him a narrative of their own detestable infamy. At no time was the city ever seiz'd with deeper anxiety and dread: one relation fear'd another: men were afraid to meet, afraid to discourse: silence and distrust extended to strangers and acquaintance, and both were equally avoided: even things dumb and inanimate, roofs and walls, rais'd terror and circumspection.

THE Emperor sent presently a Letter to the Senate, and after the usual complement and wish at the entrance of the new year, fell upon SABINUS: he charg'd him with "having corrupted some of his servants, and aim'd at "his own life;" and in words no wise obscure, requir'd vengeance. The condemnation pass'd without delay, and the condemn'd was dragg'd away to instant death. His head was muffled in his robe, and his throat girt with a rope; but, as far as he could exert his voice, he cried, "that with these solemnities the year began; and such "were the victims slain to SEJANUS. Which ever way he cast his eyes, whither soever he directed his words, nought appear'd but the effects of universal terror, namely, flight and solitude: all along, as he pass'd, the people disappear'd, the streets were empty, the publick places deserted: there were some who having fled, return'd, and again shew'd themselves; dreading this very thing, that they had discover'd dread. "What day, they cried, "will be free from executions? when even in the midst "of publick assemblies, in the midst of vows and sacrifices; a time when custom has establish'd a forbearance "even from profane words, fetters and halters are yet "exercis'd? it is not at random that TIBERIUS has thus "done an action so publickly odious: it is a studied ar-
"tifice.

“ tifice. He would not be thought to debar the new
 “ Magistrates from their ancient privilege of opening the
 “ prisons as well as the Temples: SABINUS is therefore,
 “ during the Festival, executed without imprisonment.”
 There follow’d his Letter of thanks to the Senate, “ for
 “ having punish’d an enemy to the Commonwealth:” he
 added, “ that he liv’d a life of fear and sollicitude; in
 “ constant apprehensions of the snares of his enemies;”
 but nam’d none: however it was no wise doubted that
 AGRIPPINA and NERO were design’d.

WERE it not my purpose to refer the several incidents
 to their proper year; my spirit longs to postpone the
 immediate events, and instantly to relate the just doom
 of LATIARIS, OPSIUS, and the other contrivers of this
 perfidious wickedness, not only after CALIGULA came to
 the Empire, but even while TIBERIUS yet reign’d; who,
 tho’ he would not suffer the ministers of his cruelties to
 be crush’d by others; yet, as he generally became sur-
 feited with their infamy; and as fresh ones daily offer’d
 for the same vile services, was himself wont to hew down
 the old and over odious: but, we shall in its order re-
 member the severe fate of these and other sons of blood.
 Now ASINIUS GALLUS, to whose children AGRIPPINA
 was aunt, mov’d “ that the Prince should be desir’d to
 “ explain his fears, and suffer the Senate to remove the
 “ causes.” TIBERIUS was fonder of his dissimulation
 than of all his other virtues; for such he conceiv’d it:
 he therefore took it the more heinously to find thus laid
 open what he anxiously smother’d: but SEJANUS molli-
 fied him; not from any love to GALLUS; but to wait
 the lingering gradations of the Prince’s vengeance: for,
 he knew him slow in ripening his wrath; but that after
 the first eruption, he would be sure to link tragical exe-
 cutions to sad denunciations. About the same time died
 JULIA, grand-daughter to AUGUSTUS; by him condemn’d
 for adultery, and banish’d to the Island Trimetus, not
 far from the coast of Apulia. She there suffer’d exile
 twenty years, sustain’d by relief from AUGUSTA, who
 having by dark devices dispatch’d, in the midst of their
 hopes and glory, CAIUS and LUCIUS, the brothers of
 JULIA, made a publick shew of compassion towards others
 of the family when under the pressures of adversity.

THE same year the Frisians, a people beyond the Rhine, rebell'd; rather enrag'd by our avarice, than impatient of allegiance. The tribute laid on them by DRUSUS was easy, and suited to their poor substance; namely, "to furnish certain hides for the uses of the soldiers." Nor did any one think or insist on the particular size or thickness, till OLENNIUS an officer sent to govern them, having procur'd the large hides of some wild bulls, demanded that according to that measure the tribute should be paid: a hard task even upon any nation; and to the Germans the more intolerable, as their forests abound in beasts of mighty bulk, and their domestick cattle are very small. Yet they bore a series of oppressions; first they parted with the herds themselves, next they resign'd their lands, last of all they surrender'd their wives and children to bondage. Hence much bitterness and anguish, and sad complaints: but as these brought no relaxation; being grown desperate they sought relief from war. At once they rush'd upon the soldiers appointed over the tribute, and hang'd them on gibbets: OLENNIUS by flight prevented their vengeance, and found sanctuary in a neighbouring castle, its name Flevum, situate on the sea coast, and garrison'd by a stout band of soldiers, Romans and Auxiliaries.

LUCIUS APRONIUS, Governor of the lower Germany, as soon as he was appriz'd of the insurrection, call'd down from the upper province, some companies of the Legions with the choice auxiliary foot and horse; and, carrying his army down the Rhine, made a descent on the Frisians; the revoltors having now abandon'd the siege of the castle, and march'd back to cover their own country: he therefore, by bridges and causeways laid over the neighbouring fens, render'd them passable to the body of his forces; and the mean while, having discover'd certain fordable places, he commanded the cavalry of the Caninefates and all the German foot in our pay, to surround the rear of the enemy; who being already drawn up in battle, repuls'd the social troops and even some Legionary horse sent to support them: so that a fresh aid was order'd of three Cohorts; and then two more; and, after some space, the whole cavalry of the Legions: forces sufficient

ficient, had they fallen on in a body; but as they advanced by intervals, they not only inspir'd no fresh courage into those who were already disorder'd, but were themselves carried away by the fright of such as fled. To CETHEGUS LABEO therefore, Legate of the fifth Legion, he committed all the rest of the auxiliary troops: but he too being hardly beset, and his men in danger of giving way, dispatch'd messengers to implore the intire force of the Legions: those of the fifth ran before the rest to his relief, and, in a sharp encounter, repulsing the foe, protected our Cohorts and Cavalry, much enfeebled with wounds. The Roman General neither pursued his vengeance, nor even buried the dead; tho' many Tribunes, many horse Officers, and many Centurions of the first rank, were slain. It was afterwards learnt from deserters, that nine hundred Romans, having the whole night long defended themselves in the wood call'd Baduhenna, were every man cut off; and that another band of four hundred, having possess'd themselves of a seat of one CRUPTORIX, once our tributary, and coming to fear being deliver'd into the hands of the enemy, had fallen by the hands of one another.

HENCE the name of the Frisians became renown'd amongst the Germans; whilst TIBERIUS dissembled the publick loss, that he might trust no man with the conduct of the war: for the Senate; it was no part of their anxiety, what disgraces were receiv'd on the extremities of the Empire: domestick terror had possess'd their souls; a distemper for which they sought a cure from flattery: infomuch, that tho' they met upon far different deliberations, yet they decreed "an Altar to Clemency; an Altar to Friendship; and round them the Statues of TIBERIUS and SEJANUS;" and, with repeated supplications, importun'd both "that they would please to afford their presence to the publick." But, with all these entreaties, they neither visited Rome, nor the neighbourhood of Rome: to them, it seem'd condescension sufficient, just to leave the Island, and suffer themselves to be seen on the shore of Campania: thither crowded the Senators, the Knights and great part of the people; all solicitous for admission to SEJANUS, who was harder of access than

the Emperor; nor was it at all to be obtain'd but by being confederate with him in his counsels and pursuits; or by courting those that were. It was abundantly apparent that his natural arrogance was exalted, from surveying that filthy host of slaves, spread all abroad, and crouching before him: for, at Rome the throng of sycophants were not so distinctly perceiv'd: the greatness of the City, the ordinary hurry of men, and variety of affairs, render'd it uncertain whither they went, or whence they came. But here, they appear'd in a body, the noble and mean, lying along on the fields and shores, days and nights, no distinction of ranks, the business of all the same; and bore with equal patience the favour and insults of his porters; till they were finally forbid to apply even to these: so that all, whom he condescended not to see; others whom he daign'd not to speak to, return'd to the City struck and trembling; but some exulting with deceitful joy, as over them hung the dreadful issue of his tragical friendship.

For the rest; TIBERIUS having here betroth'd to CNEIUS DOMITIUS the younger AGRIPPINA, his granddaughter by GERMANICUS, order'd the nuptials to be celebrated at Rome. In DOMITIUS he prefer'd, besides the antiquity of his family, his near kindred to the CÆSARS; for OCTAVIA being his grand-mother, AUGUSTUS was his great uncle.

FIFTH ANNAL.

IN the Consulship of RUBELLIUS and FUSIUS, each firnam'd GEMINUS, died JULIA AUGUSTA, the Mother of TIBERIUS, in the extremity of age. She was descended from the Claudian house; adopted through her father into the Livian family; into the Julian by AUGUSTUS; and both by adoption and descent, signally noble: her first marriage was with TIBERIUS NERO; and by him she had children: her husband, after the surrender of Perugia, in the Civil War became a fugitive; but, upon peace made between SEXTUS POMPEIUS and the Triumvirate, return'd to Rome. Afterwards, OCTAVIUS CESAR smitten with her beauty, snatch'd her from her husband; whether with or against her own inclinations, is uncertain; but with such precipitation, that, without staying for her delivery, he married her yet big with child by TIBERIUS. Henceforward she had no issue; but, by the marriage of GERMANICUS and AGRIPPINA, her blood came to be mixt with that of AUGUSTUS in their great grand-children. In her domestick deportment she conform'd to the venerable model of antiquity; but with more complaisance than was allow'd by the Ladies of old: an easy courteous wife, an ambitious mother, and well comporting with the nice arts of her husband, and the dissimulation of her son: her funeral was moderate, and her last will lay long unfulfill'd: her encomium was pronounc'd in publick by CALIGULA, her grand-son, afterwards Emperor.

TIBERIUS by a Letter excus'd himself to the Senate for not having paid his last offices to his Mother; and, tho' he rioted in private luxury without abatement, pleaded "the multitude of publick affairs." He likewise abridg'd the honours decreed to her memory, and, of a large number, admitted but very few: for this restriction he pretended modesty, and added, "that no religious worship should be appointed her; for that the contrary was her own choice." Nay, in a part of the same Letter, he censur'd *feminine friendships*; obliquely upbraiding

braiding the Consul FUSIUS, a man highly distinguish'd by the favour of AUGUSTA, and dexterous to engage and cajole the affections of women; a gay talker, and one accustomed to play upon TIBERIUS with biting sarcasms; the impressions of which never die in the hearts of Princes.

FROM this moment, the domination wax'd compleatly outrageous and devouring: for while she liv'd, some refuge still remain'd, as the observance of TIBERIUS towards his Mother was ever inviolate; nor durst SEJANUS arrogate precedence of the authority of a parent: but now, as let loose from all restraint, they broke out with unbridled fury: so that Letters were dispatch'd avowedly against AGRIPPINA and NERO; and as they were read in the Senate soon after the death of AUGUSTA, the people believ'd them to have been sent before and by her suppress'd. The expressions were elaborately bitter; and yet by them no hostile purpose of taking arms, no endeavour to change the state, was objected to the youth; but only "the love of boys, and other impure pleasures:" against AGRIPPINA he durst not even feign so much; and therefore arraign'd "her haughty looks, her impetuous and stubborn spirit." The Senate were struck with deep silence and affright: but as particular men will always be drawing personal favour from publick miseries, there were some who, having no hopes founded upon uprightness, demanded that "they should proceed upon the "Letters:" amongst these the formost in zeal was COTTA MESSALINUS, with a terrible motion: but, the other leading men, and chiefly the Magistrates, were embarrass'd by fear; for TIBERIUS, tho' he had sent them a flaming invective, left all the rest a riddle.

IN the Senate was one JUNIUS RUSTICUS, appointed by the Emperor to keep a Journal of their proceedings, and therefore thought well acquainted with his purposes. This man, by some fatal impulse (for he had never before shewn any instance of magnanimity) or blinded by deceitful policy, while forgetful of present and impending dangers, he dreaded future possibilities, join'd the party that hesitated, and even warn'd the Consuls, "not
" to begin the debate:" he argued "that in a short mo-

“ ment the highest affairs might take a new turn: and
 “ an interval ought to be allow’d to the old man to
 “ change his passion into remorse.” At the same time,
 the people, carrying with them the Images of AGRIP-
 PINA and NERO, gather’d about the Senate, and pro-
 claiming their good wishes for the prosperity of the Em-
 peror, cried earnestly, “ that the Letters were counterfeit;
 “ and, against the consent of the Prince, the doom of
 “ his family was pursued:” so that nothing tragical was
 that day transacted. There were also dispers’d amongst
 them several speeches, said to have been utter’d in Senate
 by the Consulars, as their motions and advices against SE-
 JANUS; but all fram’d, and with the more petulance as
 the several authors exercis’d their satyrical wit in the dark.
 Hence SEJANUS boil’d with greater rage, and hence had
 a handle for branding the Senate, “ that by them the an-
 “ guish and resentments of the Prince were despis’d: the
 “ people were revolted; popular and disaffected harangues
 “ were publickly read and listen’d to: new and arbitrary
 “ acts of Senate were pass’d and publish’d: what more
 “ remain’d, but to arm the populace and place at their
 “ head, as leaders and Imperial Commanders, those whose
 “ Images they had already chosen for standards?”

TIBERIUS having therefore repeated his reproaches
 against his grand-son and daughter-in-law: having chaf-
 tis’d the people by an edict, and complain’d to the Se-
 nate, “ that by the fraud of a single Senator the Impe-
 “ rial dignity should be battled and insulted, requir’d
 “ that the whole affair should be left to himself, intire
 “ and untouch’d.” The Senate hesitated no longer, but
 instantly proceeded, not now in truth to decree penalties
 and capital vengeance; for that was forbid them; but to
 testify “ how ready they were to inflict just punishments,
 “ and that they were only interrupted by the power and
 “ pleasure of the Prince.” * * * * *

[HERE begins a lamentable chasm in this Annal for al-
 most three years; and by it we have lost the detail of the
 most remarkable incidents in this reign, the exile of AGRIP-
 PINA into the Isle of Pandataria; of NERO into that of
 Pontia; and the murder of both there by the orders of TI-

BERIUS; *the conspiracy and execution of SEJANUS, with that of all his friends and dependents: the further wickedness of LIVIA, and her death.*

*** UPON this subject four and forty speeches were made; some few upright, but cramp'd by fear; many suited to the fervile genius of the time *****
 “ I judg'd that either upon my self it would bring in-
 “ famy, or upon SEJANUS hatred *** his fortune has
 “ now suffer'd a mighty turn; and he who even chose
 “ him for his son-in-law, chose him for his colleague, for-
 “ gives himself. For others; as they flatter'd his living
 “ pride with the vileness and prostitution of slaves; they
 “ now pursue him dead, with the fury of base enemies
 “ *** which is the more wretched fate, I can hardly
 “ decide; that of accusing a friend, or of being accus'd
 “ for shewing him friendship *** I shall risque no man's
 “ cruelty, I shall court no man's mercy; but, free as I
 “ am, and approv'd to my own conscience, will master
 “ danger by preventing it. As to all you present; I adjure
 “ you that you do not preserve my memory in sorrow, but
 “ rejoice over it, and add me too to the number of those
 “ who, by a noble end, have escap'd the sad view of
 “ publick miseries.”

HE then spent part of the day in conversation with those that came to see him; receiv'd one, took leave of another, talk'd to all indifferently, as they stood about him, with perfect calmness and presence of spirit. A throng of company yet remain'd, and, while they all beheld his countenance still easy and void of perturbation, and thence believ'd that he meant to live some longer space, he fell upon a sword which under his robe he had conceal'd. Nor did TIBERIUS, after his death, persecute his memory with any reproach, or blacken him with any crime: whereas he had loaded BLESUS with many and hideous imputations.

NEXT were tried PUBLIUS VITELLIUS, and POM-
 PONIUS SECUNDUS. The former was charg'd by the
 informers, “ that as he presided over the exchequer, he
 “ had offer'd the publick treasure, and the whole mili-
 “ tary chest towards compassing a revolution.” To the

other, his accuser CONSIDIUS, lately Pretor, objected
 “ the friendship of ELIUS GALLUS, who, after the exe-
 “ cution of SEJANUS, had fled to the gardens of POM-
 “ PONIUS, as to a most faithful shelter.” Against the
 impending peril there remain’d to neither of the accus’d
 any aid but from the magnanimity of their brothers, who
 frankly became their sureties. However in some time,
 VITELLIUS, after many delays alike distracted with the
 flipperiness of hope and the agonies of fear, call’d for a
 pen-knife under pretence of writing, and with it prick’d
 his veins, but timorously and without effect; so that at
 last he died broken hearted. POMPONIUS, a man of
 great elegance of manners, and noble wit, bore with
 equanimity his adverse fortune, and out-liv’d TIBERIUS.

Now tho’ the rage of the populace was expiring, and
 tho’ most men were mollified by former executions; it
 was determin’d to condemn the other children of SEJA-
 NUS. They were therefore carried both to prison, the
 boy sensible of his impending doom; but the girl so ig-
 norant, that she frequently ask’d; “ for what offence?
 “ and whither did they drag her? she would do so no
 “ more; and they might take the rod and whip her.”
 The Writers of that time relate, “ that as it was a thing
 “ unheard, for a virgin to suffer capital punishment, she
 “ was deflower’d by the executioner just before he tied
 “ the rope; and that being both strangled, the tender
 “ bodies of these children were cast into the place where
 “ the carcases of malefactors are expos’d, before they are
 “ flung into the Tiber.” * * * * *

ABOUT the same time Greece and Asia were dismay’d
 by a rumour rather vehement than lasting; “ that DRU-
 “ SUS the son of GERMANICUS had been seen in the
 “ Cyclades, and anon upon the Continent.” It was in-
 deed a youth near of the same age, accompanied by some
 of the Emperor’s freedmen, who, while they own’d him
 for DRUSUS, meant to ensnare him. His followers were
 multiplied by the splendour of the name, a lure which
 excited such as were ignorant about him; as the Greeks
 are ever passionate for all things new and wonderful.

THEY therefore imagin’d, and believing their own ima-
 ginations, they at the same time publish’d, “ that he had
 “ escap’d

“ escap’d from custody and was proceeding to the armies
 “ of his father, with them to subdue Syria or Egypt.”
 Already he was strengthen’d by the confluence of the
 young men, already courted with publick honours, and elated
 in himself with the present success and fostering airy hopes,
 when the story reach’d POPPEUS SABINUS. He was at
 that juncture engag’d in Macedon, tho’ likewise Gover-
 nor of Greece: to obviate therefore the consequences of
 the rumour, true or false, he hastily pass’d the bay of
 Toronis and that of Thermes; next Eubœa, an Island of
 the Egean Sea, and Piræum the port of Athens; then
 the coast of Corinth, and the Streights of the Isthmus;
 and, by another sea, enter’d Nicopolis a Roman colony:
 there at last he learnt, that this counterfeit DRUSUS be-
 ing artfully question’d, had declar’d himself the son of
 MARCUS SILANUS; and that many of his followers hav-
 ing fallen off he had embark’d, as if he meant to sail
 to Italy. SABINUS sent this account to TIBERIUS, and
 further than this we have found nothing of the origin or
 issue of that affair.

TOWARDS the conclusion of the year, the animosity
 of the Consuls, which had been long heightning, broke
 out into a flame: for, TRIO ever forward to create him-
 self enemies, and an exercis’d pleader, had obliquely cen-
 sur’d “ REGULUS, as slothful in crushing the instruments
 “ of SEJANUS.” The last, a man moderate and inoffen-
 sive, unless provok’d, not only repuls’d the charge of his
 colleague, but arraign’d him as confederate with that trai-
 tor, and even summon’d him to his trial: many Senators
 interpos’d; and besought them, that each would drop
 his hate tending to the overthrow of both, but they per-
 sisted threatning and incens’d to the expiration of their Ma-
 gistracy.

S I X T H A N N A L.

CNEIUS DOMITIUS and CAMILLUS SCRIBONIANUS had begun their Consulship, when the Emperor, having cross'd the channel between Capreæ and Surrentum, sail'd along the shore of Campania; unresolv'd whether he should proceed to Rome; or counterfeiting a shew of coming, because he had determin'd not to come. He often approach'd to the neighbourhood of the City, and even visited the Gardens upon the Tiber; but at last resumed his old retirement, the gloomy rocks and solitude of the sea, ashamed of his cruelties, and abominable lusts; in which he rioted so outrageously, that after the fashion of Royal Tyrants, the children of ingenuous parentage became the objects of his pollution: nor in them was he struck with a lovely face only, or the graces of their persons; but in some their amiable and childish innocence, in others their nobility and the glory of their ancestors, became the provocatives of his unnatural passion. Then likewise were devis'd the filthy names, till then unknown, of the *Sellarii* and *Spintriae*, expressing the odious lewdness of the place, and the manifold postures and methods of prostitution practis'd in it. For supplying his lust with these innocent victims, he entertain'd, in his service profess'd procurers, to look them out and carry them off. The willing they encourag'd with presents, the backward they terrified with threats; and upon such parents or kindred as with-held the infants, they exercis'd force, seizure, and, as upon so many captives, every species of licentious rage.

At Rome in the beginning of the year, as if the iniquities of LIVIA had been but just discover'd, and not even long since punished, furious orders were pass'd against her Statues too and memory; with another, "that the effects of SEJANUS should be taken from the publick treasury, and plac'd in that of the Emperor:" as if this vain translation could any wise avail the state. And yet such was the motion of these great names, the SCIPIOS, the SILANI, and the CASSII; who urg'd it, each almost in the same words, but all with mighty zeal and

earnestness: when all on a sudden, TAGONIUS GAL-
 LUS, while he would be thrusting his own meanness
 amongst names so greatly illustrious, became the object
 of derision: for he besought the Prince “ to chuse a body
 “ of Senators of whom twenty, drawn by lot and under
 “ arms, should wait upon him and defend his person, as often
 “ as he enter’d the Senate.” He had been weak enough
 to credit a Letter from the Emperor, requiring “ the
 “ guard and protection of one of the Consuls, that he
 “ might return in safety from Capreæ to Rome.” TI-
 BERIUS however return’d thanks to the Senate for such
 an instance of affection; but as he was wont to mix
 pleasantry with things serious, he ask’d, “ how was it to be
 “ executed? what Senators were to be chosen? who to
 “ be omitted? whether always the same, or a continued
 “ succession? whether young Senators, or such as had
 “ borne dignities? whether those who were Magistrates,
 “ or those exercising no Magistracy? moreover what a
 “ becoming figure they would make, grave Senators,
 “ men of the gown, under arms at the entrance of the
 “ Senate! in truth he held not his life of such impor-
 “ tance, to have it thus protected by arms.” So much
 in answer to TAGONIUS, without asperity of words; nor
 did he farther, than this, press them to cancell the mo-
 tion.

But JUNIUS GALLIO escap’d not thus. He had pro-
 pos’d “ that the Pretorian soldiers, having accomplish’d
 “ their term of service, should thence acquire the privi-
 “ lege of sitting in the fourteen rows of the Theatre al-
 “ lotted to the Roman Knights.” Upon him TIBERIUS
 fell with violent wrath, and, as if present, demanded,
 “ what business had he with the soldiers? men whose
 “ duty bound them to observe only the orders of the Em-
 “ peror, and from the Emperor alone to receive their
 “ rewards. GALLIO had forsooth discover’d a recom-
 “ pense which had escap’d the sagacity of the deified
 “ AUGUSTUS! Or was it not rather a project started by
 “ a mercenary of SEJANUS, to raise sedition and discord;
 “ a project tending to debauch the rude minds of the
 “ soldiers with the shew and bait of new honour; to cor-
 “ rupt their discipline, and set them loose from military
 “ restrictions?”

“ restrictions ?” This reward had the studied flattery of GALLIO; who was instantly expell’d the Senate, and then Italy: nay it became a charge upon him, that his exile would be too easy, having for the place of it chosen Lesbos, an Island noble and delightful; he was therefore haled back to Rome and confin’d a prisoner in the house of a Magistrate. TIBERIUS in the same Letter demanded the doom of SEXTUS PACONIANUS, formerly Pretor, to the extreme joy of the Senate, as he was a man bold and mischievous, one arm’d with snares, and continually diving into the purposes and secret transactions of all men; and one chosen by SEJANUS, for plotting the overthrow of CALIGULA. When this was now laid open, the general hate and animosities long since conceiv’d against him, broke violently out, and had he not offer’d to make a discovery, he had been instantly condemn’d to death.

As the person he arraign’d, prov’d to be LATINUS LATIARIS; the accuser and the accus’d, two men equally detested, administer’d a most grateful scene. LATIARIS, as I have remember’d, had been the chief in betraying TITUS SABINUS, and was now the first that suffer’d. During these transactions HATERIUS AGRIPPA encounter’d the Consuls of the preceding year:” how came they “ to be silent now; they who had impeach’d each other “ of treason then? in truth, common dread and consciences equally guilty, ought to be reckon’d the bonds “ and articles of their present cessation. But the fathers “ must not pass unobserv’d what from themselves they “ had heard.” It was answer’d by REGULUS, “ that there “ still remain’d time to procure punishment, and he would “ do it effectually when the Prince should be present.” TRIO pleaded “ the usual emulation between colleagues; “ and that what they two had utter’d in the heat of “ diffention, were better blotted out of remembrance.” AGRIPPA still persisting, SANQUINIUS MAXIMUS, one of the Consulars, besought the Senate, “ that they would “ not thus heighten the anxieties of the Emperor, by “ wantonly hunting after matter of fresh asperity; and “ that, where remedies were wanting, he alone was abundantly sufficient to apply them.” Thus was safety procur’d to REGULUS, and to TRIO a delay of his doom.

For

For HATERIUS; he became the more detested, since emaciated with debauches and lubricity, and protected by his voluptuous sloth against all peril from the Prince's cruelty, he meditated in the midst of cups and harlots the destruction of illustrious men.

THE next impeach'd was COTTA MESSALINUS, the author of every the most bloody counsel, and thence long and intensely hated. The first opportunity was therefore snatch'd to fall upon him with a combination of crimes; as that he had call'd CAIUS CALIGULA by the feminine name of *Caia Caligula*, and branded him with constuprations of both kinds; that when he celebrated among the priests the birth day of AUGUSTA, he had stil'd the entertainment a *funeral supper*; and that complaining of the great sway of MARCUS LEPIDUS, and of LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS, with whom he had a suite about money, he had added; "they indeed will be supported by the Senate, but I by my little TIBERIUS." Of all this he stood expos'd to conviction by men of the first rank in Rome; who being earnest to attack him, he appeal'd to CESAR: from whom soon after a Letter was brought in behalf of COTTA; in it he recounted "the beginning of their friendship," repeated "his many good services to himself," and desir'd "that words perversly construed, and humorous tales told at an entertainment, might not be wrested into crimes."

MOST remarkable was the beginning of that Letter; for in these words he introduc'd it: "What to write you, " Conscript Fathers, or in what manner to write, or what " at all not to write at this instant; if I can determine, " may all the Deities, Gods and Goddeffes, doom me " still to more cruel agonies than those under which I " feel my self perishing daily." So closely did the bloody horror of his cruelties and infamy haunt this man of blood, and became his torturers! Nor was it at random what the wisest of all men was wont to affirm, that if the hearts of Tyrants were display'd, in them might be seen deadly wounds and gorings, and all the butcheries of fear and rage; seeing what the severity of stripes is to the body, the same to the soul is the bitter anguish of cruelty, lust, and execrable pursuits. To TIBERIUS

not his Imperial fortune, not his gloomy and inaccessible solitudes could ensure tranquillity; nor exempt him from feeling and even avowing the rack in his breast and the avenging furies that pursued him.

AFTER this it was left to the discretion of the Senate to proceed as they listed against CECILIANUS the Senator, "who had loaded COTTA with many imputations;" and it was resolv'd, "to subject him to the same penalties inflicted upon ARUSEIUS and SANQUINIUS, the accusers of LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS." A more signal instance of honour than this had never befallen COTTA; who noble in truth, but through luxury indigent, and, for the baseness of his crimes, detestable, was by the dignity of this amends equall'd in character to the most venerable reputation and virtues of ARRUNTIUS. Thereafter were arraign'd QUINTUS SERVEUS and MINUTIUS THERMUS; SERVEUS formerly Pretor and once the follower of GERMANICUS; MINUTIUS, of the Equestrian rank, and tho' distinguish'd, yet never elated, with the friendship of SEJANUS: hence the greater commiseration upon both. TIBERIUS on the contrary charg'd them "as the leaders and principals in treason," and directed CAIUS CESTIUS the elder "to declare to the Senate what he had written to him." Thus SESTIUS undertook the accusation. This was the most pestilent calamity of those times, when the illustrious chiefs of the Senate degraded themselves to the vile office of the meanest informers: some in the face of the sun, many in the treacherous ways of secrecy; and both without regard to the ties of blood or friendship; no distinction of kinsmen from strangers; none of the familiar from the unacquainted; no means left to discover, whether for recent imputations, or for facts cover'd in a course of years with oblivion. For words spoken in the Forum, spoken at entertainments, upon what subject soever spoken, the speakers were accus'd; every one striving to get the start of another, and to arraign his man; some for their own protection; but most as it were smitten with the disease of informing, and captivated with a common contagion. MINUTIUS and SERVEUS were condemn'd; but to save themselves became evidence: and thus were drawn into the

same mishap JULIUS AFRICANUS and SEIUS QUADRATUS; the former from Saintes a City of Gaul; from whence was the other I have not discover'd. Neither am I unaware that by most Writers the doom and sufferings of many of the accus'd, are wholly omitted; either weary of the excessive multiplicity, or apprehensive that the tedious recital, which to themselves prov'd surfeiting and melancholy, would with equal irksomeness affect their readers. But to me many peculiar passages have occur'd deserving to be known, however not publish'd by others.

FOR, at a juncture when all men else affected to renounce the character of friends to SEJANUS; a Roman Knight, his name MARCUS TERENCEIUS, and then upon his trial on this very account, dar'd to avow it before the Senate in a speech on this wise: " in my present circumstances, to deny the charge were perhaps more expedient than to acknowledge it: but, whatever be the result, I will own that I was the friend of SEJANUS, that I even sought to be his friend, and gloried in it when I had gain'd his friendship. I saw him colleague with his father STRABO in the command of the Pretorian Cohorts, and next governing the state and the soldiery at once as a Minister and a General. His kinsmen and friends were cover'd with publick honours; and prevalent with the Prince was every man's credit in proportion to his intimacy with SEJANUS. Those, on the contrary, under his displeasure, were the despairing objects of persecution and wretchedness. Names and instances I bring none: but with my self I will vindicate, and at my own single peril, all those friends of his, who, like my self, were guiltless of his last designs. SEJANUS the Vulfinian was not the man whom we courted: no; for the object of our adorations we chose SEJANUS a part of the Claudian, a part of the Julian house, into which by alliance he was ingrafted; SEJANUS thy son-in-law, O CESAR; thy colleague in the Consulship, and that SEJANUS who under thee administer'd the Empire. To us it belongs not to judge who is he whom above all others thou dost exalt, nor for what causes thou hast exalted him. Upon thee the Gods have devolv'd the supreme disposal of things, and

" to

“ to us remains the glory of obedience. Facts and things
 “ obvious we all behold: we perceive who it is upon
 “ whom thou dost accumulate wealth and honours; who
 “ they are that hold and distribute the supreme terrors
 “ and blessings of power: and that all these were the
 “ characteristicks of SEJANUS, no man will deny. But
 “ to pry into the profound thoughts of the Prince, and
 “ the counsels which he industriously hides, is for-
 “ bidden and hazardous, nor even with hazard can it
 “ be effected. Let not, Conscript Fathers, the last day of
 “ SEJANUS possess your minds; that was the day of his
 “ fall; remember him for a longer space, the space of
 “ sixteen years prosperous and powerful: a time when we
 “ ador’d even such of his retainers as SATURIUS and POM-
 “ PONIUS, and to be then acquainted with his porters
 “ and franchiz’d slaves, was esteem’d a grand honour.
 “ What therefore is the result? is this defence universal,
 “ and does it serve indifferently all the friends of SEJA-
 “ NUS? far from it: let just limits bound it. Let the
 “ conspiracy against the state; let the bloody designs upon
 “ the Prince, be punish’d: as to the offices of friendship,
 “ as to the instances of benevolence towards SEJANUS;
 “ the same measure of justice will acquit thee CESAR,
 “ and us.”

THE magnanimity of the speech, added to the joy,
 that one was at last found, who reason’d aloud as in their
 hearts they did all, produc’d such powerful effect, that
 his accusers were for this and other delinquencies, sentenced
 to banishment or death. Thereafter follow’d Letters from
 TIBERIUS against SEXTUS VESTILIUS formerly Pretor;
 one whom he had long since, as a man exceeding dear
 to his brother DRUSUS, adopted into the class of his
 friends. The displeasure conceiv’d against him arose from
 his either having compos’d an invective against the impu-
 rities of CALIGULA; or from his having been calumniat-
 ed to have done it, which being believ’d, he was forbid
 the Prince’s table, and thence purpos’d to die. Having
 with an aged hand tried the steel, and feebly pierced his
 veins, he bound them up, and by a Memorial besought
 TIBERIUS; but receiving a merciless answer, open’d them
 again for ever. Next were charg’d with treason, all in
 a band,

a band, ANNIUS POLLIO, APPIUS SILANUS, MAMERCUS SCAURUS, CALVISIUS SABINUS, and VINICIANUS added to his father POLLIO; a band of illustrious men, all noble in descent, some distinguish'd with the first dignities. Horror seiz'd the fathers; for what Senator was exempt from friendship or alliance with so many men of such signal quality? but one of the evidence, his name CELSUS, Tribune of a City-Cohort, acquitted APPIUS and CALVISIUS: the trial of POLLIO, VINICIANUS, and SCAURUS was by the Emperor postpon'd till he could himself attend it in Senate. Upon SCAURUS however he bestow'd some tragical and boding notes of vengeance.

NOR could even women escape the rage of accusations. With designs to usurp the government they could not be charg'd; their tears are therefore made treason, and VITIA, Mother to FUSIUS GEMINUS, once Consul, sentenced to execution in old age, for bewailing the blood of her son. These were the proceedings in Senate: nor was the Emperor employ'd elsewhere in different strains of cruelty: by him VESULARIUS FLACCUS and JULIUS MARINUS were doom'd to death; two of his oldest friends, men who had follow'd him to Rhodes, and never forsook him at Capreæ. VESULARIUS was his secret inter-agent in the plot against LIBO; and by the co-operation of MARINUS had SEJANUS effected the ruin of CURTIUS ATTICUS. Hence the more joy follow'd their fall, to see them overtaken by precedents of their own traiterous contriving. About the same time died LUCIUS PISO, the Pontiff; and, by a felicity, then rare in so much splendour and elevation, died by the course of nature. The author he never himself was of any servile motion, and ever wise in moderating such motions from others, where necessity enforced his assent. That his father had sustain'd the sublime office of Censor, I have before remember'd: he himself liv'd to fourscore years, and for his warlike feats in Thrace, had obtain'd the glory of Triumph. But from hence arose his most distinguish'd glory, that being created Governor of Rome, a jurisdiction newly instituted, and the more difficult, as not yet settled into publick reverence, he temper'd it wonderfully and possess'd it long.

For, of old, to supply the absence of the Kings, and afterwards of the Consuls, that the City might not remain without a ruler, a temporary Magistrate was appointed to administer justice, and watch over exigencies: and it is said that by ROMULUS was deputed DENTER ROMULIUS; NUMA MARCIUS by TULLUS HOSTILIUS; and by TARQUIN the proud, SPURIUS LUCRETIUS. The same delegation was made by the Consuls; and there remains still a shadow of the old institution, when during the Latin Festival, one is authoriz'd to discharge the Consular function. Moreover, AUGUSTUS during the Civil Wars, committed to CILNIUS MECENAS of the Equestrian Order, the Government of Rome and of all Italy. Afterwards, when sole master of the Empire, and mov'd by the immense multitude of people and the slowness of relief from the Laws, he chose a Consular to bridle the licentiousness of the slaves, and to awe such turbulent citizens as are only quiet from the dread of chastisement. MESSALA CORVINUS was the first invested with this authority, and in a few days dismiss'd, as a man insufficient to discharge it. It was then fill'd by TAURUS STATILIUS, who, tho' very ancient, sustain'd it with signal honour. After him PISO held it for twenty years, with a credit so high and uninterrupted, that he was distinguish'd with a publick funeral, by decree of the Senate.

A motion was thereafter made in Senate by QUINCTILIANUS, Tribune of the people, concerning a Book of the Sybil, which CANINIUS GALLUS, one of the College of fifteen, had pray'd " might be receiv'd by a decree " amongst the rest of that Prophetess." The Decree pass'd without opposition, but was follow'd by Letters from TIBERIUS. In them having gently chid the Tribune, " as " young and therefore unskill'd in the ancient usages," he upbraided GALLUS, " that he who was so long practis'd in the science of sacred ceremonies, should without taking the opinion of his own College, without the usual reading and deliberation with the other Priests, deal, by surprize, with a thin Senate, to admit a prophetic Book of an incertain author." He also advertis'd them " of the conduct of AUGUSTUS, who, to suppress the multitude of fictitious Predictions every where
3 K " publish'd

“ publish’d under the solemn name of the Sybil, had ordain’d, that within a precise day, they should be carried to the City-Pretor; and made it unlawful to keep them in private hands.” The same had likewise been decreed by our ancestors, when after the burning of the Capitol in the Social War, the Rhimes of the Sybil (whether there were but one, or more) were every where sought, in Samos, Ilium, and Erythræ, through Africa too and Sicily and all the Roman Colonies, with injunctions to the Priests, that, as far as human wit could enable them, they would separate the genuine. Therefore, upon this occasion also, the Book was subjected to the inspection of the Quindécemvirate.

UNDER the same Consuls, the dearth of corn had nigh rais’d a sedition. The populace for many days urg’d, their wants and demands in the publick Theatre, with a licentiousness towards the Emperor, higher than usual. He was alarm’d with this bold spirit, and censur’d the Magistrates and Senate, “ that they had not by the publick authority quell’d the people.” He recounted “ the continued supplies of grain which he had caus’d to be imported; from what provinces, and in how much greater abundance than those procur’d by AUGUSTUS.” So that for correcting the populace, a decree pass’d fram’d in the strain of ancient severity: nor less vigorous was the edict publish’d by the Consuls. His own silence, which he hop’d would be taken by the people as an instance of moderation, was by them imputed to his pride.

IN the end of the year GEMINIUS, POMPEIUS, and JULIUS CELSUS the Tribune, all Roman Knights, were for a conspiracy sentenc’d to the pains of treason. Of these GEMINIUS had by prodigal expence, and voluptuous living, gain’d the friendship of SEJANUS, but never any participation in his counsels. CELSUS, as he lay in fetters, stretch’d his chain over his head, and by vehement straining against it, broke his neck. But over RUBRIUS FABATUS a guard was set; as to him it was objected, that despairing of the Roman State, he meant to fly for refuge to the Parthians. He was, in truth, apprehended in the Streights of Sicily, and when by a Centurion haled back to Rome, he assign’d no satisfactory motives

motives for so long a voyage. He remain'd however unhurt, through oblivion rather than mercy.

IN the Consulship of SERVIVS GALBA and LUCIVS SYLLA, TIBERIUS dispos'd of his grand-daughters. He had long deliberated upon whom to bestow them; and now the young Ladies were of age, he chose for their husbands LUCIVS CASSIVS and MARCVS VINICIIVS. The last was originally from Cagli a Roman colony in Campania, and of an Equestrian family; but his father and grand-father had been Consuls; himself of a gentle temper and polite eloquence. CASSIVS sprung from a Plebeian stock, but ancient and honourable, was brought up under the strict tuition of his father, and more admir'd for the easiness than vigour of his spirit. To him the Emperor married DRUSILLA, and to VINICIIVS JULIA; both daughters of GERMANICVS; and upon this subject wrote to the Senate with a brief commendation of the young men. Then accounting for his absence by causes extremely foreign, he proceeded to considerations more weighty; what animosities and hate upon himself he had drawn by his zeal for the Republick; and desir'd, "that MACRO, Captain of his Guards, with some
" few Tribunes and Centurions might always accompa-
" ny him into the Senate." To this purpose an ordinance pass'd, copious, and without limitation as to number or condition: yet so far was TIBERIUS from coming near the publick deliberations there, that he never enter'd the walls of Rome: even in the feint approaches which he made, he chose chiefly crooked and solitary ways, hesitating, guilty, and flying his country.

IN the mean while, the whole band of accusers broke loose upon those who augmented their wealth by Usury, in contradiction to a Law of CESAR the Dictator, "for
" ascertaining the terms of lending money, and holding
" mortgages in Italy;" a Law wax'd long since obsolete, through the selfish passions of men, sacrificing publick good to private gain. Usury was, in truth, an inveterate evil in Rome, and the eternal cause of civil discord and seditions, and therefore restrain'd even in ancient times, while the publick manners were not yet greatly corrupted. For, first it was ordain'd by a Law of the twelve

Tables, “ that no man should take higher Interest than “ twelve in the hundred ;” when, before, it was exacted at the pleasure of the rich. Afterwards by a regulation of the Tribunes it was reduced to fix, and at last was quite abolish’d. By the people too repeated Statutes were made, for obviating all elusions, which by whatever frequent expedients repress’d, were yet through wonderful devices still springing up afresh. GRACCHUS the Pretor was therefore now appointed to enquire into the complaints and allegations of the accusers ; but, appall’d with the multitude of those threaten’d by the accusation, he had recourse to the Senate. The fathers also were dismay’d (for of this fault not a soul was guiltless) and fought and obtain’d impunity from the Prince ; and a year and six months were granted for ballancing all accounts between debtors and creditors, agreeably to the direction of the Law.

HENCE a great scarcity of money : for, besides that all debts were at once call’d in ; so many delinquents were condemn’d, that by the sale of their effects, the current coin was swallow’d up in the publick treasury, or in that of the Emperor. Against this stagnation, the Senate had provided, “ that two thirds of the debts should by every “ creditor be laid out upon lands in Italy.” But the creditors warn’d in the whole ; nor could the debtors without breach of faith divide the payment. So that at first, meetings and entreaties were tried ; and at last it was contested before the Pretor. And the project applied as a remedy ; namely, that the debtor should sell, and the creditor buy, had a contrary operation : for the usurers hoarded up all their treasure for purchasing of lands, and the plenty of estates to be sold, miserably sinking the price ; the more men were indebted, the more difficult they found it to sell. Many were utterly stript of their fortunes ; and the ruin of their private patrimony drew head-long with it that of their reputation and all publick preferment. The destruction was going on, when the Emperor administer’d relief, by lending a hundred thousand great sesterces for three years without interest, provided each borrower pawn’d to the people double the value in inheritance. Thus was credit restor’d ; and by degrees private lenders too were
4 found:

found: so that the order of Senate enjoining the purchase of lands, was no longer observ'd; like most other reformati-
ons, keen in the beginning, and at last flighted.

ROME was next re-visited with her former terrors, and CONSIDIUS PROCULUS suddenly question'd for treason. While he celebrated his birth day, void of every apprehension, he was hurried to the Senate, and underwent in the same instant the sentence and the pains of death: SANCIA too his sister was interdicted fire and water at the accusation of QUINTUS POMPONIUS; a man of turbulent temper, who pretended "that he follow'd these
" and the like practices, to ingratiate himself with TIBER-
" RIUS, and thence to obviate the fate which threaten'd
" his brother POMPONIUS SECUNDUS." POMPEIA MACRINA was also sentenc'd to exile; she whose husband ARGOLICUS and his father DACO, two of the prime Nobility of Greece, had already fallen by the cruelty of TIBERIUS. Her father an illustrious Roman Knight, and her brother formerly Pretor, when they saw their own hastening doom, slew themselves. The crime imputed to them was, "that their grand-father, THEOPHANES
" of Mytelene, had been one of the confidents of POM-
" PEY the Great; and that to THEOPHANES, when dead
" the flattering Greeks had paid divine honours."

THESE were follow'd by SEXTUS MARIUS, the most wealthy man of Spain. He was accus'd of incest with his daughter, and thrown head-long from the Tarpeian rock: but, as an indisputable proof that his abundant riches procur'd his bane, his mines of gold, tho' forfeited to the publick, were by TIBERIUS appropriated to himself. His cruelty at last, being but inflam'd by incessant executions and blood, all those kept in prison under accusation of any attachment to SEJANUS, were by his command put to the slaughter. Expos'd to the sun lay the sad monuments of the mighty butchery; those of every sex and age; the illustrious and the mean; their carcases ignominiously thrown, apart or on heaps: neither was it permitted to their surviving friends or kindred, to approach them, to bewail them, nor even any longer to behold them. But, round the dead, Guards were placed, who watched faces and mark'd the signs of sorrow; and, as

the bodies putrified, saw them dragg'd to the Tyber; where they floated in the stream, or were driven upon the banks, no man daring to burn them, none to touch them. The force of fear had cut off the intercourses of humanity; and in proportion to the growth of tyranny, every symptom of commiseration was banish'd.

ABOUT the same time, CLAUDIA daughter to MARCUS SILANUS was given in marriage to CALIGULA, who had accompanied his grand-father to Capreæ, having always hid under a subdolous guise of modesty, his savage and inhuman spirit: even upon the condemnation of his Mother, even for the exile of his Brothers, not a word escap'd him, not a sigh, nor groan. So blindly observant of TIBERIUS, that he studied the bent of his temper and seem'd to possess it; practis'd his looks, imitated the change and fashion of his dress, and affected his words and manner of expression. Hence the observation of PASSIENUS the Orator, grew afterwards famous, "that never
" liv'd a better slave nor a worse master." Neither would I omit the presage of TIBERIUS concerning GALBA, then Consul. Having sent for him and sifted him upon several subjects, he at last told him in Greek, "and thou,
" GALBA, shalt hereafter taste of Empire;" signifying his late and short sovereignty. This he utter'd from his skill in Astrology, which at Rhodes he had leisure to learn, and THRASULLUS for his teacher, whose capacity he prov'd by this following trial.

As often as he consulted this way concerning any affair, he retir'd to the roof of the house, attended by one freedman trusted with the secret. This man strong of body, but destitute of letters, guided along the Astrologer, whose art TIBERIUS meant to try, over solitary precipices (for upon a rock the house stood) and, as he return'd, if any suspicion arose that his predictions were vain, or that the author design'd fraud, cast him headlong into the sea, to prevent his making discoveries. THRASULLUS being therefore led over the same rocks, and minutely consulted, his answers were full, and struck TIBERIUS; as approaching Empire and many future revolutions were specifically foretold him. The artist was then question'd, "whether he had calculated his own nativity,
" and

“ and thence presag’d what was to befall him that same
 “ year, nay that very day?” THRASULLUS surveying the
 positions of the stars, and calculating their aspects, began
 at first to hesitate, then to quake, and the more he medi-
 tated, being more and more dismay’d with wonder and
 dread, he at last cried out, “ that over him just then hung
 “ a boding danger and well nigh fatal.” Forthwith TI-
 BERIUS embraced him, congratulated “ him upon his
 “ foresight of perils, and his security from them;” and
 esteeming his predictions as so many Oracles, held him
 thenceforward in the rank of his most intimate friends.

For my self, while I listen to these and the like re-
 lations, my judgment wavers, whether things human are
 in their course and rotation determin’d by Fate and im-
 mutable necessity, or left to roll at random. For upon
 this subject the wisest of the ancients and those addicted
 to their Sects, are of opposite sentiments. Many are of opi-
 nion “ that to the Gods neither the generation of us men
 “ nor our death, and in truth neither men nor the ac-
 “ tions of men, are of any importance or concernment:
 “ and thence such numberless calamities afflict the upright,
 “ while pleasure and prosperity surround the wicked.”
 Others hold the contrary position, and believe “ a Fate to
 “ preside over events; a fate however not resulting
 “ from wandring stars, but coeval with the first princi-
 “ ples of things, and operating by the continued con-
 “ nection of natural causes. Yet their Philosophy leaves
 “ our course of life in our own free option; but that af-
 “ ter the choice is made, the chain of consequences is
 “ inevitable: neither is that good or evil which passes for
 “ such in the estimation of the vulgar: many who seem
 “ wounded with adversity are yet happy; numbers that
 “ wallow in wealth, are yet most wretched: since the
 “ first often bear with magnanimity the blows of fortune;
 “ and the latter abuse her bounty in baneful pursuits.”
 For the rest, it is common to multitudes of men “ to
 “ have each their whole future fortunes determin’d from
 “ the moment of their birth: or if some events thwart the
 “ prediction, it is through the mistakes of such as pro-
 “ nounce at random, and thence debase the credit of an
 “ art, which, both in ages past and our own, hath given
 “ signal

“ signal instances of its certainty.” For, to avoid lengthening this digression, I shall remember in its order, how by the son of this same THRASULLUS the Empire was predicted to NERO.

DURING the same Consulship flew abroad the death of ASINIUS GALLUS: that he perish’d through famine, was undoubted; but whether of his own accord, or by constraint, was held uncertain. The pleasure of the Emperor being consulted, “ whether he would suffer him “ to be buried;” he was not asham’d to grant such a piece of mock mercy, nor even to blame the anticipations of casualty, which had withdrawn the criminal, before he was publickly convicted: as if during three intermediate years between his accusation and his death, there wanted time for the trial of an ancient Consular, and the father of so many Consulars. Next perish’d DRUSUS, condemn’d by his grand-father to be starv’d; but by gnawing the weeds upon which he lay, he by that miserable nourishment protracted life the space of nine days. Some Authors relate, that, in case SEJANUS had resisted and taken arms, MACRO had instructions to draw the young man out of confinement (for he was kept in the palace) and set him at the head of the people: afterwards because a report ran, “ that the Emperor was about to be reconcil’d to his daughter-in-law and grand-son;” he chose rather to gratify himself by cruelty, than the publick by relenting.

TIBERIUS not satiated with the death of DRUSUS, even after death pursued him with cruel invectives, and, in a Letter to the Senate, charg’d him with “ a body “ foul with prostitution; with a spirit breathing destruction to his own family, and rage against the Republick;” and order’d to be recited “ the Minutes of his “ words and actions, which had been long and daily registered.” A proceeding more black with horror could not be devis’d! That for so many years there should be those expressly appointed who were to note down his looks, his groans, his secret and extorted murmurs; that his grand-father should delight to hear the treacherous detail, to read it, and to the publick expose it, would appear a series of fraud, meanness and amazement beyond all measure of

of faith, were it not for the Letters of ACTIUS the Centurion, and DIDYMUS the freedman; who in them declare, particularly, the names of the slaves set purposely to abuse and provoke DRUSUS, with the several parts they acted; how one struck him going out of his chamber, and how another fill'd him with terrors and dismay. The Centurion too repeated, as matter of glory, his own language to DRUSUS, language full of outrage and barbarity, with the words utter'd by him under the agonies of famine; that, at first, feigning disorder of spirit, he vented, in the stile of a madman, dismal denunciations against TIBERIUS; but after all hopes of life had forsaken him, then, in steady and deliberate imprecations, he invok'd the direful vengeance of the Gods, "that as he had
 "slaughter'd his son's wife, slaughter'd the son of his
 "brother, and his son's sons, and with slaughters had
 "fill'd his whole house; so they would in justice to the
 "ancestors of the slain, in justice to their posterity, doom
 "him to the dreadful penalties of so many murders." The Senators, in truth, upon this rais'd a mighty din, under colour of detesting these imprecations: but it was dread which possess'd them, and amazement, that he who had been once so dark in the practice of wickedness, and so subtle in the concealment of his bloody spirit, was arriv'd at such an utter insensibility of shame, that he could thus remove, as it were, the covert of the walls, and represent his own grandson under the ignominious chastisement of a Centurion, torn by the barbarous stripes of slaves, and imploring in vain the last sustenance of life.

BEFORE the impressions of this grief were worn away, the death of AGRIPPINA was publish'd. I suppose she had liv'd thus long upon the hopes which from the execution of SEJANUS she had conceiv'd; but, feeling afterwards no relaxation of cruelty, death grew her choice: unless she were bereav'd of nourishment, and her decease feign'd to have been of her own seeking. For, TIBERIUS rag'd against her with abominable imputations, reproaching her
 "with lewdness; as the adulteress of ASINIUS GALLUS;
 "and that upon his death she became weary of life." But these were none of her crimes: AGRIPPINA impatient of an equal lot, and eager for rule, had thence sa-

crificed to masculine ambition all the passions and vices of women. The Emperor added, “ that she departed “ the same day on which SEJANUS had suffer’d as a “ traitor two years before, and that the same ought to “ be perpetuated by a publick memorial.” Nay, he boasted of his clemency, in “ that she had not been strangled, “ and her body cast into the charnel of malefactors.” For this, as for an instance of mercy the Senate solemnly thank’d him, and decreed “ that, on the seventeenth of “ October, the day of both their deaths, a yearly offering should be consecrated to Jupiter for ever.”

NOT long after, COCCÆIUS NERVA, in full prosperity of fortune, in perfect vigour of body, form’d a purpose of dying. As he was the incessant companion of the Prince, and accomplish’d in the knowledge of all Laws divine and humane, TIBERIUS having learnt his design, was earnest to dissuade him, examin’d his motives, join’d entreaties, and even declar’d, “ how grievous to his own “ spirit it would prove, how grievous to his reputation, “ if the nearest of his friends should relinquish life, without “ any cause for dying.” NERVA rejected his reasoning, and compleated his purpose by abstinence. It was alledg’d by such as knew his thoughts, that the more he saw into the dreadful source and increase of publick miseries, the more transported with indignation and fear, he resolv’d to make an honest end, in the bloom of his integrity, e’er his life and credit were assaulted. Moreover the fall of AGRIPPINA, by a reverse hardly credible, procur’d that of PLANCINA. She was formerly married to CNEIUS PISO; and, tho’ she exulted publicly for the death of GERMANICUS, yet when PISO fell, she was protected by the solicitations of AUGUSTA, nor less by the known animosity of AGRIPPINA. But as favour and hate were now withdrawn, justice prevail’d, and being question’d for crimes long since sufficiently manifest, she executed with her own hand that vengeance which was rather too slow than too severe.

WHILE the City yet bewail’d so many tragical deaths, it was an accession to the publick affliction, that JULIA the daughter of DRUSUS and lately the wife of NERO, was espous’d to RUBELLIUS BLANDUS, whose grand-
father

father was remember'd by many to have been only a Roman Knight from Tibur. At the issue of the year, happen'd the death of ELIUS IAMIA, and was celebrated with a publick funeral. For his last employment, he was Governour of Rome; having been at length discharg'd from the mock administration of Syria, which he was never suffer'd to visit. In his descent he was noble, enjoy'd a lively old age, and upon his character was deriv'd fresh glory from the with-holding of his Province from him. As POMPONIUS FLACCUS Propretor of Syria, died sometime after, there arriv'd Letters from TIBERIUS. In them he complain'd " that all the Senators of distinguish'd " name, and qualified to command Armies, refus'd that " office; hence he was reduced to the necessity of entreaties, to engage some of the Consulars to undertake the " rule of provinces." He thought fit to forget ARRUNTIVS, Governor of Spain, already for ten years detain'd at Rome. The same year also died MARCUS LEPIDUS, of whose wisdom and moderation I have in the former Books inserted abundant instances. Nor does it require more room here to display his nobility, since his race was that of the EMILII, a race fertile in good citizens; and even those of the same family who laps'd into corruption, continued still to be distinguish'd by their illustrious dignities and fortune.

IN the Consulship of PAULUS FABIVS and LUCIVS VITELLIUS, after a long vicissitude of ages, the Phenix arriv'd in Egypt, and furnish'd the most learned of the natives and Greeks with matter of large and various observations concerning that miraculous bird. The circumstances in which they agree, with many others, that, however disputed, deserve to be known, claim a recital here. That it is a creature sacred to the Sun, and in the fashion of its head, and diversity of feathers, distinct from other birds, all who have describ'd its figure, are agreed; about the length of its life, relations vary. It is by the vulgar tradition fix'd at five hundred years: but there are those who extend it to one thousand four hundred and sixty one; and assert that the three former Phenixes appear'd in reigns greatly distant, the first under SESOSTRIS, the next under AMASIS; and that one was seen

under PTOLOMY the third King of Egypt of the Macedonian race, and flew to the City of Heliopolis, accompanied by a vast host of other birds gazing upon the wonderful stranger. But these are, in truth, the obscure accounts of antiquity: between PTOLOMY and TIBERIUS the interval was shorter, not two hundred and fifty years: hence some have believ'd that the present was a spurious Phenix, and deriv'd not its origin from the territories of Arabia, since it observ'd nothing of the instinct which ancient tradition attributes to the genuine: for that the latter having compleated his course of years, just before his death builds a nest in his native land, and upon it sheds a generative power, from whence arises a young one, whose first care, when he is grown, is to bury his father: neither does he undertake it unadvisedly, but by collecting and fetching loads of myrrhe, tries his strength in great journies; and as soon as he finds himself equal to the burden, and fit for the long flight, he rears upon his back his father's body, carries it quite to the altar of the Sun, and then flies away. These are uncertain tales, and their uncertainty heighten'd by fables; but that this bird has been sometimes seen in Egypt, is not question'd.

AT Rome, as the course of slaughter continued unrelenting, POMPONIUS LABEO, whom I have remember'd to have been Governour of Mœsia, chose by opening his veins to let out his own blood; as by his example did his wife PAXEA hers. Such efficacy had the terror of falling by the executioner, that to escape him, deaths of this sort were readily undergone. Besides that they who staid to be sentenced, forfeited their estates with their lives, and were debarr'd the rights of burial: of such on the contrary as anticipated condemnation, the bodies were interr'd, and their wills remain'd in force. The motive this and price of dispatch! TIBERIUS, however, in a Letter to the Senate, argued, “ that it was the usage of our ancestors, when they would renounce friendship, to forbid the person obnoxious their house, and by it shut up all intercourse; a usage repeated by himself towards LABEO: whereas LABEO, who was charg'd with maladministration, and other crimes, had now, by leaving upon the Prince the odium of his death, sought a veil

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“ to

“ to his own guilt; and thence falsely terrified his wife,
 “ to whom, however criminal, no punishment was meant.”
 MAMERCUS SCAURUS was thereafter question’d afresh,
 a man of signal quality, a noble Orator, but profligate
 liver. In his overthrow, the friendship of SEJANUS had no
 share, but an engine no less potent to destroy, the en-
 mity of MACRO, who pursued, but with more subtlety,
 the same deprav’d politicks. He was furnish’d with a han-
 dle from a Tragedy compos’d by SCAURUS, in which
 were some lines capable of being pointed against TIBERIUS.
 But by the accusers, SERVILIUS and CORNELIUS, the
 crimes objected were those of “ adultery with LIVIA,
 “ and the mysteries of magick.” SCAURUS, as became
 the magnanimity of the ancient EMILII, prevented con-
 demnation by the persuasion of SEXTIA his wife, who
 animated him to die and died with him.

AND yet the accusers, when opportunity occur’d, were
 surrender’d to vengeance; as were this same SERVILIUS
 and CORNELIUS, men become famous by the doom of
 SCAURUS; but for accepting from VARIUS LIGUR a bribe
 to drop prosecution, they were interdicted fire and water,
 and exil’d into different Islands. ABUDIUS RUSO too,
 once Edile, whilst he brought a charge against LEN-
 TULUS GETULICUS, under whom he had led a Legion,
 “ that he had espous’d his daughter to a son of SEJANUS;”
 was himself condemn’d and banish’d Rome. GETULI-
 CUS was at this time Commander of the Legions in up-
 per Germany, and by them wonderfully belov’d, for his
 unbounded clemency and discipline void of rigour. Nei-
 ther was he unacceptable to the neighbouring army, thro’
 his interest in LUCIUS APRONIUS his father-in-law. Hence
 he was universally believ’d to have by a Letter represent-
 ed to the Emperor, “ that by no choice of his own had
 “ he join’d affinity with SEJANUS, but in compliance
 “ with the counsel of TIBERIUS, and was as liable as
 “ TIBERIUS to be deceiv’d; nor ought one and the same
 “ error to pass unblam’d in the Prince only, and upon
 “ all others draw down deadly vengeance. For his own
 “ faith; it was pure and inviolate, and, if against him
 “ no plots were fram’d, would continue unshaken. A
 “ successor he would receive as no other than the herald

“ of death. It remain’d therefore that between them two
 “ they should as it were establish a league, by which the
 “ Prince should still enjoy all the rest of the Empire, and
 “ he himself always retain his province.” This proceeding,
 however amazing, deriv’d credit from hence, that he only
 of all that were allied to SEJANUS, remain’d in safety,
 and even in high favour. TIBERIUS consider’d himself
 under the pressure of publick hatred, under the weight
 of extreme age; and that more by reputation than force
 his authority was upheld.

IN the Consulship of CAIUS SESTIUS and MARCUS
 SERVILIUS, there came to Rome some noble Parthians,
 unknown to ARTABANUS their King. He had formerly,
 through dread of GERMANICUS, reign’d with humanity
 towards his own people, and kept his faith with the Ro-
 mans; but, afterwards treated us with arrogance, and his
 subjects with cruelty. His confidence grew from the suc-
 cessful wars which he had wag’d against the circumjacent
 nations; from his contempt of TIBERIUS, as enfeebled thro’
 age and unwarlike, and from a greedy passion to possess
 ARMENIA; over which Kingdom, upon the death of
 ARTAXIAS, he establish’d ARSACES his eldest son. This
 usurpation was follow’d by an insult, having sent to re-
 claim “ the treasure left by VONONES in Syria and Cili-
 “ cia;” as also “ the re-establishment of the ancient
 “ boundaries between the Persians and Macedonians:”
 he even threaten’d in the fulness of vain glory, “ that
 “ he would invade all the countries possess’d by CYRUS,
 “ and since by ALEXANDER.” Of this secret embassy
 from the Parthians the most powerful promoter was SIN-
 NACES, of a noble family and correspondent wealth;
 and, next to him in authority ABDUS the Eunuch, a
 character no wise despis’d amongst the Barbarians, but even
 entrusted with power. These two in concert with other
 Grandees, whom they had engaged in the combination,
 sent to Rome for PIRAHATES, son of King PIRAHAT-
 ES; because, of all the race of the ARSACIDES, many
 being murder’d by ARTABANUS, and the rest too young,
 none else remain’d to whom they could commit the State.
 The deputies represented, “ that there needed no more
 “ than a name and a leader; no more than a descendent
 “ of

“ of ARSACES espous’d by CESAR, and beheld upon the
“ banks of the Euphrates.”

IT was what TIBERIUS wish’d. He invested PHRAHATES in the pomp of Royalty, and dispatch’d him with military state to recover his father’s Monarchy; retaining however his old maxims, still to transact foreign affairs by artifice and counsels only, and warily avoid engaging in war. ARTABANUS the while having learnt the combination, was perplex’d between different passions: now fear alarm’d and retarded him; then thirst of revenge fired and excited him. By the Barbarians too dissimulation and delay are reckon’d servile measures; but instantly to satiate present passion, the spirit and part of Royalty. Interest however prevail’d: thus he invited ABDUS to a banquet, and secur’d him by a lingring poison: SINNACES he managed by presents and dissimulation, and engaged him in the entanglements of business. Now PHRAHATES arriving in Syria, and there disusing the Roman dress and œconomy, to which for so many years he had been inur’d, to resume the customs of the Parthians, prov’d unequal to the precipitate change, which brought a malady upon him that carried him off. But TIBERIUS forsook not the enterprize: to ARTABANUS he substituted TIRIDATES a fresh competitor, one of the same blood. For the recovery of Armenia he chose MITHRIDATES, and reconcil’d him to his brother PHARASMANES, who inherited the sovereignty of Iberia; and over the East, for executing all his schemes there, he placed LUCIUS VITELLIUS. I am not unaware that in Rome this man bore an ill estimation, and that many instances of depravity are related of him: yet in governing of Provinces he acted with primitive uprightness and virtue. It was after his return from thence, that his dread of CALIGULA, and then his intimacy with CLAUDIUS, transform’d him into such an odious slave, that he is reckon’d to posterity as a pattern of the vile abasement and shocking deformities of flattery: his last character has swallow’d up his first, and the excellencies of his younger years are obliterated by an old age black with flagitious crimes.

OF the petty Kings MITHRIDATES was the first in motion, and incited PHARASMANES to promote by arms
and

and snares his efforts against ARSACES; so that instruments of subornation were found, who, with store of gold urg'd his servants to murder him: at the same time the Iberians broke into Armenia with numerous forces, and gain'd the chief City Artaxata. Upon the first tidings of these disasters, ARTABANUS dispatch'd, as the champion of his vengeance, his son ORODES, at the head of the Parthian army, and sent abroad to hire auxiliaries. PHARASMANES on the other hand join'd the Albanian forces to his own, with additional aids from the Sarmatæ, whose Princes engaged themselves on both sides; according to the manner of the nation, to embark for pay in opposite quarrels. But the Iberians were masters of the passes, and thence pour'd the Sarmatæ over the Caspian Mountains into Armenia: whereas those that advanced to join the Parthians, were with ease debarr'd entrance; the enemy having shut up every approach, except one between the sea and the uttermost Mountains of Albania; and that one was stopp'd by the tide, which, by the force of the Etesian Winds is, during the summer, driven over the fords; but, in the winter, the South wind rolls back the flood, and exhibits a naked strand.

While ORODES was thus bereft of his Allies, PHARASMANES strengthen'd with succours, provok'd him to battle, and, as he declin'd it, insulted him, rode up to his entrenchments, harass'd his foragers, and often begirt, as it were with a siege, the quarters of his Camp. This enrag'd the Parthians, who scorning the unwonted reproach, surrounded the Prince in crowds, and demanded the combat. Their only forces were in horse; but PHARASMANES was likewise powerful in foot: for, the Iberians and Albanians, as they inhabit the rough forests, are thence more inur'd to hardness and patience. They say "that they are sprung from Thessaly, by the means
 " of JASON, who having carried away MEDEA, and had
 " children by her, return'd again to Colchos, upon the
 " death of ETA, and fill'd the vacant throne." And many are the traditions which they retain concerning him and the Oracle of PHRIXUS; in reverence to which none of them will sacrifice a ram, as upon this animal they believe PHRIXUS to have been carried thither; whether the
 same

same were a ram, or only the sign of a ship. Now both armies being embattled, ORODES animated his men with “ the grandeur of the Parthian Empire, the Empire of the East; the lasting glory of the ARSACIDES; the ignoble name of the Iberians and their hireling soldiery.” PHARASMANES represented to his, that “ they had ever defended themselves from the usurpation of the Parthians; and now fought more than defence, even a Kingdom; hence the higher their aims, the more renowned to the victors; but if they fled, the greater reproach and the same peril.” He bade them to view and compare their own horrid and threatening arms with the bands of Medes blazing with gold, and behold here the bravery of men, there of plunder.

WITH the Sarmatæ, however, the speech of their General is not the only exhortation; it is their way to animate one another. It was now their united cry, “ that they must not begin their fight by a discharge of arrows, but break in at once upon the foe and surprize them by a close engagement.” They did so; and hence began a scene of battle strangely diversified: the Parthians accustom’d with equal dexterity to pursue or fly, scatter’d their troops, thence seeking scope for their arrows: the Sarmatæ intirely renounced the bow, a weapon which they wield with less vigour and perseverance, and rush’d in with their sword and pikes: sometimes, as in an encounter of horse, were beheld the vicissitudes of charging and flying; again, as in condens’d battles of foot, with the shocks of their bodies breast to breast, and with the efforts of their arms, they overthrew and were overthrown: now the Albanians and Iberians grappled the enemy, dragg’d them from their horses and confounded the attacks of the Parthians; who, besides the assaults from the horse, were still more closely gall’d by the foot. Whilst during this conflict, the two Generals scour’d from place to place, to countenance the brave, or to support the wavering, themselves conspicuous to all, and therefore known to each other, they encounter’d fiercely, horse to horse, with terrible cries and lances darted; but PHARASMANES with most violence; for he wounded ORODES through the helmet, but, hurried away by the velocity of

his horse, could not repeat his blow, and the wounded was rescued by the most resolute of his Guards. Fame however falsely reported him for slain, and terrifying the Parthians, they yielded the victory.

Again ARTABANUS prepar'd for revenge, and to make it sure, march'd with the whole strength of Parthia; but was again beaten by the Iberians through their superiour knowledge of the countrey. Nor even thus would he have retreated, but that VITELLIUS by drawing together his Legions, and thence exciting a rumour, as if he were just upon invading Mesopotamia, alarm'd him with the terror of a Roman War. Armenia was therefore abandon'd, and the affairs of ARTABANUS finally ruin'd; for VITELLIUS the while, prompted the Parthians "to renounce a King cruel to his subjects in peace, and destructive to their state by his fatal wars." SINNACES therefore, whom I have mention'd as already incens'd, consults his father ABDAGESES and others, who had hitherto disguis'd their disaffection, and finding them now embolden'd by so many continued overthrows, draws them to an open revolt. To them flow'd in by little and little all those who had been rather retain'd in obedience thro' fear, than secur'd by affection; and, having thus found leaders, assum'd courage to follow them. So that to ARTABANUS none now adher'd except some few foreigners, the Guards of his person; out-laws and fugitives from their several homes, destitute of all sentiments of honour and of every worthy affection; equally untouch'd with publick or private disgrace; hirelings by profession, and the retain'd instruments of villany and blood. Taking these for his attendants he hastily fled to regions far remote, and bordering upon Scythia, from thence hoping for succours; for with the Hyrcanians and Carmanians he was join'd in alliance: he expected too that the Parthians, a people always favourable to their Princes after expulsion, ever fickle and uneasy under those in possession, might lapse into remorse.

ARTABANUS being fled, and the minds of the Parthians inclin'd to a new King, VITELLIUS exhorted TIRIDATES "to lay hold on a Kingdom prepar'd to receive him;" and, with the bulk of the Legions and auxiliaries,

auxiliaries, march'd to the banks of Euphrates. Whilst they sacrificed to the river, the one after the rites of the Romans, a swine, a ram, and a bull; the other a horse; the inhabitants inform'd them, " that the Euphrates, without any accession of rain, swell'd miraculously, and " that the white froth upon the surface wound itself into " circles in the fashion of a diadem; as a propitious type " of success after passing." Some explain'd it with more subtlety, " that the first attempts would be attended with " immediate prosperity, but such as was fleeting and transient; for that only upon events portended by signs " from the earth and the heavens, was there any sure reliance: rivers were in their nature fleeting and unstable; and what omens they suddenly shew'd, they with " the same rapidity snatch'd away." Over a bridge of boats the army cross'd; and the first who arriv'd in the camp was ORNOSPAGES with many thousand horse. He was formerly an exile, and had then with no contemptible forces aided TIBERIUS to finish the war in Dalmatia; a merit which procur'd him the right of a Roman Citizen: being afterwards recall'd, he recover'd the friendship of the King, and continued high in his favour; so that he was placed over all those territories which being wash'd on every side with the celebrated rivers of Euphrates and Tigris, are thence named Mesopotamia. Soon after came SINNACES with more forces; as also ABDAGESSES, the pillar of the party, with the King's treasure and all the decorations of Royalty. VITELLIUS thought it enough to have countenanced them with a display of the Roman arms, and now admonish'd TIRIDATES and the chiefs; him " to remember, that he had for " his grand-father PHRAHATES, and was himself rear'd " by CESAR; signal honours, and equal incitements to " glory:" upon them he press'd " obedience to their " King, and reverence towards us; that they would all " consult their own reputations, and preserve their plighted faith." Thence he re-pass'd with his Legions into Syria.

THESE transactions, tho' the work of two campaigns, I have laid together, to relieve my soul from the sad recital of domestick evils. For, TIBERIUS, tho' now three years
 2. since

since the execution of SEJANUS, was so far from being asswag'd by time, supplications, and satiety of blood, means which are wont to soften all other men, that with rage and punishment he still pursued even stale and dubious imputations, as the most heinous and recent crimes. Under this dread FULCINIUS TRIO, unable to bear the prevailing persecution of his accusers, compos'd his last will, and in it compil'd a long charge of iniquities and dreadful invectives against MACRO and the Emperor's principal freedmen: the Emperor himself he upbraided with "a spirit impotent and stupid through age; and his continued absence, as a state of exile." These invectives, which the heirs of TRIO had smother'd, were by TIBERIUS order'd to be recited; whether in ostentation that he could bear such liberties, and despising a publick rehearsal of his own infamy; or whether from having been long ignorant of the black enormities of SEJANUS, he came afterwards to prefer the divulging of whatever was said, and however said, concerning himself and his administration; and since truth is ever disguis'd by flattery, he meant at least to learn it from the mouth of reproach. During the same Consuls GRANIUS MARTIANUS the Senator, charg'd with treason by CAIUS GRACCHUS, laid violent hands upon himself; and TATIUS GRATIANUS, who had been Pretor, under the same charge was sentenced to capital punishment.

THE like ends had TREBELLIENUS RUFUS and SEXTIUS PACONIANUS. For, TREBELLIENUS fell by his own hand; and PACONIANUS, for Verses made in prison against the Emperor, was there strangled. With these executions TIBERIUS was acquainted, not now separated from Italy by the sea, nor by messengers dispatch'd from afar; but in the neighbourhood of Rome; so near that he receiv'd and answer'd the Letters from the Consuls the same day, or only after the interval of a night; as if he were from thence beholding the houses floating in blood, or the busy hands of the executioners opening its sources. In the end of the year expir'd POPPEUS SABINUS, of ordinary descent, but by the friendship of the Emperors he had acquir'd the Consulship and triumphal honours. He was also entrusted for four and twenty years with

with the Government of great provinces; for no signal ability of his, but that he had talents equal to business, and not above it.

QUINTUS PLAUTIUS and SEXTUS PAPINIUS fellow Consuls. It was mark'd as no matter of horror or surprize that LUCIUS ARUSEIUS and * * * underwent this year the pains of death: so familiar were civil miseries grown. But terrifying prov'd the Tragedy of VIBULENUS AGRIPPA, a Roman Knight, who, after his accusers had finish'd their pleadings, pulling out poison which under his gown he had conceal'd, swallow'd it in open Senate; and as he fell expiring, was by the Lictors hastily dragg'd to the dungeon, where, tho' already dead, his neck was fasten'd and strain'd in a rope. Not even TIGRANES, who had some time reign'd in Armenia, but was now accus'd, could by the name of a King, escape suffering, in common with citizens, the punishment of death. But CAIUS GALBA a Consular, and the two BLESII, fell by their own hands: GALBA, upon receiving a dismal Letter from CESAR, which forbid him to meddle with drawing his lot for a Province: the BLESII, because the Priesthoods which in the prosperity of their family he had assign'd them, and again in its calamity withheld, he now bestow'd, as vacant dignities, upon others. This they understood as a signal of death and obey'd it. EMILIA LEPIDA too, who, as I have related, was married to the young DRUSUS, she who had pursued her husband's life by urging against him incessant crimes, and during the days of her father LEPIDUS, remain'd unpunish'd tho' detestable; was after his death attack'd by the accusers for adultery with a slave: nor of this her infamous defilement was any doubt made: renouncing therefore all defence, she put an end to her own life.

ABOUT the same time the Clitians, a people subject to ARCHELAUS the Cappadocian, aggriev'd to be alter the Roman manner brought under a rate and compell'd to pay Tribute, betook themselves to the ridges of Mount Taurus, and by the nature of the situation defended themselves against the unwarlike forces of the King; till VITELLIUS, President of Syria, dispatch'd to their re-

lief his Lieutenant MARCUS TREBELLIVS, with four thousand Legionary foldiers and ſome choſen auxiliaries. TREBELLIVS begirt with entrenchments the two hills upon which the Barbarians were encamp'd; the leſſer nam'd *Cadra*, the other *Davara*, and forced them all to ſurrender: ſome who attempted to ſally he ſubdued by the ſword; the reſt he overcame by thirſt. TIRIDATES, with the approbation of the Parthians, took poſſeſſion of Nicephorium, Anthemufias, and other cities founded by the Macedonians, and thence call'd by Greek names; as likewiſe of Halus and Artimeta, Parthian cities; the inhabitants of each contending in joy for the change, as they all deteſted ARTABANUS bred amongſt the barbarous Scythians, and himſelf barbarouſly cruel; but from TIRIDATES hoped a humane ſpirit, civiliz'd by a Roman education.

PARTICULARLY exceſſive was the flattery practis'd on this occaſion by the Citizens of Seleucia; a powerful City ſurrounded with walls, and not corrupted into the barbarous uſages of the Parthians, but ſtill retaining the inſtitutions of SELEUCUS, its Greek founder. Three hundred citizens choſen for wealth or wiſdom, compoſe as it were a Senate; to the populace too remains their ſhare of power; and when all act with unanimity, they deſpiſe the Parthians; but when diſcord reigns, while each ſide calls in foreign aid againſt their competitors, he who is invited prevails againſt the whole. A conſequence which had befallen them in the reign of ARTABANUS, who delivered the commonalty to the dominion of the Nobles, in pure ſubſervience to the maxims and intereſt of his own power: for the ſovereignty of the People is an eſtabliſhment of Liberty; but the domination of a few comes nearer to the uncheck'd luſt of ſimple Monarchy. Upon the coming of TIRIDATES they heap'd on him all the honours paid to the ancient Kings, with all ſuch as the preſent age has improv'd or invented, and to the praiſes of the new Prince added contumelies againſt ARTABANUS, “ that only by his father he was akin to the
 “ ARSACIDES, and in every other inſtance an apoſtate from
 “ their race.” TIRIDATES committed to the People the
 3 government

government of Seleucia. As he was next consulting about settling a day for solemnizing his inauguration, he receiv'd letters from PHRAHATES and HIERO, who presided over potent Provinces, entreating a short respite: so that he agreed to wait the arrival of men so signally powerful, and proceeded the while to Ctesiphon, the seat of the Empire. But as from day to day they delay'd coming, the Surena in a great presence, and with their applauses put the Royal Diadem, according to the ceremony of the country, upon his head.

AND had he streight advanced into the center of the Kingdom and the further Provinces, he had over-aw'd the suspense of such as halted, and found submission from all Parthia. But by besieging a fortress, whither ARTABANUS had convey'd his money and mistresses, he furnish'd the fickle Parthians with leisure to violate their late association. For, PHRAHATES and HIERO, with such others as had not join'd with the rest in celebrating his coronation, return'd to their old allegiance; part through fear, some from envy to ABDAGESES, who then govern'd the new King and his whole court. They found ARTABANUS in Hyrcania, cover'd with nastiness and misery, and with his bow labouring for food. At first he was terrified, and apprehended treachery: when they assur'd him of their faith, and that to restore him to sovereignty they were come; he ask'd, "whence the sudden change?" HIERO, in answer, reproach'd "TIRIDATES as a boy, " and that the Empire was no longer administer'd by " one of the brave ARSACIDES; but a lad soften'd by " foreign effeminacy, possess'd the empty title, whilst in " the family of ABDAGESES the whole power remain'd."

HE discern'd, politick as he was and old in reigning, that, however false in their affections, their hate was unfeign'd: nor tarried he longer than to get together some Scythian succours, and then march'd with dispatch, to frustrate the measures of his enemies, and to obviate the defection of his friends: neither chang'd he yet his noisome dress, as by it he meant to draw the commiseration of the populace. In his march he left untried no expedient, no prayers nor wiles, to engage in
interest

interest such as waver'd, to confirm such as adher'd, and he was already in the neighbourhood of Seleucia, before TIRIDATES, dismay'd at once with the tidings of ARTABANUS, and with ARTABANUS in person, could determine whether to make head against him, or protract the war. His counsels were distracted. They who preferr'd a battle and speedy issue, argued, " that
 " the enemy's forces were still in disarray and spent with
 " long journeys: nor in truth, were they in their hearts
 " sincerely reconcil'd to obedience; they, who were lately the betrayers and open enemies of that same Prince
 " whom thus after expulsion they espous'd." But ABDAGESES advis'd " a retreat into Mesopotamia, that there
 " defended by the interposition of the river, they might
 " have time to arm the Armenians and Elymæans, with
 " other adjacent nations; and being thus strengthen'd by
 " confederate troops, and such as the Roman General
 " should send, might try with these advantages the fortune of war." This advice prevail'd, as ABDAGESES held the highest authority, and TIRIDATES was fearful of dangers. But their departure had all the appearance and consequences of a rout: for the Arabs beginning the desertion, the rest follow'd, and retir'd to their several homes or to the camp of ARTABANUS; so that TIRIDATES with a few cross'd over to Syria, where he discharg'd them all, as well from his service as from the infamy of being betray'd by them.

THE same year the City suffer'd the grievous calamity of fire, which burnt down that part of the Circus contiguous to Mount Aventine and the Mount itself: a loss which turn'd to the glory of the Prince, as he paid in money the value of the houses destroy'd. A hundred thousand great sesterces he expended in this bounty, which prov'd the more grateful to the people as he was ever sparing in private buildings: in truth, his publick works never exceeded two, the Temple of AUGUSTUS and the Scene of POMPEY'S Theatre; nor, when he had finish'd both, did he dedicate either, whether obstructed by old age, or despising popularity. For ascertaining the damage of particulars the four Sons-in-law of TIBERIUS were appointed

pointed, CNEIUS DOMITIUS, CASSIUS LONGINUS, MARCUS VINCINUS and RUBELLIUS BLANDUS; assisted by PUBLIUS PETRONIUS, nominated by the Consuls. To the Emperor likewise were decreed several honours, variously devis'd according to the different drift and genius of such as propos'd them. Which of these he meant to accept, or which to reject, the approaching issue of his days, has buried in uncertainty. For not long after, CNEIUS ACERRONIUS and CAIUS PONTIUS commenced Consuls; the last under TIBERIUS. The power of MACRO was already excessive; who, as he had at no time neglected the favour of CALIGULA, courted it now more and more earnestly every day. After the death of CLAUDIA, whom I have mention'd to have been espous'd to the young Prince, he constrain'd ENNIA his own wife to stimulate the affections of CALIGULA and to secure him by a promise of marriage. The truth is, he was one that denied nothing that open'd his way to sovereignty; for although of a tempestuous genius, he had yet in the school of his grand-father, well acquir'd all the hollow guises of dissimulation.

HIS spirit was known to the Emperor; hence he was puzzled about bequeathing the Empire: and first as to his grand-sons, the son of DRUSUS was nearer in blood, and dearer in point of affection, but as yet a child: the son of GERMANICUS had arriv'd at the vigour of youth, and the zeal of the people followed him, a motive this to his grand-father, only to hate him. He had even debates with himself concerning CLAUDIUS, because of solid age and naturally inclin'd to honest pursuits; but the defect of his faculties withstood the choice. In case he sought a successor apart from his own family, he dreaded lest the memory of AUGUSTUS, lest the name of the CESARS should come to be scorn'd and insulted. For, it was not so much any study of his, to gratify the present generation and secure the Roman state, as to perpetuate to posterity the grandeur of his race. So that his mind still wavering and his strength decaying, to the decision of fortune he permitted a counsel to which he was now unequal. Yet he dropp'd certain words whence

might be gather'd that he foresaw the events and revolutions which were to come to pass after him: for, he upbraided MACRO, by no dark riddle, "that he forsook "the setting sun and courted the rising:" and of CALIGULA, who upon some occasional discourse ridicul'd SYLLA, he foretold, "that he would have all SYLLA's "vices, and not one of his virtues." Moreover, as he was, with many tears, embracing the younger of his grandsons, and perceiv'd the countenance of CALIGULA implacable and provok'd; "thou, said he, wilt slay him, "and another shall slay thee." But, however his illness prevail'd, he relinquish'd nothing of his vile voluptuousness, forcing patience, and feigning health. He was wont too to ridicule the prescriptions of Physicians, and all men who, after the age of thirty, needed to be inform'd by any one else, what help'd or hurt'd their constitutions.

AT Rome, the while, were sown the sanguinary seeds of executions to be perpetrated even after TIBERIUS. LELIUS BALBUS had with high treason charg'd ACUTIA, some time the wife of PUBLIUS VITELLIUS; and, as the Senate were, after her condemnation, decreeing a reward to the accuser, the same was obstructed by the interposition of JUNIUS OTHO Tribune of the people: hence their mutual hate, which ended in the exile of OTHO. Thereafter ALBUCILLA, who had been married to SATRIUS SECUNDUS, him that reveal'd the conspiracy of SEJANUS, and herself famous for many amours, was impeach'd of impious rites devis'd against the Prince. In the charge were involv'd, as her associates and adulterers, CNEIUS DOMITIUS, VIBIUS MARSUS, and LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS. The noble descent of DOMITIUS I have above declar'd: MARSUS too was distinguish'd by the ancient dignities in his house, and himself illustrious for learning. The Minutes, however, transmitted to the Senate imported, "that in the examination of the witnesses, and "torture of the slaves, MACRO had presid'd:" neither came these Minutes accompanied with any Letter from the Emperor against the accus'd. Hence it was suspected, that, while he was ill, and perhaps without his pri-

vacy, the accusations were in great measure forged by MACRO, in consequence of his notorious enmity to ARRUNTIUS.

DOMITIUS therefore by preparing for his defence, and MARSUS by seeming determin'd to famish, both protracted their lives. ARRUNTIUS chose to die; and to the importunity of his friends, urging him to try delays and evasions, he answer'd, " that the same measures were not
 " alike honourable to all men: his own life was abundantly long; nor had he wherewithall to reproach himself, save that he had submitted to bear thus far an
 " old age loaded with anxieties, expos'd to daily dangers, and the cruel sport of power; long hated as he
 " was by SEJANUS, now by MACRO, always by some reigning Minister; hated through no fault of his own, but as one irreconcilable to baseness and the iniquities
 " of power. He might, in truth, out-live and avoid the few and last days of TIBERIUS: but how escape
 " the youth of his heir? If upon TIBERIUS at such an age, and after such consummate experience, the violent
 " spirit of unbridled dominion had wrought with such efficacy, as intirely to transport and change him; was
 " it likely that CALIGULA, he who had scarce outgrown his childhood, a youth ignorant of all things, or nurs'd
 " and principled in the worst, would follow a course more righteous under the guidance of MACRO; the
 " same MACRO, who, for destroying SEJANUS, was employ'd as the more wicked of the two, and had since
 " by more mischiefs and cruelties torn and afflicted the Commonweal? For himself; he foresaw a servitude yet more vehement, and therefore withdrew at once
 " from the agonies of past and of impending tyranny." Uttering these words, with the spirit of a Prophet, he open'd his veins. How wisely ARRUNTIUS anticipated death, the following times will terribly demonstrate. For ALBUCILLA; she aim'd at her own life, but the blow being impotent, she was by order of Senate dragg'd to execution in the prison. Against the ministers of her lusts it was decreed, " that GRASIDIUS SACERDOS, formerly
 " Pretor, should be exil'd into an Island; PONTIUS

“ FREGALLANUS be degraded from the Senate; and
 “ that upon LELIUS BALBUS the same penalty be in-
 “ flicted:” his punishment particularly prov’d matter of
 joy, as he was accounted a man of pestilent eloquence,
 and prompt to attack the innocent.

ABOUT the same time, SEXTUS PAPINIUS of a Con-
 sular family, chose on a sudden a frightful end, by a de-
 sperate and precipitate fall. The cause was ascrib’d to
 his mother, who, after many repulses, had by various
 allurements and the stimulations of sensuality, urg’d him
 to practices and embarrassments from whence, only by dy-
 ing, he could devise an issue. She was therefore accus’d
 in the Senate; and, tho’ in a prostrate posture she em-
 braced the knees of the fathers, and pleaded “ the ten-
 “ derness and grief of a mother, the imbecillity of a
 “ woman’s spirit under such an affecting calamity;” with
 other motives of pity in the same doleful strain; she was
 banish’d Rome for ten years, till her younger son were
 past the age of lubricity.

AS to TIBERIUS; already his body, already his spirits
 fail’d him; but his dissimulation fail’d him not. He ex-
 erted the same vigour of mind, the same energy in his
 looks and discourse; and even sometimes studied to be
 gay, by it to hide his declension however notorious. So
 that, after much shifting of places, he settled at the Pro-
 montory of Misenum, in a villa of which LUCULLUS
 was once Lord. There it was discover’d that his end
 was at hand, by this device. In his train was a Physician,
 his name CHARICLES, signal in his profession, one, in truth,
 not employ’d to govern the Prince’s health, but wont
 however to afford his counsel and skill. CHARICLES,
 as if he were departing to attend his own affairs, under
 the appearance of paying duty and kissing his hands,
 touch’d his pulse. But the artifice beguil’d not TIBERIUS;
 for he instantly order’d the entertainment to be serv’d up;
 whether incens’d, and thence the more smothering his
 wrath, is uncertain: but, at table he continued beyond
 his wont, as if he meant that honour only for a farewell
 to his friend. But for all this CHARICLES satisfied MACRO,
 “ that the flame of life was expiring, and could not out-

“ last two days.” Hence the whole court was fill’d with close consultations, and expreffes were difpatch’d to the Generals and Armies. On the fixteenth of March, fo deep a fwoon feiz’d him, that he was believ’d to have paid the laft debt of mortality: infomuch that CALIGULA, in the midft of a great throng, paying their congratulations, was already appearing abroad, to affume the firft offices of Sovereignty, when fudden notice came, “ that TIBERIUS had recover’d his fight and voice, and, to ftrengthen “ his fainting fpirits, had call’d for fome refreshment.” Hence dread feiz’d all, and the whole concourfe about CALIGULA difpers’d, every man refuming false sorrow, or feigning ignorance: he himfelf was ftruck fpeechlefs, and thus fallen from the higheft hopes, waited for prefent death. MACRO continued undifmay’d, and ordering the apartment to be clear’d, caus’d the feeble old man to be fmother’d with a weight of coverings. Thus expir’d TIBERIUS in the feventy eighth year of his age.

HE was the fon of NERO, and on both fides a branch of the Claudian houfe, tho’ his mother had been ingrafted by adoptions into the Livian, and next into the Julian ftock. From his firft infancy, his life was chequer’d by various turns and perils: for, then he follow’d, like an exile, his proferib’d father; and when taken in quality of a ftep-son into the family of AUGUSTUS, he long ftruggled there with many potent rivals, during the lives of MARCELLUS and AGRIPPA; next of the young Cefars, CAIUS and LUCIUS. His brother DRUSUS too eclips’d him, and poffefs’d more eminently the hearts of the Roman people. But above all, his marriage with JULIA moft egregioufly threaten’d and diftreff’d him, whether he bore the prostitutions of his wife, or relinquish’d the daughter of AUGUSTUS. Upon his return thereafter from Rhodes, he occupied for twelve years the Prince’s family, now bereft of heirs, and nigh four and twenty rul’d the Roman ftate. His manners alfo varied with the feveral junctures of his fortune: he was well efteem’d while yet a private man; and, in difcharging publick dignities under AUGUSTUS, of fignal reputation: covert and fubdolous in feigning virtue fo long as GERMANICUS

and DRUSUS surviv'd: a mixt character of good and evil during the days of his mother: detestably cruel, but secret in his lewdness, while he lov'd or fear'd SEJANUS: at last he abandon'd himself, at once, to the rage of tyranny and the sway of his lusts: for, he had then conquer'd all the checks of shame and fear, and thenceforth follow'd only the bent of his own abominable spirit.

ELEVENTH ANNAL.

*******F**OR, MESSALINA who believ'd VALERIUS ASIATICUS, one who had been twice Consul, to have been POPPEA's adulterer, was bent upon his ruin; and as she equally panted after his fine Gardens begun by LUCULLUS, but by him beautified with signal magnificence, she suborn'd SUILIUS to accuse both him and her. In the plot was join'd SOSIBIUS, Tutor to BRITANNICUS, who under the mask of zeal was to warn CLAUDIUS, "that mighty wealth in private hands was
 " ever mischievous and threatening to Princes; that in the
 " affassination of CALIGULA, ASIATICUS had been the
 " principal director, nor fear'd to avow it in a publick
 " congregation of the people, nor even to claim the glory
 " of the parricide: hence his popularity and renown in
 " Rome; infomuch that his purpose of withdrawing and
 " putting himself at the head of the Armies, was already
 " a prevailing rumour through all the Provinces; for
 " that being born at Vienna, and supported there by
 " numerous and powerful families, all his own relations,
 " it depended upon his pleasure to excite an insurrection
 " of his countrymen the Gauls." This sufficed CLAUDIUS, who in order to seize him, instantly dispatch'd away CRISPINUS, Captain of the Pretorian Guards, with a body of soldiers, as if a war had been to be crush'd. He was found at Baiæ, and hurried to Rome in chains.

NEITHER was it indulg'd him to be heard by the Senate; but he was privately tried in a chamber in the presence of MESSALINA. SUILIUS charg'd him "with
 " corrupting the soldiery, as having by money and abo-
 " minable

“ minable pleasures engag’d them in his interest, and pre-
 “ par’d them for every the most flagrant iniquity; with
 “ his adulterous amours with POPPEA, and with surren-
 “ dring his person, like a harlot, to unnatural defilements.”
 This last article overcame his patience, and breaking in
 upon the accusation, “ ask thy own sons, SUILIUS, said
 “ he; thy sons will satisfy thee that I am a man.” As
 he proceeded in his defence, he forc’d tears even from
 MESSALINA, and in CLAUDIUS rais’d agitations still more
 powerful. But the Empress leaving the room to dry her
 eyes, warn’d VITELLIUS, “ not to suffer the accus’d to
 “ escape.” She hasten’d her self to accomplish the doom
 of POPPEA, by suborning persons who urg’d her through
 the terrors of imprisonment, to a voluntary end: a ca-
 tastrophe of which the Emperor was so utterly unappriz’d,
 that a few days after, as her husband SCIPIO was at
 table with him, he continued asking why he sat down
 without his wife? till SCIPIO answer’d, that she was no
 more.

Now as CLAUDIUS was deliberating about clearing
 ASIATICUS, the hollow VITELLIUS wept, and recount-
 ing their ancient friendship, with the devotion which in
 common they had ever paid to ANTONIA, the Prince’s
 mother; and then displaying the good services of ASIA-
 TICUS to the Commonwealth, particularly his late ex-
 ploits in Great Britain, and having, in truth, exhausted
 all the arguments which seem’d proper to excite mercy;
 he at last propos’d to grant him the free choice of his
 own death; a sort of clemency of which CLAUDIUS de-
 clar’d his approbation. There were some who exhorted
 him to die gently, and by abstinence; an indulgence
 which he refus’d to accept, but persisting in his wonted
 exercises, he walk’d, bath’d, and even supp’d chearfully:
 he said he should with more credit have been sacrific’d
 to the dark artifices of TIBERIUS, or to the outrageous
 fury of CALIGULA, than thus perish by the base devices
 of a woman, and the prostitute lips of VITELLIUS; and
 having so said, he open’d his veins: but first he view’d
 his funeral pile, and directed its removal into another
 place, lest the smoke should scorch the heads of the trees,
 and

and lessen their cool shade. Such was his firmness even in the arms of death.

THE Senate was thereafter summoned, and SULLIUS proceeded also to accuse the illustrious Roman Knights, who were surnamed *Petræ*. The first cause of their bane was, that for a place of assignments, they had accommodated VALERIUS and POPPEA with the use of their house; but to one of them a dream was objected, as if he had beheld CLAUDIUS crown'd with a chaplet of the ears of corn, their beards downwards; and thence foretold a publick famine: others have related, that the chaplet he beheld was of vine branches with white leaves; which he construed to portend the death of the Prince at the close of autumn. Whatever he dreamt, this is undoubted, that for a dream both he and his brother were sacrificed. To CRISPINUS was decreed the Pretorship, and a reward of thirty seven thousand five hundred crowns; and to SOSIBIUS five and twenty thousand, at the motion of VITELLIUS, who recommended him as one that assisted BRITANNICUS with good instructions, and CLAUDIUS with wholesome counsels. SCIPIO, who was also ask'd his opinion, said; "seeing I entertain of POPPEA's misdeeds the same thoughts with all others, believe me to vote as all others vote:" a delicate temperament between the affections of a husband, and the danger of provoking by his dissent her powerful enemies.

SULLIUS continued thenceforward an incessant and merciless accuser; and many labour'd to emulate his abandon'd occupation. For, the Emperors, by invading the authority of the Magistrates, and assuming the arbitrary dispensation of the Laws, had open'd a field for endless cruelties and depredations; nor of all the commodities of price was ought so saleable, as the double and mercenary faith of the pleaders: insomuch that SAMIUS, an illustrious Roman Knight, having given SULLIUS a fee of ten thousand crowns, and finding himself betray'd in the cause, fell upon his sword in the house of his faithless advocate. A complaint of this grievance being therefore begun by CAIUS SILLIUS Consul elect, whose power and overthrow I shall in its place remember, the whole

Senate

Senate concurr'd, and demanded that the Cincian Law might be restor'd to force; an old Law, which enjoin'd "that no man should, for pleading a cause, accept of gift or payment."

HENCE they, over whom the infamy was impending, raising a clamour against the motion; SILIUS, who entertain'd an animosity against SUILIUS, persisted with the more asperity, and quoted "the examples of the ancient Orators, who had esteem'd present applause and the praises of posterity, the most illustrious recompence of their Eloquence: otherwise, he said, an accomplishment the most dignified of all others, were debas'd into sordid prostitution: nor, in truth, was the faith of pleaders to be trusted, where the greatness of gain was their end. Besides, if no man found his merchandize in defending suits, there would be fewer suits to defend: whereas, upon the present foot, enmities, accusations, mutual hate and mutual oppressions were promoted and inflam'd to such a degree, that as an inundation of diseases was the market of Physicians, so the contagion of the Bar prov'd the revenue of the Pleaders. They might remember CAIUS ASINIUS and MARCUS MESSALLA, and more lately ARRUNTIUS and ETERNINUS; men who arriv'd to the supreme dignities of the state by a life unblemish'd, and an eloquence never expos'd to price." This reasoning from the Consul elect found the concurrence of the Senate, and a decree was about to pass, to subject them to the penalties of the Law against extortion, when SUILIUS, COSSUTIANUS, and the rest, who apprehended not a regulation only, but even their own punishment (for their guilt was manifest) gather'd round the Prince, beseeching remission for what was pass'd; and after he had, by a motion of his head, signified his assent, they thus proceeded:

"Who was the man of such unbounded vanity as to presume upon an eternity of fame? The practice of pleading was intended only for the present purposes of society, a common refuge for all men, especially that none might for want of pleaders be crush'd by the powerful: neither was Eloquence itself acquir'd, or ex-

“ erted without pains and expence; since they who pro-
 “ fess’d it forsook their own domestick cares, to apply
 “ themselves to the business of others. Many follow’d
 “ the profession of war, many that of husbandry, and
 “ by both professions a livelyhood was gain’d; and no-
 “ thing was pursu’d by any man, but with a view to the
 “ advantages it produced. Easily might *ASINIUS* and
 “ *MESSALLA*, enrich’d as they were by the event of the
 “ war between *ANTHONY* and *AUGUSTUS*; easily might
 “ the *ESERNINI* and *ARRUNTII*, heirs of wealthy houses;
 “ all assume a grandeur of spirit above the price of plead-
 “ ing: but equally obvious were the examples of *PUB-*
 “ *LIUS CLODIUS* and *CAIUS CURIO*, for what immense
 “ rewards these Orators were wont to plead. For them-
 “ selves; they were mean Senators, and, as the Com-
 “ monwealth enjoy’d a perfect calm, only aim’d at sub-
 “ sisting by the emoluments of peace. Nay, there were
 “ those of the commonalty, who strove to shine by the
 “ Gown and the Bar: but were the price and encourage-
 “ ment of studying withdrawn, Studies themselves must
 “ perish.” Considerations these far from honourable; but
 to *CLAUDIUS* they appear’d of no small force: he there-
 fore settled the utmost measure of fees at two hundred and
 fifty crowns; and such as exceeded incurr’d the penalties
 of extortion.

DURING the same time *MITHRIDATES*, whom I have
 mention’d to have reign’d in Armenia, and to have been
 brought in bonds to the tribunal of *CESAR*, return’d by
 the direction of *CLAUDIUS* into his Kingdom, confid-
 ing in the power and assistance of his brother *PHARAS-*
MANES King of the Iberians, who had sent him advice,
 “ that dissensions prevail’d amongst the Parthians; and
 “ that, while the fate of their own crown was in suspence,
 “ foreign conquests, as things of less moment, must be
 “ neglected.” For, the many cruelties of *GOTARZES*, par-
 ticularly the sudden murder of his brother *ARTABANUS*
 with that of his wife and son, and thence the dread of
 his tyranny to the rest of the nobility, prompted them
 to call *BARDANES* to the throne; a Prince of great acti-
 vity and enterprize; so much that in two days he trav-
 vell’d

veill'd three thousand furlongs, instantly invaded, utterly terrified and surpriz'd, and even exterminated GOTARZES. With the same expedition he seiz'd the neighbouring provinces, all but SELEUCIA, which alone disown'd his sway: so that, more transported with wrath against the Seleucians, as a people who had likewise revolted from his father, than consulting his present interest, he entangl'd himself in the siege of a City encompass'd with strong walls, replenish'd with stores, and a river one of its bulwarks. For, GOTARZES the while strengthen'd by forces from the Dahans and Hyrcanians, renew'd the war; so that BARDANES being necessitated to relinquish the siege, retir'd to the plains of Bactria and there encamp'd.

IN this combustion and dis-union of the powers in the East, and uncertainty how the same would terminate, an occasion of possessing Armenia was administer'd to MITHRIDATES, assisted by the Roman soldiers, who demolish'd the strong holds; and by the Iberians, who overran and wasted the country. For, the Armenians made no longer resistance, after the fate of DEMONAX their Governour, who had ventur'd a battle, and was defeated: only some of the Nobles countenanced COTYS, King of Armenia the less, who thence became a short obstacle; but by Letters from the Emperor was aw'd into acquiescence: hence the whole devolv'd upon MITHRIDATES, who fell however into measures more violent than befitted a Prince newly establish'd. As to the Parthian competitors; in the heat of their preparations for a battle, they all on a sudden struck a league, alarm'd as they were by a conspiracy of the Parthians against both, but first discover'd to GOTARZES, and by him to his brother BARDANES. In the beginning of their interview, they were shy and diffident, but at last ventur'd to join hands, and then swore upon the altar of the Gods, to revenge the treason of their mutual enemies, and even to resign to each other: but, as BARDANES was held more worthy to retain the Monarchy; GOTARZES, in order to remove with himself all ground of jealousy, retir'd far into Hyrcania. To BARDANES, upon his return, Seleucia was surrender'd in the seventh year of its siege; so long had
that

that single City sustain'd its independency, and battled the power of Parthia, to the signal disgrace of the Parthian Monarchy.

HE next took possession of the most potent provinces, and had recover'd Armenia, but that VIBIUS MARSUS, Lieutenant of Syria, restrain'd him, by threatening him with war. In the mean time, GOTARZES regretting his concession of the Kingdom, and again recall'd by the nobility, whose bondage is ever most rigorous during peace, form'd an army, and was met as far as the river Charinda by BARDANES, who after an obstinate fight in disputing the passage, remain'd conqueror, and thence by a continued course of victories subdued all the nations lying between that river and the Gyndes, which parts the Dahans from the Arians. There the torrent of his conquests was obstructed; for, the Parthians however victorious, refus'd prosecuting a war so remote from home. Structures being therefore rais'd, as monuments of his grandeur and conquests, and to signify, that none of the ARSACIDES before him had from these nations exacted tribute, he return'd, mighty, in truth, in glory, but thence the more imperious and insupportable to his subjects, who therefore, by guile before concerted, slew him, while destitute of guards or apprehensions, he was only intent upon the chase, in the flower of his youth, but possess'd of such high renown as few of the oldest Kings could have claim'd, had he equally studied the love of his people, as he did to awe his enemies. The assassination of BARDANES begot fresh struggles amongst the Parthians, divided as they were about filling the throne: many adher'd to GOTARZES; some propos'd MEHERDATES, the grand-son of PHRAHATES, and by him given in hostage to the Romans. GOTARZES prevail'd, but was no sooner establish'd, but by an abandon'd course of cruelties and luxury, he forced the Parthians upon secret recourse to the Roman Emperor, soliciting for MEHERDATES to occupy the dominions of his ancestors.

UNDER the same Consuls were celebrated the Secular Games, eight hundred years after the founding of Rome; and sixty four since they had been exhibited by AUGUS-

TUS.

T U S. The feveral purpofes of thefe Princes herein I pafs over here, as already largely recounted by me in my Hiſtory of the Emperor DOMITIAN; for, he too preſented Secular Games, at which I aſſiſted in perſon, and the more affiduouſly as I was inveſted with the Quindecimviral Prieſthood, and at that time Pretor; a circumſtance which from no vain glory I inſert, but becauſe formerly the College of fifteen preſided in that festival, and the Magiſtrates chiefly diſcharged the offices of the ſolemnity. Whilſt CLAUDIUS was beholding the Games in the Circus, and the boys of quality repreſented on horſeback the ſiege of Troy, amongſt them particularly BRITANNICUS the Emperor's ſon, with LUCIUS DOMITIUS, who was afterwards adopted into the Claudian family by the name of NERO, and ſucceeded to the Empire; the affections of the populace appear'd more paſſionate for DOMITIUS; a thing which paſſ'd then for a propitious omen, and thence furniſh'd a common tradition, “ that in his
“ infancy two dragons, poſted like guards, were ſeen
“ about him:” a fable fram'd in imitation of the miraculous tales current in foreign nations. For, NERO himſelf, a Prince who never abridg'd his own fame, was wont to declare, that in his chamber was never beheld but one ſnake only.

I N truth, this partiality of the people accrued from the memory of GERMANICUS, from whom he was the only deſcendent of the male kind; and the popular commiſeration towards his mother AGRIPPINA, roſe in proportion to the cruel vengeance of MESSALINA, always her inveterate enemy, and now inflam'd with freſh rage; inſomuch that, if ſhe did not juſt then forge crimes and ſubborn accuſers to deſtroy that Lady, it was owing only to a new amour which poſſeſs'd her with a paſſion bordering upon fury: ſhe was ſo vehemently enchanted with the perſon of CAIUS SILIUS, the moſt beautiful of all the Roman youth, that ſhe oblig'd him to divorce his wife SILANA, a Lady of high quality, in order to poſſeſs alone the embraces of the adulterer. Nor was SILIUS unappriz'd of the height and malignity of his crime, nor of the terrible doom which threaten'd him: but, it was

destruction without resource, if he withstood MESSALINA; and glorious rewards were to be the fruits of his compliance: there were some hopes too of blinding CLAUDIUS; so that he held the pleasantest counsel the safest, to wait future and distant consequences, and to indulge present prosperity. The Empress, far from pursuing her amour by theft and privacy, frequented his house openly, with a numerous train, accompanied him incessantly abroad, loaded him with wealth, cover'd him with honours; and, in short, as if the fortune of the Empire had been transferr'd with the Emperor's wife, at the house of her adulterer were already seen the slaves, freedmen, and equipage of the Prince.

CLAUDIUS was a stranger to the disorders of his wife, and then exerting the authority of Censor. He corrected the people by severe Edicts for some late instances of their licentiousness, as they had, at the representation of a dramatick piece compos'd by PUBLIUS POMPONIUS, revil'd that Consul in the publick Theatre, with several Ladies of illustrious quality. He was likewise the author of a Law to restrain the pernicious iniquity of the Usurers, in lending money to young men, to be repaid with increase upon the death of their fathers. The springs that rise in the Simbruine Hills were by him brought to Rome: and to the Roman Alphabet he added new Letters; having learnt that even those of Greece were not at once devis'd and compleated.

THE Egyptians first of all others represented their sentiments by the figures of animals; and these Hieroglyphicks carv'd upon stone, the most ancient monuments of human memory, are still to be seen. That nation boast themselves " the original inventors of Types, and that the
 " Phœnicians having thence learnt them, they, who were
 " mighty in commerce and the dominion of the seas,
 " carried the same into Greece, and assum'd the glory
 " of an invention which they themselves were taught."
 For, the general tradition is, " that CADMUS arriv-
 " ing there in the Phœnician fleet, instructed the Greeks
 " in that art, a people as yet rude and uncultivated."
 Some hold, that " CECROPS the Athenian, or LINUS of
 " Thebes,

“ Thebes, and PALAMEDES the Argive, who liv’d during the times of Troy, devis’d sixteen Letters; and that
 “ by others afterwards, especially by SIMONIDES, the
 “ rest were added.” As to Italy, the Etruscans learn’d them of DAMARATUS the Corinthian; the native Latins, of EVANDER the Arcadian; and the fashion of the Latin Types were the same with those of the ancient Greeks. But we too had few at first, till from time to time the rest were supplied; and now CLAUDIUS, by the example of others, added three more, which continued in use during his own reign, and were thenceforth abolish’d; but are to this day seen in the tables of brass on which are publish’d the decrees of the people, and which hang in the Temples and great squares.

HE next made a representation to the Senate concerning the College of Soothsayers; “ that they would not
 “ suffer the most ancient discipline of Italy to be lost thro’
 “ disuse: that the Commonwealth was ever wont, during her times of calamity, to have recourse to those
 “ of that science, in order to retrieve by their counsel
 “ the sacred ceremonies from neglect and corruptions, and
 “ to cultivate them thereafter with more strict observance:
 “ thus the nobility of Etruria, whether from their own
 “ zeal, or by appointment of the Roman Senate, had always
 “ preserv’d those mysteries themselves, and convey’d the
 “ same down to their posterity: a laudable usage, but
 “ now faintly observ’d, through an universal indifference
 “ for all worthy arts, and more especially through the
 “ contagion and prevalence of foreign superstitions: it was
 “ true indeed that the Republick at present prosper’d; but
 “ her prosperity was purely to be referr’d to the benignity
 “ of the Gods; nor during prosperity ought they to abandon those solemn rites, which in seasons of difficulty had
 “ been ever zealously cultivated.” Hence the Senate decreed,
 “ that the Pontiffs should enquire what parts in the mystery of Soothsaying ought to be retain’d and confirm’d.”

THE same year, the Cheruscan nation had recourse to Rome for a King. The rage of their own domestick wars had swept away their principal chiefs; and of the Royal stock only one remain’d, who resided in the City, his
 name

name ITALICUS, son to FLAVIUS the brother of ARMINIUS, and by his mother grand-son to CATUMERUS Prince of the Cattans. He was himself a handsome person, and in horfmanship and the exercise of arms well train'd, as well according to the manner of his own country as that of ours: the Emperor therefore furnish'd him with expences and Guards, and exhorting him, " to
 " assume with magnanimity his hereditary grandeur," reminded him withal " that being born at Rome, nor held
 " as a hostage there, but living in the full immunity of a
 " native Citizen, he was the first who went in that character to rule over a strange people." His accession was, at first, matter of joy to the Germans, and so much the more, for that having had no share in their civil dissensions, he acted with equal courtesy towards them all: Hence his conduct became popular and renown'd; as sometimes he studied only affability and moderation, habits that could provoke none; upon other occasions he gave a loose to carroufels and the qualifications of wantonness; debauches that delight the Barbarians: so that his name was already famous amongst the adjacent nations, and even amongst nations more remote; when they, who had borne sway in the reign of factions, taking umbrage at his prevailing power, betook themselves to the several neighbouring people, and to them represented, " that the
 " ancient Liberty of Germany was extirpated, and over the
 " Germans the Roman yoke establish'd. Was their condition indeed thus miserably low, that their whole country could not furnish one native Cheruscan worthy to
 " sustain the Sovereignty; but at the head of their state
 " they must set the offspring of FLAVIUS, the offspring
 " of a traitor and a spy for the Romans? In vain was
 " alledg'd his kindred to ARMINIUS; since even the son
 " of ARMINIUS were to be dreaded in the same station;
 " bred as he was in a hostile soil, poison'd with foreign
 " nurture, debas'd by foreign slavery, inur'd to foreign
 " manners and every thing foreign: but, for this son of
 " FLAVIUS; if he inherited the spirit of his father, never
 " had man waged war with fiercer enmity against his
 " native country and his own household Gods, than the
 " father of this ITALICUS."

By these and the like stimulations, they procur'd and assembled numerous forces; nor was ITALICUS follow'd by fewer; as on his behalf his followers argued, " that he had by no force or invasion seiz'd the throne, but held it by their own choice and invitation; and since in blood he excell'd all others, it became them to try whether in bravery he would shew himself worthy of his grand-father CATUMERUS: nor was it any ground of shame to the son, that his father had never violated that faith towards the Romans, which with the approbation of the Germans he had sworn: but shamelessly and falsely was the sound of liberty urg'd by those, who degenerate in their own lives and destructive to the publick weal, placed their only hopes in rending their country by civil discord." The King had the zeal and acclamations of the people; and in a great battle between these hosts of Barbarians, he acquir'd the victory: thenceforward he became transported with his good fortune; grew imperious, and was expell'd, but again restor'd by the forces of the Longobards; and, in these struggles he continued, as well by his successes as misfortunes, to afflict the Cheruscan state.

ABOUT the same time the Chaucians, engag'd now in no domestick dissensions, and animated by the death of SANQUINIUS, Governor of lower Germany, made incursions into that Province, before CORBULO arriv'd to succeed him. For their leader they had GANNASCUS, of the country of the Caninefates, one who had long serv'd the Romans amongst their auxiliaries, but deserted, and following the practice of piracy, infested the neighbouring coasts, and above all terribly ravag'd the coasts of Gaul, a nation whom he knew to be rich and unwarlike. But when CORBULO enter'd the province, where, in this his first military command, he laid the foundation of his eminent future glory, he dispatch'd with great diligence the galleys down the Rhine, and the other vessels along the lakes and canals, according to their different sizes and burden. Thus, having sunk the enemy's wherries, and put GANNASCUS to flight, he took order first for settling effectually the state of the Province, and then restor'd the

ancient discipline amongst the Legions, who were now utter strangers to military toils and application, and had been long employ'd in depredations only. Under CORBULO no man durst stir from his rank, none, without express orders, durst attack the foe: accoutred with all their arms, they were forced to keep guard and stand centry; and whatever duties they perform'd, under all their arms they perform'd them: it is even reported, "that he punish'd a soldier with death, for digging in the trenches without his sword; and another for being there arm'd only with his dagger." Instances in truth of severity without measure; but whether forged or aggravated, they still ow'd their rise to the rigid spirit of that Captain: so that it was manifest how inexorable in flagrant enormities he must be, who was thought capable of such unrelenting asperity for offences so small.

THIS terror, however, affected the army and the enemy different ways: by it the Romans increas'd in bravery, and the ferocity of the Barbarians was abated. Hence the Frizians, who after their rebellion begun by the defeat of LUCIUS APRONIUS, had continued in hostility, or in uncertain and faithless allegiance, sent us new hostages, and settled themselves in the territory assign'd them by CORBULO: over them he instituted a Senate, Magistrates, and Laws; and, to ensure their subjection, amongst them planted a garrison. He likewise dispatch'd proper persons to solicit the Chaucians to submission, and at the same time, by guile to assail GANNASCUS: the snare succeeded; nor did the practice of snares towards a deserter, one who had broke his faith, debase the Roman magnanimity: yet, by his assassination, the minds of the Chaucians were inflam'd, and by it CORBULO furnish'd them with matter of rebellion. Thus, his proceedings, tho' applauded by many, gave umbrage to others: "why, they said, would he be wantonly exciting a people to arms? Upon the Commonwealth must light all the disasters of the war; but, if success attended him, then would such a signal Commander prove terrible to the quiet of the State, and, to a dastardly Prince, insupportable." Hence CLAUDIUS became so thoroughly bent against all further
irruptions

irruptions into Germany, that he order'd him to lead back all the Roman forces over the Rhine.

CORBULO was already encamping in the enemy's country, when these orders were deliver'd him; and the sudden check appall'd him: but, tho' many different apprehensions at once overwhelm'd his spirit; such as his dread of the Emperor, the scorn of the Barbarians, the derision of the Allies; yet without uttering more than, that "happy" "were the Roman Captains of old;" he order'd the retreat to be sounded. However to prevent the soldiers from relapsing into a habit of idleness, he employ'd them in digging a Canal three and twenty miles long between the Meuse and the Rhine; by it to open a receptacle for the high tides, and prevent inundations. The Emperor nevertheless allow'd him the decorations of Triumph, tho' he had denied him the prosecution of war. Shortly after, the same honour was conferr'd on CURTIUS RUFUS, who, in the territory of the Mattiacians had open'd some silver mines; a source of small advantage, nor of long continuance; but to the Legions it created eminent labour and damage, as they were forced to cut deep sluices, and toil under the earth at works which in the open air are hard and rigorous. The soldiers therefore, overcome by these hardships, and perceiving that the same drudgeries were exacted from them in several Provinces, wrote secretly to the Emperor, and in the name of the Armies besought him, "that whomsoever he intended for the Command of the" "Legions, he would first reward them with the triumphal" "honours."

CONCERNING the original of CURTIUS RUFUS, who by some is represented as the son of a Gladiator, I should be sorry to publish a false account; and I am also tender of recounting that which is true. As soon as he was grown to a man, he follow'd a Roman Questor into Africa; and, at the City of Adrumetum, while he walk'd under the piazza in the middle of the day, the vision of a woman above human size appear'd before him, and accosted him with these words: "Thou, RUFUS, art one" "who shalt hereafter come into this Province with Pro-" "consular authority." Inspir'd with hopes from this pre-
sage,

sage, he return'd to Rome, where by the largesses of his friends and the vigour of his own spirit, he gain'd the Questorship; and standing afterwards for the office of Pretor against the several candidates of the Nobility, carried it by the interest of TIBERIUS, who, as a shade to the fordidness of his birth, gave him this encomium: "To me
" CURTIUS RUFUS seems to be descended from himself." After this, always a servile flatterer of those above him, arrogant to his inferiours, and perverse to his equals, he liv'd to a great age, arriv'd to the Consular power, the honours of Triumph, lastly to the Government of Africa; and, dying there, fulfill'd the fatal presage.

ABOUT the same time CNEIUS NOVIUS a Roman Knight, was discover'd arm'd with a dagger in the throng of those who were paying their court to the Prince; but, upon what motives, was no wise apparent then, nor ever afterwards learnt. For tho' when vehemently rent by the rack, he at last confess'd his own design; his accomplices he never disclos'd: whether he would not, or had none, is uncertain. Under the same Consuls it was mov'd by PUBLIUS DOLABELLA, "that a publick entertainment
" of Gladiators should be yearly exhibited at the charge
" of such as obtain'd the office of Questors." An office which in the days of our ancestors was only the price of virtue: and indeed to every Roman, if he confided in his own qualifications, it was free to sue for every Magistracy; nor was want of years held any obstruction, but that some even in their early youth might become Consuls and Dictators. As to the Questorship, it was as ancient as our Kings, as is manifest from the Law Curiata, reviv'd by LUCIUS BRUTUS; and the power of chusing Questors continued in the Consuls till the people would assume the conferring of that honour also: so that VALERIUS POTITUS and EMILIUS MAMERCUS, the first popular Questors, were created twenty three years after the expulsion of the TARQUINS, and appointed to attend the armies: upon the multiplication of business, two more were afterwards added to officiate at Rome. After a long interval, all Italy being now tributary, and large revenues growing from the Provinces, the number was
I doubled:

doubled: SYLLA next, in order to fill the Senate, upon which he had devolv'd the authority of adjudging causes, created twenty; and tho' the Equestrian Order had since recover'd the decision of suits, yet the Questorship continued still to be by the rule of merit, gratuitously granted, till by this motion of DOLABELLA, it was expos'd as it were to sale by auction.

IN the Consulship of AULUS VITELLIUS and LUCIUS VIPSANIUS, counsels were on foot about supplying the vacancies of the Senate; and, as the Nobility of that part of Gaul entitled Comata, had long since acquir'd the distinction of Confederates and Citizens of Rome, they now sued for a common participation of her offices and honours: hence many and various were the reasonings of the publick upon these their pretensions, and the Prince was beset with opposite parties and struggles: he was told, " that Italy was not fallen so low, but to her own Ca-
" pital she could furnish a supply of Senators. Of old her
" natives only, they who were of the same blood with
" the Romans, sufficed for such recruits to the Roman
" State: nor was there any pretence to condemn or amend
" the institutions of the ancient Republick, a Republick
" which inspir'd her Citizens with such noble manners,
" that the spirit and actions of the old Romans were still
" urg'd as venerable patterns of virtue and glory to us
" their posterity. Was it not sufficient that already the
" Venetæ and Insubrians had invaded the Senate, unless
" a host of foreigners too be introduced, like an establish-
" ment of captivity and conquest? After this, what dig-
" nity would remain to the native Nobility? What means
" of preferment to any poor Senator of Latium? By these
" opulent Gauls all publick honours would be engross'd;
" men whose fathers and fore-fathers were at the head
" of hostile nations, distress'd us with all the violence of
" war, slaughter'd our Armies, and at Alcia besieg'd the
" deified JULIUS: instances these of later days; but more
" horrible to recount were the ravages and tyranny of
" the ancient Gauls, those who with impious hands de-
" molish'd the great Roman Altar and defaced the Capi-
" tol. They might, in truth, enjoy still the title of Ci-

“ tizens; but let not the glory of the Fathers, let not
 “ the lustre of the Magistrates be prostituted, and become
 “ the common purchase and spoil of nations.”

THE Emperor was little affected by these and the like
 allegations; but having presently answer'd those who made
 them, he summon'd the Senate and spoke thus: “ The
 “ ancestors of my family, and the oldest of them ATTUS
 “ CLAUSUS, who tho' a Sabine born, was at once adopt-
 “ ed a Roman Citizen and enroll'd in the number of Pa-
 “ tricians; have, by their assumption into this City, fur-
 “ nish'd me with a lesson, that with parallel measures I
 “ ought to maintain the Commonwealth, by transferring
 “ to our selves all men of signal merit wherever found.
 “ For, I am not ignorant, that from Alba we had the JULII,
 “ from Camerium the CORRUNCANI, and the PORCII
 “ from Tusculum: but, to avoid the detail of ancient and
 “ single adoptions; were not the Nobles of Etruria, the
 “ Nobles of Lucania, nay those of all Italy, call'd into
 “ the body of the Senate? At last our City and her pri-
 “ vileges became bounded only by the Alps; insomuch
 “ that, besides the admission of particulars, whole states
 “ and nations became ingrafted into the Roman name.
 “ We had then solid peace at home, and our arms and
 “ reputation flourish'd abroad, when the nations on the
 “ other side the Po were presented with the rights of
 “ Citizens; and when under the guise of planting, out
 “ of the Legions, Colonies all over the earth, and by in-
 “ corporating with these our colonies the most powerful
 “ of the natives, we thence supported and renew'd our
 “ own exhausted state. Do we regret that the BALBI were
 “ transplanted to us from Spain, or men equally illustri-
 “ ous from the Narbon Gaul; they whose descendents
 “ remain yet with us, nor yield to us in their love of this
 “ our common country? What prov'd the bane of the
 “ Spartans and Athenians, States so potent in arms and
 “ conquests, but that they imperiously held for aliens whom-
 “ soever they conquer'd? Much greater was the wisdom
 “ of ROMULUS, our founder; a Prince who saw several
 “ people his enemies and his Citizens, in one and the
 “ same day. Even over us Romans foreigners have been
 Kings;

“ Kings; and, to commit Magistracies to the children of
 “ freedmen, is no innovation, as many erroneously suppose,
 “ but a primitive practice of the old Roman people. But,
 “ it seems, we have had wars with the Gauls: what is the
 “ consequence? have the Volcians, have the Equians never
 “ borne arms against us? It is true, our Capital has been
 “ taken by the Gauls; but by the Tuscans we have been
 “ forced to give hostages; and by the Samnites to pass
 “ under a gibbet. However, upon a review of all our
 “ wars, none will be found more quickly concluded than
 “ those with the Gauls; and ever since has ensued a peace
 “ never interrupted, and faithfully observ’d: they are
 “ link’d with us in private manners, in civil and military
 “ accomplishments, and domestick alliances; and in this
 “ conjunction with us let them rather introduce amongst
 “ us their gold and abundance, than enjoy them with-
 “ out our participation. All the things, Conscript Fa-
 “ thers, which are now held most ancient in our State,
 “ were once new: the Plebeian Magistrates were later than
 “ the Patricians; the Latin later than the Plebeian; those
 “ of other nations in Italy came after the Latin: the pre-
 “ sent admission of the Gauls will also wax old; and what
 “ is this day supported by examples, will itself hereafter
 “ become an example.”

By a Decree of the Fathers, which followed this speech,
 the Eduans first acquir’d the right of admission into the
 Senate: the reward this of their ancient confederacy with
 Rome, and as they only of all the Gauls are entitled the
 Brethren of the Roman people. About the same time, all
 the ancient Senators, with such whose fathers had sustain’d
 signal offices in the State, were by CLAUDIUS assum’d into
 the class of Patricians. For, of all the families who by
 ROMULUS were nam’d *the older Nobility*, or of those ad-
 ded by LUCIUS BRUTUS and call’d *the younger*, there
 were few remaining: even such whom CESAR the Dic-
 tator by the Cassian Law, and such whom the Emperor AU-
 GUSTUS by the Senian Law, had created Patricians, were
 now extinct. As these reformatations made in the State by
 CLAUDIUS, in quality of Cenfor, were acceptable to the
 publick, he proceeded in them with great alacrity: yet,
 how

how to degrade from the Senate those who were of infamous characters, held him some time in suspense; but, as he determin'd to apply rather a new and tender expedient, than to pursue the rigorous example of antiquity; he warn'd them, "to consult their own qualifications, and then ask leave to resign their order; a request easily to be obtain'd;" and then he promis'd, "to name them as persons remov'd by abdication, at the same time that he would pronounce others judicially expell'd; that thus the credit of a modest and voluntary resignation, might soften and hide the infamy of expulsion by the judgment of the Cenfor." For these regulations, the Consul VIPSANIUS propos'd, "that CLAUDIUS should be call'd the *Father of the Senate*; for that, the name of *Father of his Country* was a common title; and his extraordinary benefits to the Commonwealth ought to be distinguish'd with no ordinary appellations:" but the Emperor thought the flattery extravagant, and check'd the Consul. He then number'd the Citizens, who in that survey amounted to six millions, nine hundred thousand. From this time he remain'd no longer a stranger to his domestick reproach, but was brought to hear and punish the abominations of his wife; an incident which made way for an incestuous marriage with his niece.

MESSALINA now disdaining her daily adulteries, as pleasures too common, was abandoning her self to the gratifications of lust never before devis'd; when SILIUS too, by a fatal intoxication, or judging that the dangers hanging over him were only to be averted by dangerous remedies, urg'd to her, "that all disguises must now be cast off, for they were gone too far to venture waiting for the death of the Emperor: to none but the guilty less were unblamable counsels adapted: in glaring guilt, determin'd intrepidity was the only resource. They had accomplices at hand, such as dreaded the same doom; and for himself, he was single, childless, ready to marry her, and to adopt BRITANNICUS: to MESSALINA should still remain her present power; and certain security would abide both, if they prevented CLAUDIUS; one so easily circumvented, but so naturally prone withal

" to

“ to the incitements of wrath and revenge.” These words were but coolly receiv’d by MESSALINA; from no love to her husband; but she fear’d that SILIUS, when he had gain’d the Sovereignty, would scorn her his old adulterers; and the treason, which to avoid his present peril he now recommended, would then be consider’d and repaid according to its genuine value. She however coveted the strange fame of this matrimony, purely for the enormous measure of the infamy; which to such as are abandon’d to debauchery, is the last improvement of voluptuousness: nor staid she longer than till CLAUDIUS went to Ostia, to assist at a sacrifice, and then celebrated her Nuptials with SILIUS, with all the usual solemnities.

I AM well aware how fabulous it will appear, that such blind security should possess the heart of any mortal man; much more that a Consul elect, should, in a City inform’d of all things, and concealing nothing, dare to marry the Emperor’s wife, with all the usual preliminaries and parade, at a stated day, witnesses call’d, the contract sign’d by them, with a declaration inserted that by it children were intended: that the Emperor’s wife should espouse another husband in form, hear the solemn words of the Augurs, sacrifice solemnly to the Gods, celebrate with him in a great company the nuptial Feasts, and in the presence of all exchange kisses and embraces, and pass the night in the consummation of conjugal joys. Yet wonderful as it is, I frame no fiction, but only relate what from the living or written testimony of our fathers I have learnt.

HORROR seiz’d the Prince’s family, especially those who had the chief sway: they dreaded a Revolution, and their dread setting them above their usual caution of uttering their indignation in secret, they storm’d aloud, “ that
 “ while the Emperor’s bed-chamber was by a player turn’d
 “ into a scene of lewdness, a monstrous reproach was in
 “ truth incurr’d, but no dissolution threaten’d the State:
 “ at present was seen a more alarming scene; a young man
 “ of the prime Nobility, in the beauty of his person sur-
 “ passing all men, of a spirit vigorous and capable, and
 “ just entering upon the Consulship, was pursuing views

* 3 Y

“ much

“ much higher; nor was it any riddle, whither such a “ marriage tended.” It is true, when they recollected the stupidity of *CLAUDIUS*, his blind attachment to his wife, and the many lives sacrificed to her fury, their own apprehensions dismay’d them: but again, even the passive spirit of the Emperor reviv’d their confidence, that, if they could first possess him with the horrid blackness of her crimes, she might be dispatch’d without trial: or, if she obtain’d to be heard, and even confess’d her guilt, they might yet stop his ears and frustrate her defence.

BUT first it was in agitation, whether still to dissemble her past enormities, and by secret menaces deter her from her league with *SILIUS*. This was a project propos’d by the principal freedmen; by *CALISTUS*, whom in relating the assassination of *CALIGULA*, I have already mention’d; by *NARCISSUS*, who plotted the sacrifice of *APPIUS*; and by *PALLAS*, then the reigning favourite; but a project afterwards dropp’d, as from alarming *MESSALINA* they apprehended their own doom. *PALLAS* was feint-hearted; and *CALISTUS*, a courtier in the last reign also, had experienc’d, that more securely by wary measures, than by daring counsels, power was supported. *NARCISSUS* persisted to attack her; with this difference only, that by no words of his she should be pre-acquainted with any purpose he had to accuse her; and, watching all occasions, while the Emperor linger’d at Ostia, he prevail’d, by gifts and promises, with two courtezans, to undertake the accusation; since, as they were the chief mistresses of *CLAUDIUS*, the freedman urg’d to them, “ that “ by the fall of his wife, their own authority would grow “ predominant.”

CALPURNIA therefore, (for that was her name) upon the first offer of privacy, falling at the Emperor’s feet, cried out, “ that *MESSALINA* had married *SILIUS*;” and at the same time ask’d *CLEOPATRA*, who purposely attended to attest it, “ whether she had not found it to be “ true?” *CLAUDIUS* upon a confirmation from *CLEOPATRA*, order’d *NARCISSUS* to be call’d. He, when he came, begg’d pardon, that he had conceal’d from the Prince her adulteries with *VECTIUS*, and those with *PLAU-*
TIUS;

TIUS; “ nor meant he now, he said, to insist upon any
 “ of her adulteries; nor even that the Emperor should
 “ reclaim his palace, his slaves, and the other domestick
 “ decorations of his Imperial fortune: let her adulterer still
 “ enjoy even these: let him only break the nuptial tables,
 “ and restore the Emperor’s wife. Knowest thou, CESAR,
 “ that thou art in a state of divorce? it is what all men
 “ know: in the face of the people, and Senate, and sol-
 “ diery, MESSALINA has espous’d SILIUS; and, if thou
 “ makest not dispatch, her new husband is Sovereign of
 “ Rome.

HE then sent for his most trusty friends, particularly
 for TURRANIUS, Superintendent of the stores; next for
 LUSIUS GETA, Captain of the Pretorian Guards; and
 enquir’d of them: as they avouch’d it, all the rest con-
 tended in clamour and importunity, that he should forth-
 with proceed to the Camp, secure the Pretorian Cohorts,
 and consult his preservation before his revenge. It is cer-
 tain, that CLAUDIUS was confounded with that degree
 of dread, that he incessantly ask’d, “ whether he were
 “ yet Emperor; whether SILIUS was still a private man?”
 As to MESSALINA; she never wallow’d in greater volup-
 tuousness; it was then the middle of Autumn, and in her
 house she exhibited a representation of the vintage: the
 wine-presses were plied, the wine vats flow’d, and round
 them danced women begirt with skins, practising the fran-
 tick agitations of the drunken sacrificers to Bacchus: she
 her self, with her hair loose and flowing, held a Thyrsus
 and wav’d it; accompanied by SILIUS, who was crown’d
 with ivy, his legs in buskins, and brandishing his head;
 and about him revell’d, in wanton postures, the chanting
 choir of mock Priests. It is reported, that VECTIUS VA-
 LENS, having, in a frolick, vaulted to the top of an ex-
 ceeding high tree, was ask’d, what he beheld; and an-
 swer’d, “ a terrible storm from Ostia:” whether he in
 truth saw a troubled sky, or spoke at random, it prov’d
 in effect a true presage.

FOR, it was no longer the uncertain voice of rumour,
 but messengers were hourly arriving with express tidings,
 “ that CLAUDIUS was appriz’d of all, and approach’d,
 “ bent

“ bent upon sudden vengeance.” MESSALINA therefore betook her self to the Gardens of LUCULLUS; and SILIUS, to dissemble his fear, resum’d the offices of the Forum. As all the rest fled different ways, the Centurions caught and bound them, some abroad, some in private places, as fast as they could discover them. MESSALINA, tho’ her soul embarrass’d by this threatening calamity was bereft of resources, form’d however no dastardly purpose, namely, that of meeting her husband, and moving him by her presence; an expedient which had often prov’d her protection: she likewise order’d that BRITANNICUS and OCTAVIA should go forth and embrace their father; and besought VIBIDIA, the oldest Vestal, to intercede with the chief Pontiff, and implore his mercy for his wife. She her self the while wander’d on foot all along the City, attended only by three persons (so suddenly had her whole train forsaken her in disgrace) and then in a cart employ’d to carry dirt from the Gardens, took the road to Ostia; a wretched object, but by no soul pitied; as the hideous deformity of her abominations had prevail’d over all commiseration.

YET still the Emperor was possess’d with no less affright; for, he could not intirely rely on the faith of GETA Captain of his Guards; a man equally fickle to embark in designs honourable or base. NARCISSUS therefore in concert with those who entertain’d the same fear and mistrust, assur’d the Emperor, “ that there was
 “ no other expedient to preserve him than the transferring
 “ the command of his Guards upon one of his freedmen,
 “ for that day only;” and offer’d himself to undertake it. In all this he was supported by these his associates: and, that LUCIUS VITELLIUS, and PUBLIUS LARGUS CECINA, might not, upon the road, prevail with CLAUDIUS to relent, he desir’d leave to sit in the same coach, and took it.

It grew afterwards a prevailing report, that, tho’ the Emperor was agitated different ways, and waver’d in his talk, now taxing the abominations of his wife, then recalling the endearments of their marriage, and the tender age of their children; VITELLIUS utter’d nothing but, “ oh hincous! oh the iniquity!” NARCISSUS, in
 3 truth,

truth, labour'd to drive him from his equivoques, and bring him to some exprefs declaration; but, with all his labour, he gain'd nothing: VITELLIUS ftill answer'd indirectly, and in terms that would admit of any conftitution; and his example was follow'd by LARGUS CECINA. Befides, MESSALINA was already in fight, and importunately cried, “ that he would hear the mother of OCTAVIA and BRITANNICUS?” To drown her cries, the accufer ftorm'd againft SILIUS, and her late marriage, and deliver'd at the fame time to CLAUDIUS a Memorial reciting all her whoredoms; by it to divert him from beholding her. Soon after, as the Emperor was entring Rome, it was attempted to prefent him his children by her; but NARCISSUS order'd them to be taken away: he could not however force away VIBIDIA, who infifted, with much earneftnefs, “ that CESAR would not furrender his wife “ to deftruction without admitting her defence:” fo that NARCISSUS was oblig'd to affure her, that the Prince would hear MESSALINA, who fhould have full opportunity of clearing her felf; and advis'd the Vefal to retire, and attend the folemnities of her Goddefs.

WONDERFUL during all this was the filence of CLAUDIUS: VITELLIUS affected aftonifhment; and the freed-man controul'd all things: by his command, the houfe of the adulterer was open'd, and the Emperor carried thither; where firft he fhew'd him, in the porch, the Statue of SILIUS the father, tho' the fame had been decreed to be demolifh'd by the Senate; and, within, all the fumptuous furniture belonging to the NEROS and DRUSI, but now the price and monuments of his wife's prostitution, and his own difgrace. Having by this means inflam'd him, and work'd him up to threats and fury, he led him ftreight to the Camp, where the foldiers being already affembled, CLAUDIUS, by the direction of NARCISSUS, made them a fhort fpeech; for the eruptions of his difpleafure, however juft, were refrain'd by fhame. Hence instantly began a general and importunate clamour for the names and doom of the criminals; and SILIUS was prefented before the Imperial Tribunal, where, neither offering any prefent defence, nor endeavouring to procraftinate, he only

besought a dispatch of his doom. The like eagerness for sudden execution, possess'd also several illustrious Roman Knights. He therefore commanded TITIUS PROCULUS, given by SILIUS as a guard to MESSALINA; VECTIUS VALENS, who confess'd his guilt, and offer'd to discover others; POMPEIUS URBICUS and SAUFELLUS TROGUS, as accomplices; to be all dragg'd to execution: on DECIUS CALPURNIANUS too, Prefect of the watch; SULPICIUS RUFUS, Comptroller of the Sports; and JUNCUS VIRGILIANUS, the Senator, the same pains were inflicted.

MNESTER only created some hesitation: he tore off his garments and cried, "that the Emperor might behold
" upon his body the impressions of the lash; might re-
" member his own commands, obliging him to gratify
" MESSALINA without reserve: others had been tempted
" to the iniquity by great presents or mighty hopes; but
" his offence was only owing to compulsion; nor would
" any man have sooner perish'd had SILIUS gain'd the
" Sovereignty." These considerations affected CLAUDIUS and greatly bias'd him to mercy; but his freedmen overrul'd him: they urg'd, "that after so many illustrious
" sacrifices, he would by no means think of saving a
" Player; whose crime was of that enormous malignity;
" that it avail'd not whether through choice or force he
" had committed it." As small effect had the defence of TRAUlus MONTANUS: this was a youth of signal modesty and loveliness, call'd by the express order of MESSALINA to her bed, and, after one night, cast off; with such equal wantonness was her passion surfeited and inflam'd! To SUILIUS CASONIUS, and PLAUTIUS LATERNUS, their lives were granted; to the last on account of the noble exploits of his uncle: the other was protect-ed by his villainess, as one who, in the late abominable revel, had prostituted himself like a woman.

MESSALINA was the while in the Gardens of LUCIUS, still striving to prolong life, and therefore composing supplications to the Prince, in a strain of some hopes, and even with sallies of resentment and wrath: such were the swellings of her pride, tho' encompass'd with the horrors of her approaching fate. In truth, had not NARCIS-

SUS hasten'd her assassination, the doom which he had prepar'd for her, would have rebounded upon his own head. For, CLAUDIUS, upon his return home, having well feasted upon the rarities of the season, began thence to grow jovial; so that as soon as he became warm with wine, he order'd them "to go and acquaint the miserable woman," (for this was the appellation which he is said to have us'd) "that to morrow she should attend and plead her cause." These words were alarming; his resentment also visibly abated, and his wonted affections were returning; besides that the effect of the following solitary night, and the impressions which the conjugal chamber, now destitute of his wife, might make upon CLAUDIUS; rais'd terrible apprehensions in NARCIS-SUS: he therefore ran hastily forth, and directed the Tribune and Centurions then attending upon duty, "to dispatch the execution, for such was the Emperor's command." With them he sent EVODUS of the freedmen, as a watch upon them, to see his orders strictly fulfill'd. EVODUS flew in a moment to the Gardens, and found her lying along upon the earth: by her sat her mother LEPIDA; who during her prosperity had liv'd in no degree of unanimity with her; but, in this her deadly distress, was overcome by compassion for her, and now persuaded her, "to anticipate the executioner: the course of her life, she said, was already finally run; and she was now confin'd to one only pursuit, that of dying with renown." But her soul, sunk and corrupted by debauchery, retain'd no tincture or relish of glory: she continued bewailing her self with tears and vain complaints, till the soldiers forced the doors: the Tribune stood before her, without opening his mouth; but the Freedman abus'd her unmeasurably, with all the brutal invectives of a slave.

SHE was then first convinc'd of the fate that hung over her, and, laying hold on the steel, aim'd first at her throat, and then at her breast; but while an irresolute spirit and a quaking hand frustrated her aim, the Tribune ran her through: her corps was granted to her mother. CLAUDIUS was yet pursuing his good cheer, when tidings were carried

carried him, “ that MESSALINA had suffer’d her destiny ;” but without the addition of particulars, whether by her own, or another hand ; neither did he enquire : he even call’d for a bowl of wine, and proceeded in the usual gayeties of banquetting : nor did he, in truth, during the following days, manifest any symptom of detestation or joy, of resentment or sadness, nor in short of any human affection ; unmov’d as he was by beholding the accusers of his wife exulting over her death ; untouch’d by the sight of his children bewailing the violent end of their mother. The Senate help’d him to forget her, by decreeing, “ that from all publick and private places her Name “ should be raz’d, and her Pictures and Statues remov’d.” To NARCISSUS were decreed the decorations of the Questorship. This however was but a small monument of his grandeur, seeing he had now exerted an instance of power superiour to that of PALLAS and CALISTUS ; an instance just in effect, but from whence in time arose most pernicious consequences, as the deserv’d punishment of MESSALINA prov’d the source of flagrant iniquities which escap’d unpunish’d.

TWELFTH ANNAL.

UPON the death of MESSALINA, distractions shook the Prince's family, as amongst the freedmen a strife arose, which of them should chuse a wife for CLAUDIUS; one impatient of a single life, and always abandon'd to the dominion of his wives. Nor were the Ladies animated by less emulation, whilst they endeavour'd preferably to recommend their own quality, wealth, and beauty, and each boasted her just claim to imperial wedlock. But the chief competition lay between LOLLIA PAULLINA, daughter to MARCUS LOLLIUS a Consular, and JULIA AGRIPPINA the daughter of GERMANICUS; the latter supported by the interest of PALLAS, the other by that of CALLISTUS. But, AELIA PETINA, of the Tiberonian family, had the countenance of NARCISSUS. For CLAUDIUS; as he was now bent upon one, then upon another, undetermin'd in himself, and always led by his last adviser, he call'd together these his jarring counsellors, and order'd them to produce their several proposals, and defend them.

NARCISSUS alledg'd "his former marriage with PETINA, and their common daughter (for, by her he had ANTONIA,) and that by resuming his wonted wife, he would introduce into his family no innovation; but a wife, who would never exercise the envious spirit of a step-mother towards BRITANNICUS and OCTAVIA, since they were in blood so nearly allied to her own children." CALLISTUS argu'd, "that, to recal her, after so long a dislike and divorce, would be the very means to heighten her indignation and pride: LOLLIA would be a much more eligible match; she, who having no issue of her own, was void of every motive of emulation to his, but would use these her step-children with the tenderness of a real mother." PALLAS chiefly recommended AGRIPPINA from these considerations; "that, with her she would bring the grandson of GERMANICUS, and was herself worthy of imperial fortune, noble in her descent, and a proper band to unite together to posterity the Claudian family; that she was of tried fruitfulness, and in the prime of

“ her age ; so that by this match, would be prevented
 “ her carrying into another house the illustrious blood of
 “ the CESARS.”

THE reasonings of PALLAS prevail'd, enforc'd as they were by the allurements and careſſes of AGRIPPINA; who under ſhew of confanguinity, was aſſiduous in her viſits to her uncle, and manag'd him ſo effectually, that, tho' hitherto ſhe was only preferr'd to others, and not yet his wife; ſhe already exercis'd the power of one. For, as ſoon as ſhe had ſecur'd her own marriage, ſhe was framing higher purpoſes, and concerting a match between DOMITIUS, her ſon by CNEIUS AENOBARBUS, and OCTAVIA, the Emperor's daughter: a deſign which without iniquity could not be accompliſh'd, becauſe the Emperor had betroth'd OCTAVIA to LUCIUS SILANUS, a youth of ſignal quality, whom CLAUDIUS had diſtinguiſh'd with the triumphal ornaments, and, by the popular magnificence of an entertainment of gladiators in his name, recommended to the notice and favour of the people. But, nothing appear'd inſurmountable to the undiſcerning ſpirit of a Prince, who had no judgment nor choice, nor averſion, but ſuch as were inſus'd and manag'd by others.

VITELLIUS therefore, who watch'd the tendency of power, and foreſaw into whoſe hands the ſovereignty was haſtning, in order to purchaſe the favour of AGRIPPINA, became engag'd in her counſels, and, under the plauſible name of Cenſor covering his own ſervile and hollow arts, began to deviſe crimes againſt SILANUS; whoſe ſiſter JUNIA SILANA, a young lady gay and beautiful, had not long before been the daughter-in-law of VITELLIUS. Hence he took the ſource of the accuſation, and wreſted to a charge of inceſt the mutual affection of brother and ſiſter; an affection no wiſe inceſtuous, however too free and unguarded. The Emperor liſten'd to the charge, as his fondneſs for his daughter render'd him the more prone to entertain ſuſpicions againſt his ſon-in-law. For SILANUS; unappriz'd as he was of any machinations againſt him, and happening to be Pretor that year, he was all on a ſudden, by an edict of VITELLIUS, degraded from the rank of a Senator, notwithſtanding the Senate was review'd: and the number fix'd a good while before: CLAU-
DIUS,

DIUS, at the same time, withdrew his alliance, and SILANUS was even compell'd to renounce his magistracy; inso-much that his Pretorship, which of course expir'd next day, was for that day conferr'd upon EPRIUS MARCELLUS.

DURING the consulship of CAIUS POMPEIUS and QUINTUS VERANIUS, the contract of marriage between CLAUDIUS and AGRIPPINA formerly made, was already proclaim'd by the publick voice, and the publick voice confirm'd by their own criminal commerce. They durst not however celebrate the nuptials, as there was no instance of an uncle's taking to wife his brother's daughter. Besides, it was evidently incestuous, and if that consideration were despis'd, it was apprehended that some avenging calamity might fall upon the state. These fears and delays continu'd, till VITELLIUS undertook to accomplish it, by his own dexterity. He ask'd the Emperor, "whether
 " he would submit to the express pleasure of the people, and to the authority of the Senate?" CLAUDIUS answer'd, "that he himself was one of the people, and could
 " not withstand the voice and consent of them all:" VITELLIUS then desir'd him to continue within the palace, and went himself to the Senate, where after a solemn declaration, that he had something to communicate of the highest importance to the commonwealth, he demanded leave to be heard before any other; then alledg'd, "that
 " the exquisite and incessant labours of the Prince, even
 " those of governing the world, call'd for alleviation and
 " support, such as relieving him from domestick cares
 " might leave him at full leisure to attend the interest of
 " the whole. What, in truth, was a more worthy consolation to the spirit of a Censor, than the consolation
 " of a wife, a sharer in his crosses and prosperity, one in
 " whom he could repose his most secret thoughts and the
 " care of his tender infants? For, as to the ways of sensuality and voluptuous pleasures, he had never follow'd
 " them, but from his early youth practis'd strict obedience
 " to the laws."

AFTER this plausible introduction, which he found receiv'd by the Senate with mighty sycophancy and applause, he again proceeded; "that seeing they all with one mouth
 " persuaded the Prince to marry; a Lady must be chosen

" signal

“ signal in her descent, of distinguish’d fruitfulness, and
 “ religiously virtuous: nor for these qualifications needed
 “ there be long search, since AGRIPPINA, in the illustrious-
 “ ness of her race, excell’d all others; had given proofs of
 “ her fruitfulness, and was endow’d with suitable purity
 “ of manners: it was indeed a happy circumstance, that
 “ through the providence of the Gods, she prov’d then
 “ a widow, that the Prince might take her single into
 “ his own bed, without violating that of another; he who
 “ had ever confin’d himself religiously to his own wives.
 “ They had heard from their fathers, nay themselves had
 “ seen, that Ladies were ravish’d from their husbands,
 “ at the lust and command of the CESARS: a proceeding
 “ far from the moderate spirit of the present government,
 “ when the Emperor even establish’d a precedent by what
 “ authority Princes ought hereafter to marry. But, amongst
 “ us it seem’d an innovation to marry our brother’s daugh-
 “ ters; which yet is a usage frequent in other nations;
 “ nor by any law forbidden to ours. The intermarriage
 “ of cousins german was a practice long unknown, yet
 “ in time wax’d frequent: customs were to be suited to
 “ exigencies; and this very novelty was one of those things
 “ which would soon be follow’d and practis’d.”

THERE were several Senators who declar’d with contend-
 ing zeal, “ that if the Emperor linger’d longer, they would
 “ compell him,” and rush’d warmly out of the Senate.
 The mixt multitude were likewise assembl’d, and pro-
 claim’d with shouts, “ that the same was the voice and
 “ demand of the Roman people.” Nor did CLAUDIUS
 delay any further, but proceeded to the Forum, there to
 receive in person their acclamations, and thence entering
 the Senate, requir’d “ a decree to legitimate for ever the
 “ marriages between uncles and their brothers daughters.”
 But, notwithstanding the law, no man was found addicted
 to this kind of alliance, but TITUS ALLEDIUS SEVERUS,
 a Roman Knight; and he only, as many believ’d, in court to
 AGRIPPINA. From this moment, the city assum’d a dif-
 ferent face, and all men tamely obey’d a woman; one who
 did not, like MESSALINA, render the Roman state sub-
 servient only to her feminine wantonness and amours, but
 over it establish’d a complete and masculine servitude.

Her carriage in publick was severe, and often haughty; at home she indulg'd no impurity, unless where the same serv'd the purposes of her power; and for a guise to her insatiate passion for money, she pretended the support and exigencies of the state.

ON the day of the nuptials, SILANUS slew himself; whether he had thus long entertain'd hopes of life, or invidiously chose that day to accumulate publick hate upon his persecutors. His sister CALVINA was banish'd Italy; and to her sentence CLAUDIUS added an injunction to the Pontiffs; "that, according to the institution of King TULLUS, they should offer expiatory sacrifices at the grove of "DIANA:" a source of mockery to all men, that penalties and lustrations for incest should be devis'd at such a conjuncture, when incest was establish'd by law. For AGRIPPINA; that she might not be distinguish'd and notorious only for the blackness of her deed, she obtain'd for ANNEUS SENECA a revocation from exile, and with it the Pretorship; favours which she suppos'd would prove well pleasing to the publick, on account of his signal eloquence and accomplishments; besides her own private views, such as the education of her son DOMITIUS under such a master, and the use they should make of his counsels for acquiring the Sovereignty: for SENECA, she believ'd, would continue faithfully attach'd to her from ties of gratitude; and in secret enmity to CLAUDIUS, through resentments of his sufferings.

IT was now thought expedient to proceed without more delay, to further designs; and MEMMIUS POLLIO, the Consul elect, was gain'd, by vast promises, to move the Senate, that CLAUDIUS might be by them besought "to betroth OCTAVIA to DOMITIUS:" a match not insuitable, indeed, to the equality of their ages, but introductory to the highest views: POLLIO mov'd it much in the same words with those lately us'd by VITELLIUS: OCTAVIA was betroth'd; and DOMITIUS, besides his former consanguinity with the Emperor, becoming also his son-in-law, was already rais'd to a parity with BRITANNICUS, an elevation which he ow'd to the efforts of his mother, and the devices of those who having been the accusers of MESSALINA, dreaded the vengeance of her son.

I have before related that ambassadors from the Parthians were sent to Rome, to demand MEHERDATES for their King: they were at this time introduced into the Senate, where they open'd their embassy to this effect;

“ That they came not to seek the violation of treaties,
 “ which they were aware subsisted between us and them;
 “ nor came they as revolters from the family of the Arsacides: their errand was to call home a Prince, who was
 “ the son of VENONES, the grandson of PHRAHATES, as
 “ their deliverer from the tyranny of GOTARZES; a tyranny
 “ equally insupportable to the nobility and people: already
 “ he had consign'd to slaughter and utterly consum'd by
 “ it his own brothers and relations; already extended the
 “ same cruelty to distant nobles and places; and to their
 “ slaughter was daily adding that of their wives and tender children, some of them yet unborn: that in matters of government, being a sluggard in peace, and of wretched fortune in war, he would with cruelty disguise his impotent and dastardly spirit: that with us the Parthians had an ancient friendship, founded upon publick leagues; and it behov'd us to succour these our allies, in strength great as our selves, and only in reverence yielding to us: it was true that the sons of their Kings were given as pledges to the Romans; but they were therefore only given, that when the domestic government of Parthia became grievous, they might have recourse to the Emperor and Senate, for a King season'd and improv'd by the Roman manners, and thence worthier of the throne.”

WHEN they had alledg'd these and the like arguments, CLAUDIUS made a speech concerning the grandeur of the Romans, and the deferences ever paid to the same by the Parthians; and equalling himself with the deified AUGUSTUS, represented that from him also they had sought a King. He omitted to mention TIBERIUS, tho' he too had sent them Kings. Upon MEHERDATES (who was present) he bestowed proper precepts and admonitions, “ that he should not consider his government as a
 “ lawless domination, nor his people as slaves; but remember himself and them in the tender relation of magistrate and fellow citizens; that he should cultivate ju-
 “ stice

“ justice and clemency; blessings unknown to Barbarians,
 “ and thence the more likely to please them.” Then turn-
 ing to the embassadors, he enlarg’d upon the praises of
 the young Prince, “ as one educated in the Roman dis-
 “ cipline, and himself of distinguish’d modesty,” yet ad-
 vis’d them, “ that they must bear with the humours of
 “ their Kings, for in frequent changes, they could never
 “ find their interest; and that the Roman state was ar-
 “ rived to a satiety of glory, insomuch that she studied
 “ the repose likewise of foreign states.” It was therefore
 given in commission to CAIUS CASSIUS, governor of
 Syria, to conduct the young King to the banks of the
 Euphrates.

THIS CASSIUS surpass’d all those of that time in the
 knowledge of the laws: for, in a long and general recess
 from war, the military arts were forgot; and, during a
 settled peace, no difference appears between the dastardly
 and the brave: yet he sedulously exercis’d the legions,
 carefully reviv’d the ancient discipline, as far as without
 the assistance of a war the same could be reviv’d, and
 acted with the same care and circumspection, as if a
 formidable enemy had been at hand. Such spirit and
 conduct he thought became the renown of his ancestors
 and the Cassian family, a name celebrated even amongst
 those nations. He now encamp’d at Zeugma, a place
 where the river is most passable, and having call’d toge-
 ther those by whose advice a King was sought from Rome,
 as soon as the Parthian chiefs, and with them AGBARUS
 King of the Arabs, were arriv’d, he represented to MEHER-
 DATES, “ that the Barbarians, in the first sallies of their
 “ spirit, were always violent, but cool’d by delays, or
 “ warp’d into treachery; so that, it behov’d him to press
 “ on to the execution of his enterprise.” This good coun-
 sel was frustrated by the fraud of AGBARUS, who de-
 tain’d the young King many days at the city of Edeffa;
 unexperienc’d as he was, and possess’d, that the essence
 of Royal fortune was plac’d in luxury and riot: so that,
 tho’ CARRHENES press’d them by messengers, and assur’d
 them, that success was certain, if they advanc’d with
 speed; they neglected entering directly into Mesopotamia,
 tho’ they were just upon its borders; but chose, by a
 long

long circuit, to march to Armenia; an unseasonable and laborious march, for winter was already begun.

As they descended into the plains, wearied with the deep snow and steep mountains, CARRHENES join'd them with his forces. Thence they pass'd the Tigris, and cross'd the country of the Adiabeniens, IZATES their King having publickly espous'd the interest of MEHERDATES, tho' secretly his inclinations were more sincerely attach'd to GOTARZES. In passing the river they took the city Ninos, the ancient seat of the Assyrian Empire, as also the castle of Arbela, so renown'd in story, for that the last battle between DARIUS and ALEXANDER was there fought, and by it the Monarchy of Persia dissolv'd. GOTARZES the while was sacrificing upon mount Sambulos to the Gods of the place. Amongst these HERCULES is principally ador'd, as a deity who, at stated times, is wont to warn the priests in a dream, "to prepare him horses equip'd for hunting, and place them by the temple;" and these horses, as soon as they have fix'd upon them certain quivers stuff'd with arrows, gallop off and scour the forests, nor return till night, their arrows all spent, and themselves exhausted and blowing: again, the God, in another vision of the night, describes to the priests the several tracts of the woods where he had rang'd; and in them are found scatter'd up and down, the beasts by him hunted down and slain.

As the forces of GOTARZES were not yet sufficiently strengthen'd, he us'd the river Corma for a rampart, and tho' daily by insults and heralds challeng'd to battel, he still procrastinated, shifted stations, and employ'd emissaries the while to bribe the enemy and wean them from their plighted faith; insomuch that first IZATES, leader of the Adiabeniens, and presently after AGBARUS King of the Arabs, went off with both their armies; a desertion agreeable to the native fickleness of those barbarous people, and even to their usual policy: since by several trials we have learnt, that they would rather ask a King from Rome, than be govern'd by him. MEHERDATES thus bereft of these powerful allies, and apprehending treasonable purposes in those who continu'd, determin'd, as his only remaining resource, to commit the issue to chance, and
risque

risque a battle: nor did GOTARZES refuse it, he who was grown resolute as his enemy was become weak. The conflict was great and bloody, and the event long in suspense, till CARRHENES, having overthrown all that oppos'd him, pursuing his victory too far, was surrounded in the rear by a body of reserve. This blow utterly blasted all the hopes of MEHERDATES; who therefore trusting to the faith and promises of PARRHACES, a dependant of his father's, was by the traitor deliver'd in bonds to the conqueror. GOTARZES disowning him "for a kinsman, or one of the family of the Arfacides," but reviling him, as "a foreigner and a Roman," order'd him to live with his ears cut off; as a vain instance of his own clemency, and towards us a monument of scorn and contumely. A disease soon after carried off GOTARZES; and VONONES, then governor of Media, was call'd to the throne; a Prince distinguish'd by nothing memorable fortunate or disastrous: his reign was short and inconsiderable, and the state of Parthia devolv'd upon his son VOLOGESES.

DURING this, MITHRIDATES of Bosphorus, since the loss of his territories, wander'd from place to place; but, having learnt that DIDIUS, the Roman commander, was thence withdrawn with the strength of his army, and that COTYS, a young Prince void of experience, was left in his new kingdom with only a few cohorts under JULIUS AQUILA, a Roman Knight; he flighted both, animated the neighbouring people to arms, drew over deserters, and having thus assembl'd an army, exterminated the King of the Dandarides, and seiz'd his dominions. Upon these tidings, and an apprehension, that he would instantly invade Bosphorus; AQUILA and COTYS distrusting the power of their own forces, and being diverted too by ZORSINES King of the Siracians, who had again taken up hostile arms; had recourse themselves to foreign aid, and dispatch'd Embassadors to EUNONES Prince of the Adorfians. Nor was it hard to accomplish this alliance, when they who sought it represented the imperial power of the Romans in competition with MITHRIDATES a vagabond and revolter. It was therefore accorded, "that EUNONES should
" make head with the cavalry, and the Romans besiege
" the towns."

THE army was then form'd and march'd in this order: the Adorfians compos'd the front and rear, the cohorts occupied the center, with those of Bosphorus arm'd like Romans. Thus they discomfited the enemy, and arriv'd at Soza, a city of the Dandarides, now deserted by MITHRIDATES; but, in it a garrison was judg'd proper to be placed, as a bridle upon the doubtful affections of the people. Thence they proceeded against the Siracians, and crossing the river Panda begirt the city of Uspes, situated upon a hill and well fortified with walls and moats; only as the walls were not built with stone, but rais'd of rows of hurdles with earth between, they were unable to bear an assault; moreover, against them towers were rais'd high enough to overlook them, and from thence the besieg'd were infested with flights of darts and flaming torches; and, had not night parted the combat, the city had been attempted and storm'd within the limits of a day.

NEXT day the besieg'd sent deputies to solicit, that to the free inhabitants their lives might be spared, and offering as an atonement ten thousand slaves: conditions rejected by the conquerors, since the massacring of such as were surrender'd to mercy would have been inhuman; and to secure such an host of prisoners, extremely difficult: it was therefore deem'd the sounder counsel to exercise the right of war, and put all promiscuously to the sword; hence to the soldiers, who already mounted the walls, the signal of slaughter was given. The overthrow of Uspes and the doom of its inhabitants, terrified their neighbours, who now believ'd that nothing could be secure or impregnable against the Romans; since arms and bulwarks, heights and fastnesses, deep rivers and fortified towns, were with equal bravery vanquish'd by them. Hence ZORSINES, after long deliberation, whether still to adhere to the desperate fortune of MITHRIDATES, or consult the security of his own paternal crown; at last prefer'd the interest of his state, and having deliver'd hostages, came and prostrated himself before the image of CLAUDIUS; to the signal glory of the Roman army, who had advanc'd, in a course of victory without blood, within three days journey of the river Tanais: but, in their return, the same fortune did not attend them; for, certain vessels,

as they fail'd back, were cast by a storm upon the coasts of the Taurians, and by these barbarians surpriz'd, who slew the leader of a cohort and most of the centurions.

MITHRIDATES the while, now destitute of all resource from arms, was devising to what quarter he should have recourse for mercy: his brother COTYS he dreaded as one who had formerly betray'd him, and became afterwards his open enemy: amongst the Romans in those parts there was none whose authority and engagements could much avail him: to EUNONES therefore he determin'd to apply, as one who bore him no personal hatred, and by virtue of his late alliance with us, a Prince of prevailing credit. Thus, in a countenance and equipage adapted to his present desolate circumstances, he enter'd the palace, and throwing himself at the feet of EUNONES; "I am MITHRIDATES, says he; the same who have
" been chas'd and persecuted by the Romans for so many
" years through sea and land; behold me before you,
" of my own choice; and use according to your pleasure a descendent of the great ACHEMENESES: it is the
" only advantage of which my enemies have not been reav'd me."

EUNONES was struck and affected with the illustrious quality of the man, with the sad recollection of his fortune, and his magnanimous manner of supplication. He rais'd him up, and praising him for having thrown himself upon the friendship of the Adorsians, and chosen him as a mediator for pardon, dispatch'd ambassadors to CLAUDIUS with letters to this purpose: "The alliances of the
" Roman Emperors with the Kings of other mighty nations, he said, were first founded upon a similitude of
" their fortunes; and his own with CLAUDIUS was also
" confirm'd by a joint victory: but, all wars were then
" concluded with most glory, when they ended in pardoning the vanquish'd: in this manner was ZORSINES
" lately treated; beaten but depriv'd of nothing. MITHRIDATES, it was true, had offended more grievously, and merited greater severity: hence for MITHRIDATES he neither besought new power or his
" former kingdom, but only an exemption from capital

“ pital punishment, and from the ignominy of being led
“ in triumph.”

CLAUDIUS, tho’ always benevolent to illustrious foreigners, was yet at a loss whether it were more advisable to receive the captive on terms of mercy, or to have him by force of arms. For this last there pleaded the sense of injuries, and the gratification of revenge: but against it was alledg’d, “ that the war was to be under-
“ taken in countries wild and trackless, upon a sea boi-
“ sterous and destitute of havens, against fierce and war-
“ like Kings, against rambling and vagabond nations;
“ where the soil was indigent and barren, where hasty
“ measures would be dangerous, procrastination vexati-
“ ous and wearisome; small would be the glory in vic-
“ tory, much infamy in a defeat: the Emperor ought
“ therefore readily to embrace the overture, and agree to
“ spare his life; he was indigent, and an exile; and the
“ longer he enjoy’d his desolate life, so much the severer
“ would be his sufferings.” These considerations convinced CLAUDIUS, and he writ to EUNONES, “ that in
“ truth MITHRIDATES had merited the punishment of
“ death, nor wanted he power to inflict it; but he chose
“ to follow the rule of our ancestors, who, as they pur-
“ su’d obstinate enemies with unremitting rigour, treated
“ the suppliant with equal benevolence. As to triumphs,
“ they were only to be acquired by the conquest of entire
“ kingdoms and nations.”

MITHRIDATES was thence deliver’d to JULIUS CILO, the Imperial Procurator in Pontus, and by him carried to Rome, where, in the presence of the Emperor, he is said to have spoke with more haughtiness than suited with the abjectness of his fortune: for, as the same was reported abroad, he thus express’d himself: “ I am not brought
“ back to thee, CESAR; but of my own choice I have
“ return’d; or, if thou dost not believe me, dismiss me
“ again, and then try to recover me.” Moreover, when he was expos’d at the Rostrum, to the view of the people, and encompass’d with guards, his countenance continu’d perfectly undaunted. To CILO were decreed the Consular ornaments, and to AQUILA those of the Pretorship.

DURING the same Consuls, AGRIPPINA, ever implacable in her hate, and enrag'd at LOLLIA, for having disputed with her a right to the Emperor's bed; fram'd crimes against her, and suborn'd an accuser, who charg'd her, "with dealing with the Magicians and Chaldeans, and even consulting the Oracle of the Clarian Apollo, concerning that match." CLAUDIUS, without hearing her in her own defence, represented her guilt to the Senate; and, after a long preface concerning the signal splendor of her birth and quality, "that by her mother she was niece to LUCIUS VOLUSIUS; COTTA MESSALINUS her great uncle, her self formerly married to MEMMIUS REGULUS," (for of her marriage with CALIGULA he purposely said nothing) he added, "that she pursued pernicious devices against the Commonwealth, and must be divested of the means, and opportunities of iniquity and treason, her estate be confiscated, and her self banish'd Italy." Thus, of all her immense wealth, only thirty thousand pounds were allotted her. CALPURNIA too, another illustrious Lady, was doom'd to ruin, because the Prince had prais'd her beauty, tho' from no passion for her person, but only in occasional discourse: a consideration, which so much abated the fury of AGRIPPINA, that her punishment was on this side death. To LOLLIA, a Tribune was dispatch'd; with orders, to compell her to die. CADIUS RUFUS was likewise condemn'd for extortion, at the suit of the Bithynians.

To the province of Narbon Gaul it was now granted, in regard of the distinguish'd reverence ever by them paid to the Senate, that to Senators of that province should be allow'd the same privilege with those of SICILY, of visiting their estates there, without leave ask'd of the Prince: and the countries of Iturea and Judea, were, upon the death of their Kings SOHEMUS and AGRIPPA, annex'd to the government of Syria. The augury too of divine protection, which for five and twenty years had been diffus'd, was judg'd fit to be reviv'd and thereafter regularly observ'd: and the Emperor widen'd the circumference of Rome, by virtue of an ancient institution, which empower'd such as had extended the limits of the empire, to enlarge also the bounds of the city: a right which

yet was never assum'd by any of the Roman captains, tho' they had subdued mighty nations; before SYLLA the Dictator, and the deified AUGUSTUS.

WHAT was the ambition and practice of our Kings in this matter, or from what instances of renown; the diversity of tradition has render'd utterly uncertain. But I cannot think it impertinent to shew where the first foundations began, and what was the circuit fixt by ROMULUS. Now, from the Ox-market, where still is seen the brazen statue of a bull, because by that animal the plough is drawn; a furrow was cut to describe the boundaries of the town, and extended so as to include the great Altar of HERCULES: from thence certain spaces were left mark'd at proper distances, with stones, and the line continued along the foot of Mount Palatine to the Altar of CONSUS; next to the *Curia veteres*; thence to the small Temple of the Lares; and lastly to the great Roman Forum, which, as well as the Capitol, it is believ'd, was added to the city, not by ROMULUS, but by TATIUS: with the increase of her empire the city afterwards continued to increase: and what were the boundaries now establish'd by CLAUDIUS, is easily learnt, as they are inserted in the publick records.

IN the Consulship of CAIUS ANTISTIUS and MARCUS SUILIUS, the adoption of DOMITIUS was dispatch'd by the prevalent counsel of PALLAS; who, as he had first conducted the late marriage of AGRIPPINA, and afterwards became engag'd with her in a league of adultery, was thence wholly addicted to her interest. He continually sollicitated CLAUDIUS, “ to provide for the ex-
 “ gency of the Commonwealth, and support the infancy
 “ of BRITANNICUS with a collateral stay: such had been
 “ the policy of the deified AUGUSTUS; who, tho' for
 “ his heirs and assistants, he had grand-children of his
 “ own, yet had assum'd into the administration the sons
 “ of his wife. Thus too TIBERIUS, notwithstanding he
 “ had a son of his own, adopted GERMANICUS: and thus
 “ he also should fortify himself with the aid of a young
 “ Prince, fit to undergo a part of his publick cares.”
 To these considerations CLAUDIUS yielded, and in preference to his own son, adopted DOMITIUS for his eldest,
 tho'

tho' older only by three years; declaring the adoption to the Senate in a speech of the very same strain with that of his freedman to him. It was noted by men of observation, that never was any adoption made before this into the Patrician family of the *CLAUDII*; which from *ATTUS CLAUSUS* their first ancestor, had ever subsisted upon its own successive stock.

THE conduct of the Prince was extoll'd by the Senate, and their thanks presented him, but with strains of flattery still more exquisite towards *DOMITIUS*: and a law pass'd decreeing his assumption into the Claudian family, and to him the name of *NERO*: upon *AGRIPPINA* was also conferr'd the sublime title of *AUGUSTA*. When these measures were thus effected, such was their boding aspect towards *BRITANNICUS*, that no mortal was found so void of compassion as not to be affected with his sorrowful lot. By little and little he was even bereft of the attendance of his slaves, through the devices and hollow officiousness of his step-mother, who pretending her own tenderness for him, would needs keep him unseasonably in a nursery, and remove them as unnecessary: a treatment of great derision; which himself perceiv'd, as he was capable of discerning deceit: for, he is said to have wanted no quickness of understanding: whether the same were really his just character; or whether his hard fortune and sufferings were only the accidental source of his praise; without living to give further proof, he still retain'd it.

For *AGRIPPINA*; that she might even to distant nations, our allies, signalize her power at Rome, she procur'd a Colony of Veterans to be sent to the capital of the *Ubians*; a town in which she was born, and which she call'd by her own name: it had also been the lot of her grandfather *AGRIPPA*, when that people came over the Rhine, to receive them under the protection of the Romans. At that same time, terror fill'd the higher Germany, from the arrival of the *Cattans*, exercising every where as they went rapine and depredations: hence *LUCIUS POMPONIUS*, the Roman General, order'd the auxiliary *Vangiones* and *Nemetæ*, strengthen'd with some wings of horse, " to advance against those bands of robbers; or, " if they found them straggling, to pour in upon them

“ and beset them by surprize.” The vigilance of the foldiers was answerable to the scheme of the commander: having separated themselves into two bands, that which march’d to the left, enclos’d them just return’d from the spoil, under the effects of a debauch, and sunk in sleep: to compleat their joy, they now releas’d from bondage some who had continued in it ever since the massacre of VARUS and the Legions, forty years before. The body that turn’d to the right, had made a shorter march, and as the enemy ventur’d to fight, a greater slaughter. So that, laden with booty, and cover’d with glory, they return’d to mount Taunus, where POMPONIUS waited with his Legions, prepar’d for battle, if the Cattans from a passion for revenge, had minister’d occasion: but, as they dreaded being assaulted on every side; here, by the Romans, there, by the Cheruscans, with whom they have incessant enmity; they dispatch’d deputies and hostages to Rome. To POMPONIUS was decreed the honour of triumph; from which however he derives but a slender share of his surviving fame; since to posterity he is peculiarly known in the surpassing glory of his Poems.

IT was at this time too that VANNIUS, formerly created King of the Suevians by DRUSUS CESAR, was exterminated his kingdom. In the beginning of his reign, he liv’d in signal reputation, and in popularity with his people: but intoxicated with long possession of power, grew afterwards imperious; so that he became at once expos’d to the hate and hostility of his neighbours, and entangled in a combination of his own subjects. It was conducted by his own sister’s sons, VANGIO and SIDO, and by VIBELLIUS their confederate, King of the Hermundurians: nor would CLAUDIUS, tho’ often entreated, engage in the quarrel of the Barbarians: he only answer’d the suit of VANNIUS, by a promise of a safe refuge, in case of expulsion; and writ to PUBLIUS PALPELIUS HISTER, governor of Pannonia; “ to cover the banks of the Da-
 “ nube with the Legion, and with a body of auxiliaries
 “ rais’d in the same province; in order to shelter the
 “ vanquish’d, and to awe the conquerors; lest, elated by
 “ success, they might venture also to disturb the quiet of
 “ the Empire.” For the Ligians and other nations were
 daily

daily arriving in swarms, allur'd by the fame of the wealth of that kingdom, which for thirty years VANNIUS had been enriching by constant depredations and exactions. His own army of natives were foot, and his horse the Jazigians of Sarmatia; a force unequal to the great host of his enemies: hence he determin'd to confine himself to his strong holds, and protract the war: but the Jazigians, who could not reconcile themselves to the restraints of a siege, roam'd round the adjacent country, and being powerfully assail'd by the Ligians and Hermundurians, brought him under a necessity of fighting. So that, issuing from his fortresses, to relieve them, he was overthrown in battle: but with this praise, notwithstanding his defeat, that with his own hand he had bravely fought, and was honourably wounded with his face to the foe: he then fled to his fleet, which staid for him in the Danube, and was soon follow'd by his adherents, who were settled in Pannonia, and portions of land assign'd them. VANGIO and SIDO parted his kingdom between them, and towards us continued in signal fidelity, passionately belov'd too by their subjects, while they were yet acquiring domination and royalty, and, after it was acquir'd, more vehemently hated: a diversity of passions perhaps arising from the fickle genius of the people themselves; perhaps from the genius and uneasy lot of servitude.

IN Great Britain, PUBLIUS OSTORIUS, the Propretor, had to encounter a turbulent state of affairs; for the enemy had in predatory bands broke into the territories of our allies; with so much the more violence, as they suppos'd that a new General would not, with an army which he had never prov'd, and in the depth of winter, dare to make head against them. But as he was convinced that by the first events of war, confidence or consternation was rais'd in an enemy, he led forth his troops and march'd against them with great suddenness, put to the sword all who resisted, and closely pursued such as were broken, so as to prevent their rejoining: and, since a peace made by constraint, and thence never sincere, could ensure no repose to the General nor his troops, he determin'd to deprive of their arms all such as he suspected, and, by the means of forts, to confine them between the

rivers Nen and Severn: a determination thwarted first by the Icenians, a powerful people, who having of their own accord become our confederates, were weaken'd by no invasion nor assaults of war: they were now join'd by the bordering nations, an army was form'd, and the place of battle chosen; a place defended by a ditch, and the approach to it so narrow as not to be passable by the horse. The Roman General, tho' without the support of the Legions, he only led some social troops, yet drew up to storm these rustick fortifications; and ranging his Cohorts in order, dismounted the horse and assign'd them the duty of foot. Upon the signal given, they forc'd the ditch and broke the enemy, who were also hamper'd and entangled with their own enclosures: but they who, from the guilt of rebellion, were animated with despair, coop'd in on all sides, and no way left for escape, perform'd many and memorable feats of bravery. In this battle MARCUS OSTORIUS, the son of the General, having saved the life of a Roman citizen, acquired the Civic Crown.

FOR the rest; the overthrow of the Icenians calm'd all those unsettl'd spirits, who before were wavering in their purposes between peace and war; and the army was led against the Cangians, wasted their territories, and committed general spoil: nor durst the foe encounter them openly, and were always beaten in their secret assaults. We had now approach'd near the sea which washes the coast of Ireland, when commotions, begun amongst the Brigantes, oblig'd the General to return thither; as he had determin'd to prosecute no new enterprize till his former were completed and secure. The Brigantes, in truth, became soon compos'd, by executing a few who rais'd the revolt, and pardoning all the rest: but, no rigour nor mercy could reclaim the Silures, who were bent upon war, and only to be reduced by the force of the Legions. To facilitate this design, a Colony, powerful in the number of Veterans, was convey'd to Camalodunum situate in the conquer'd lands, as a bulwark against the rebels; and for inuring our allies to the laws and jurisdiction of the Romans.

THENCE we march'd against the Silures, a people resolute and fierce by nature; and moreover confiding in
the

the assistance and valour of *CARACTACUS*; one renowned for many victories, and many disasters; so that in credit he surpass'd all the other British commanders. In the advantage and situation of the country he was more subtil and expert than the Romans, but weaker in men, and therefore translated the seat of the war into the territory of the *Ordovicans*; and being join'd by all such as fear'd an unequal peace with the Romans, ventur'd to try the decision of the sword: in order to it, he chose a place against which it was difficult to advance, and from which it was as difficult to retreat; every way incommodious to our army, and every way favourable to his own. It was upon the ridges of mountains exceeding steep; and, where their sides were inclining and approachable, he rear'd walls of stone for a rampart: at the foot of the mountains flow'd a river, dangerous to be forded; and a host of men guarded his entrenchments.

ADD to this, that the leaders of the several confederate nations, were busily employ'd from rank to rank, exhorting and animating their followers, with representations proper to dissipate fear; proper to kindle their hopes, and to rouse in them all the fiercest incitements to war. For *CARACTACUS*; he flew through the whole army, and wherever he pass'd he proclaim'd, "that from this day
" and this battle they must date their liberty completely
" rescued, or their servitude eternally establish'd." He call'd upon "those of their ancestors who had exterminated *CESAR* the Dictator; them by whose valour they
" yet liv'd free from tribute and Roman axes, yet preserv'd free from prostitution the persons of their children and wives." As he thus harangued, he was answer'd by the acclamations of the multitude, and every particular bound himself by the oath most sacred amongst them, "never to yield to arms, nor wounds, nor ought
" save death."

THIS resolute alacrity of theirs amaz'd the Roman General: besides, the river to be pass'd, the rampart to be forced, the declivities of the high mountains to be climb'd; and all defended by hosts of men, were difficulties terrible and threatening. But, the soldiers press'd for the attack; all things, they cried, were conquerable by courage;
and

and the Tribunes and other officers, by expressing the same spirit, heightn'd the ardour of the army. OSTORIUS, therefore, having carefully survey'd the situation, where inaccessible; and where to be pass'd, led them on thus animated; and, without much difficulty, gain'd the opposite banks. In approaching the bulwark, while the encounter was yet manag'd by flights of darts, there were more of our men wounded, and many began to fall: but, after they had formed themselves into the military shell, demolished the huge and shapeless structure of stones, and encounter'd hand to hand upon ground equal to both, the Barbarians betook themselves to the ridges of the mountains, and thither also mounted our soldiers after them, both the light and heavy arm'd. Here also was begun an unequal fight, by ours in close order against the Britons, who only fought by discharges of arrows, and, as they cover themselves with no armour, were thence broken in their ranks: where they resisted the auxiliaries, they were slaughter'd by the swords and javelins of the soldiers of the Legions; and by the great sabres and pikes of the auxiliaries, where they faced those of the Legions. Signal was this victory: the wife and daughter of CARACTACUS were taken prisoners, and his brothers surrender'd to mercy.

HE himself had recourse to the faith and protection of CARTISMANDUA, Queen of the Brigantes; but, as almost all things conspire against the unfortunate, was by her deliver'd in bonds to the conquerors, now in the ninth year after the commencement of the war in Great Britain: so long had he sustain'd it; hence his renown had reach'd all the isles, spread over the neighbouring provinces, and became celebrated even in Italy; where all long'd to behold the man, who, for so many years, had defied the Roman arms: nor, in truth, at Rome was the name of CARACTACUS without lustre and applause; and the Emperor, by exalting his own glory in the conquest, accumulated fresh glory upon the conquer'd. For, the people were assembled to see him, as a rare and important spectacle; and the Pretorian bands stood under arms in the field before their camp. There proceeded first the servants and followers of the British King, with the

the military harness, golden chains, and the spoils by him taken in the wars with his neighbours; next his brothers, his wife and daughter; and lastly himself expos'd to view. All but he were dejected, sunk under fear, and descended to supplications unworthy of their quality. CARACTACUS, without either betraying a supplicant look, or uttering a word that implor'd mercy; as soon as he was placed before the imperial tribunal, spoke thus:

“ IF, to the height of my quality and fortune, I had
 “ join'd an equal height of moderation in my prosper-
 “ rity and success, I should have arriv'd in this city under
 “ another character, that of a friend and not of a captive,
 “ nor would you then have disdain'd to have received
 “ a Prince born of illustrious ancestors, and governing so
 “ many nations, into terms of alliance. But, different
 “ is my present lot; a lot which derives upon you as emi-
 “ nent splendor and fame, as upon me disgrace and abase-
 “ ment. I was lately master of men and arms, horses
 “ and opulence: where is the wonder if against my in-
 “ clination I was bereft of them? If you Romans aim at
 “ extending your dominion over all mankind; it does
 “ not thence follow that all men will embrace voluntary
 “ servitude from Rome. Had I forthwith submitted to
 “ captivity, neither had my fall nor your glory been thus
 “ signal: and even now, if I am to suffer death, the
 “ fame of my story and of your conquest will die with
 “ my punishment, but if you preserve my life, I shall be
 “ a deathless example and monument of your clemency.”

CLAUDIUS upon this pardon'd him, his wife, and his brothers. Being discharg'd of their chains, and having paid their duty and acknowledgment to the Prince, they also accosted AGRIPPINA; exalted upon another tribunal hard by, in the same strain of gratitude and veneration. A sight remarkably new, to our ancestors utterly unknown, for a woman to preside amongst the Roman Ensigns! she, in truth, assum'd to call her self a partner in the Empire which her ancestors had acquir'd.

THE Senate was thereafter assembled, where many and pompous encomiums were pronounced upon the taking of CARACTACUS; as an event “ no less illustrious than those
 “ of old, when SIPHAX was by PUBLIUS SCIPIO, PERSES

“ by LUCIUS PAULUS, or any other conquer’d Kings
 “ were by any of our great Captains, presented in chains
 “ to the Roman people.” To OSTORIUS the triumphal ornaments were decreed; and thus far his administration had been successful; but was afterwards check’d with misfortunes: whether it was, that upon the captivity of CARACTACUS, the war was thought concluded, and thence our vigilance and discipline abated; or that the enemy, in compassion for so great a King, burn’d more vehemently for revenge. They assail’d by surprise the camp marshal and legionary cohorts, left to rear forts amongst the Silures; and but for sudden succours from the circumjacent garrisons, our troops had been cut in pieces: as it was, the Marshal himself and eight Centurions were there slain, with the most resolute soldiers. Soon after they entirely routed our foragers, and even the troops sent to guard them.

OSTORIUS, it is true, dispatch’d to their relief some cohorts lightly arm’d, who yet were not able to stay the flight; so that the Legions were drawn out to restore the battle; which by their strength instantly became equal, and then favourable to us. The enemy fled, but, as night approach’d, with slight loss: there continued thence forward frequent encounters, many of them resembling the parties and surprises of robbers; sometimes in the woods, sometimes in morasses; conducted by chance or boldness; and with answerable success; here at a venture, there in concert; now from resentment, anon for booty; at times by command of their officers, and often without their knowledge. Of all others the Silures were the most implacable: they were incens’d by a saying of the Roman General current amongst them, “ that their name must be utterly extinguish’d, as was that of the Sugambrians, who had been partly cut off, and the rest transplanted into Gaul.” Thus animated, they surpriz’d and carried off two auxiliary cohorts as they were, without due circumspection, plundering the country to satiate the avarice of their officers: and by distributing the spoil and captives amongst the neighbouring nations, they were drawing them also into the revolt, when OSTORIUS sinking under the weight of his anxieties, expir’d, to the great joy of the enemy, that a captain so considerable,
 tho’

tho' he had not fallen in battle, had yet perish'd in the war.

THE Emperor appriz'd of the death of his Lieutenant, that the province might not be without a governor, substituted immediately in his room AULUS DIDIUS: but he, notwithstanding his expeditious arrival, found not things in their entire state: for, the Legion commanded by MANLIUS VALENS had the while been engag'd, and suffer'd a defeat: a disaster magnified by the enemy, to terrify the new general; and even aggravated by him, thence to gain the greater glory, if he quell'd the rebellion; or the juster excuse if it lasted. The late loss too we suffer'd from the Silures, who were daily making large incursions on all hands, till DIDIUS now set upon them and repuls'd them. Their ablest man of war, since the taking of CARACTACUS, was VENUSIUS, of the city of the Juggantes, as I have above remember'd; one long faithful to the Romans, and protected by their arms, during his marriage with the Queen CARTISMANDUA; but being afterwards divorced from her, and then instantly at war with her, he likewise began hostilities against us. Their arms at first were only employ'd against each other; but the Queen having by subtil stratagems, possess'd herself of the brother and other kindred of VENUSIUS; the enemy became exasperated, and scorning the infamy of falling under the dominion of a woman, assembled all their ablest and most warlike youth, and invaded her territories: an event foreseen by us; so that we had sent some cohorts to her aid, and a fierce battle ensued, where the first onset was doubtful, but the end successful. With the like issue fought the Legion commanded by CESIUS NASICA. For, DIDIUS himself unwieldy through age and already fatiated with a long train of honours, thought it sufficient to act by his Lieutenants, and only restrain the foe. All these transactions, tho' the work of several years, under two Proprietors OSTORIUS and DIDIUS, I have thus connected; lest the detail, if interrupted, might not have been so easily recover'd. I now return to the order of time.

DURING the fifth Consulship of CLAUDIUS and that of SERVIUS CORNELIUS ORFITUS, to qualify NERO for

for entering into the administration of the state, the manly Robe was presented him, while yet under age; and the Emperor concurr'd cheerfully with the flattering decrees of the Senate; "that in his twentieth year, he should exercise the Consulship; that the while, as Consul design'd, he should be invested with proconsular authority out of Rome, and be stil'd Prince of the Roman Youth." CLAUDIUS moreover, in NERO's name, bestow'd a largess upon the soldiers, and another upon the people: and, at the Circensian games, which were then solemniz'd, to draw upon him the eyes and affections of the populace, whilst BRITANNICUS was carried along in the Pretexta (the usual habit of boys) NERO appear'd in the triumphal Robe, the mark and ornament of imperial state. So that the people, beholding them thus differently attir'd, could thence conclude the difference of their fortunes. At the same time, such of the Centurions and Tribunes as manifested any compassion for the partial lot of BRITANNICUS, were some under colour of more honourable functions, and all upon fram'd pretences, remov'd from the palace: even amongst the freedmen, those whose faith and constancy were found incorruptible, were discarded upon the following occasion. The two young Princes happening to meet, NERO saluted BRITANNICUS by that name, and BRITANNICUS him by his old name of DOMITIUS. This was by AGRIPPINA represented to CLAUDIUS with grievous expostulations, as the first step to diffention; since by it "the adoption of NERO was set at nought and contemn'd; the sanctions of the Senate, with the authority of the people, were abolish'd within the walls of his own palace; and if the pravity of those who inspir'd into BRITANNICUS such pernicious instructions, were not repress'd, it would break out into war and publick ruine." CLAUDIUS alarm'd and exasperated by these suggestions of his wife, as if the same had been crimes really committed by the Tutors of his Son, punish'd all the best of them with exile or death, and entrusted him to the government of others, chosen by his step-mother.

AGRIPPINA however durst not yet proceed to the accomplishment of her great design, till from the command
 2 of

of the Pretorian cohorts were remov'd LUSIUS GETA and RUFIOUS CRISPINUS; as men whom she believ'd grateful to the memory of MESSALINA, and zealously devoted to her children. When she had therefore alledg'd to the Emperor, " that by the competition and cabals of two " commanders, the guards were rent into factions; where- " as, were they under the authority of one, they would " be more easily subjected to the laws of discipline and " obedience"; CLAUDIUS submitted to the reasoning of his wife, and the charge of these bands was transferr'd to BURRUS AFRANIUS, an officer, in truth of signal renown, but one however well appriz'd to whose credit he ow'd his advancement. AGRIPPINA likewise began to signalize her grandeur still more, and even to enter the Capitol in a chariot, a distinction which of old was allow'd to none but the priests and things sacred; and, being now assum'd by her, heighten'd the reverence of the people towards a Lady who was the daughter of a CESAR, and the mother of one, sister to the last Emperor, and wife of the present: an instance of imperial fortune and nobility till then unparallel'd. But in the mean time her chief champion VITELLIUS, in the height of favour, and extremity of age, (upon such treacherous foundations great men stand!) was involv'd in an accusation; and, by JUNIUS LUPUS the Senator, charg'd with treason, and even with aspiring to the Empire: CLAUDIUS too would have listen'd to the charge, had not AGRIPPINA prevail'd by menaces rather than prayers, and turn'd his resentment upon the accuser, who was thence interdicted from fire and water. Further punishment than this VITELLIUS desir'd not.

MANY were the prodigies that happen'd this year: upon the Capitol were seen birds of evil omen; frequent concussions of the earth were felt, and by them many houses overthrown: but, as the dread was still more extensive than the calamity; in the throng of the flying multitude, all the weak and decrepit were trodden to death. For a prodigy also was reckon'd the barrenness of the season, and the effect of it, famine. Nor were the complaints of the populace confin'd to houses and corners; they even gather'd in tumultuous crowds round the Prince,

then engag'd in the publick administration of justice, and with turbulent clamours drove him to the extremity of the Forum; so that, to escape their violence, he was forc'd, with his guards to break through the incens'd multitude. It is certain, there was then in Rome but just provision for fifteen days; and by the signal bounty of the Gods and the mildness of the winter it was that the publick was reliev'd in that its urgent distress. It was, in truth, otherwise with Italy in former days, when from her fruitful fields foreign provinces too were furnish'd with supplies: nor, at this time, is the sterility of soil any part of our misfortune; but we now rather chuse to cultivate Afric and Egypt; and the lives of the Roman people are entrusted to ships and the casualties of the deep.

THE same year, the war arose between the Armenians and Hiberians, begot also mighty broils between the Parthians and Romans. Over the Parthians reign'd VOLGESES, who, tho' the son of a Greek concubine, had, by the concession of his brothers, obtain'd the diadem. The Kingdom of Viberia had been long held by PHARASMANES; and his brother MITHRIDATES was, by our aid and procurement, possess'd of Armenia. PHARASMANES had a son graceful and tall, and of signal strength of body; one train'd up in all the politicks of his father, and in high renown with the bordering nations. His name was RHADAMISTUS, a young Prince who impatient that the small Kingdom of Iberia should be so long detain'd from him by the great age of his father, declar'd this his discontent with so much frequency and passion, that his ambition could not be conceal'd: PHARASMANES therefore, in regard of his own declining age, and fearing the spirit of his son eager of himself to reign, and supported besides with the affections of his subjects, chose to divert his thoughts upon another pursuit, and tempted him with the prospect of Armenia. "A Kingdom which, having expuls'd the Parthians, he said, he had given to MITHRIDATES: but, in gaining it now, all methods of violence were to be postpon'd, and those of guile first to be tried, in order to oppress him unawares." Thus RHADAMISTUS, feigning to quarrel with his father, and to fly the persecutions of his step-mother, withdrew to his

his uncle; and, while he was by him cherish'd like a child, with transcendent complacency, he drew the nobility of Armenia into the conspiracy; MITHRIDATES being so ignorant of his conduct, that upon him he was still multiplying honours.

THEN, under shew of being reconcil'd to his father, he return'd, and inform'd him, "that what fraud could effect, was accomplish'd; the rest arms must execute." Hence PHARASMANES set himself to devise colours for the war; he declar'd, "that whilst he was at war with the King of the Albanians, he had applied to the Romans for aid, but his brother oppos'd its coming; and this injury he was now about to revenge with his utter destruction." At the same time, he committed a numerous army to the conduct of his son; who, by a sudden invasion, utterly dismay'd MITHRIDATES, and forc'd him out of the field into the fortrefs of Gorneas; a place strong in the situation, and defended by a garrison of our soldiers, under the command of CELIUS POLLIO Governor, and CASPERIUS a Centurion. The Barbarians are strangers to nothing more than the use of machines, and the dexterity of assaulding places; a part of military skill which to us is thoroughly familiar. RHADAMISTUS therefore, having without effect, or with loss to himself, attempted the fortifications, chang'd his efforts into a siege, and when all his attacks were despis'd, he purchas'd with a price the avaritious Governor, notwithstanding the adjurations of CASPERIUS, "that he would not sell a confederate King, not sell Armenia, the gift of the Roman people; and convert his own trust into perfidiousness and money." But at last, since POLLIO persisted to plead the multitude of the enemy, and RHADAMISTUS the orders of his father; the Centurion procuring a truce, departed, in order either to deter PHARASMANES from pursuing the war, or otherwise to proceed to NUMIDIUS QUADRATUS Governor of Syria, and lay before him the condition of Armenia.

By the departure of the Centurion, POLLIO being as it were discharg'd from the restraint of a keeper, exhorted MITHRIDATES to an accommodation. He alledg'd "the natural ties between brothers, the seniority of PHARASMANES,

“ RASMANES, and their other mutual bonds of affinity;
 “ that he was himself espous’d to his brother’s daughter,
 “ and to RHADAMISTUS had espous’d his own: that the
 “ Hiberians, however then superior in forces, refus’d not
 “ peace; and the perfidiousness of the Armenians was
 “ sufficiently known: neither had he any other sanctuary
 “ but that castle, destitute of stores: he therefore ought
 “ not scruple to prefer terms gain’d without blood, to the
 “ casualties and violence of war.” But, as MITHRIDATES
 still procrastinated, suspecting the counsels of the Governor, as one who had debauch’d a concubine of his, and was reckon’d of a vile spirit, purchasable by money into every baseness; CASPERIUS the while reach’d PHARASMANES, and urg’d him “ to recall his Iberians from the
 “ siege.” That Prince openly, return’d him equivocal answers; sometimes such as were more gentle and plausible; and, during these amusements, warn’d RHADAMISTUS by secret messengers, “ to dispatch by whatever
 “ means the taking of the place.” Hence the price of the treason was augmented to POLLIO, who also privately corrupted the soldiers, and prompted them to demand peace, or otherwise to threaten that they would relinquish the garrison. MITHRIDATES press’d by this extremity, agreed to the time and place of capitulation, and went forth from the castle to meet RHADAMISTUS; who instantly flew to embrace him, feign’d all the marks of duty and obedience, and call’d him his father: he even swore that he intended him no violence either by poison or the sword; and drew him at the same time into a neighbouring grove, where a sacrifice, he said, was by his orders prepar’d, that by the solemn presence of the Gods their league of peace might be confirm’d.

It is a custom amongst the Kings of these countries, whenever they strike alliances, to tie together with a hard bandage the thumbs of their right hands, till the blood starting to the extremities is by a slight cut discharg’d. This they mutually suck, and a league thus executed is esteem’d most awful, as mysteriously solemniz’d with the blood of the parties. But upon this occasion, he who was applying the bandage pretending to fall, seiz’d MITHRIDATES by the legs, and overthrew him; and instantly

stantly he was oppress'd by many, then bound, and haled away dragging his chain; a circumstance of consummate contumely amongst the Barbarians! The people too, over whom he had exercis'd rigorous tyranny, assaulted him with bitter reproaches, and even threaten'd him with blows: yet there were some of a different temper, who utter'd their commiseration for such a mighty change of his fortune: besides, his wife following him with her little infants, was by her doleful lamentations every where heard: they were thrust apart into cover'd carriages, till the commands of PHARASMANES were known. With him the passion for a Kingdom was more prevalent than his regard for a brother or daughter; and he possess'd naturally a spirit prone to every cruelty. He however consider'd the indecency of the spectacle, and order'd them to be put to death, but not in his sight. RHADAMISTUS too, as if from an exact observance of his oath, employ'd neither sword nor poison against his sister and uncle; but caus'd them to be thrown upon the ground and stifled with a vast weight of coverings. The children also of MITHRIDATES, for bewailing the murder of their parents, were butcher'd themselves.

QUADRATUS, as soon as he knew the treason, with the doom suffer'd by MITHRIDATES, and that they who took his life held his Kingdom; assembled his counsel, and representing these events, sought their advice whether vengeance ought to be pursued. Few had at heart the publick credit of the Roman name; and most of them reason'd from considerations of security; “ that all the injuries and cruelties committed by foreign nations upon each other, ought to the Romans to be matter of joy; “ nay the seeds of dissention were industriously to be sown amongst them; a policy frequently practis'd by the Roman Emperors, who under colour of bestowing from time to time that same Kingdom of Armenia upon Princes Barbarians, design'd thence to furnish them with matter of reciprocal feuds, and hostilities: RHADAMISTUS might therefore enjoy a crown wickedly acquir'd, since with it he enjoy'd publick detestation and infamy; circumstances which better serv'd the purposes of Rome than if by methods of glory he had obtain'd

“ it.” With this advice they all concurr’d; but that they might not seem to have assented to a wickedness so flagrant, and lest contrary orders should arrive from the Emperor, they dispatch’d a message to PHARASMANES, “ to retire
“ from the frontiers of Armenia, and recall his son.”

OVER Cappadocia then rul’d JULIUS PELIGNUS, with the title of Procurator; one equally despicable for his dastardly spirit and the deformity of his person, but in great intimacy with CLAUDIUS, who while yet a private man was wont to waste his time in sloth and delight in the company of such buffoons. This PELIGNUS drew together a body of auxiliary forces from the adjacent provinces, and declar’d he would reconquer Armenia: but, as he committed greater spoil upon our allies than upon the enemy, he was by his own men abandon’d, harass’d by the incessant incursions of the Barbarians, and, thus bereft of all defence, betook himself to RHADAMISTUS; by whose liberalities he was so intirely subdued, that of his own accord he exhorted him to assume the royal diadem, and even assisted in person at that solemnity, as the author of the advice, and his vassal at arms. When this vile transaction came to be divulg’d, that the character of the other Roman Commanders might not be judg’d by that of PELIGNUS, HELVIDIUS PRISCUS was dispatch’d at the head of a Legion, with general orders to apply such remedies to the present combustions, as their circumstances would bear. He therefore, having with much celerity cross’d mount Taurus, had already made many pacifications, rather by mildness than force, when an order overtook him, “ for his return into Syria, by it to avoid
“ ministring to the Parthians any ground of war.”

FOR, VOLOGESES believing that an occasion now offer’d for invading Armenia, a Kingdom inherited by his ancestors, but now treasonably occupied by a foreign usurper; drew together an army and prepar’d to instate his brother TIRIDATES in the throne; that so none of his house might be destitute of dominion. The march of the Parthians terrified the Iberians; they were expell’d without fighting a battle, and the Armenian cities of Artaxata, and Tigranocerta, without a struggle receiv’d the invaders. But, a tempestuous winter or want of stores,
and

and the pestilence arising from both, constrain'd VOL-
GESES to relinquish his conquests: so that the throne of Armenia being once more vacant, was again invaded by RHADAMISTUS, now more outrageous and bloody than ever, as incens'd against a people that had already abandon'd him, and were still ready, on the first occasion, to revolt. They too, though inur'd to servitude, lost all patience, betook themselves to arms, and begirt the palace: nor had RHADAMISTUS any resource save in the fleetness of his horses, and by them he escap'd with his wife.

SHE was great with child, yet, from dread of the foe, and tenderness to her husband, bore at first, as well as she could, the fatigue of the flight; but, when by continued hurrying and agitations, her heavy womb became sorely toss'd, and all her bowels shaken, she besought him, "to save her by an honest death from the reproach and "misery of captivity." At first, he embraced her, comforted and encourag'd her, now admiring her heroick spirit, then struck with fear, lest, if he left her, some other might possess her: at last, in the rage of love, and well initiated as he was in acts of blood, he drew his scymitar, and wounding her terribly, hal'd her to the banks of the Araxes, committing her corps to the flood; that even of her corps none might ever be master. He himself pursued his flight full speed till he reach'd Iberia the kingdom of his father. ZENOBIA the while (for that was her name) was descried by the shepherds, floating gently on the surface with manifest appearances of life; and, as they gather'd from the beautiful dignity of her aspect that she was of no mean rank, they bound up her wound, and to it administer'd their rustick medicines: having then learnt her name and disaster, they carried her to Artaxata, from whence, at the charge and care of the city, she was conducted to TIRIDATES, by him courteously receiv'd, and entertain'd with all the marks of Royalty.

IN the Consulship of FAUSTUS SYLLA and SALVIUS OTHO, FURIUS SCRIBONIANUS suffer'd exile, as if he had "enquir'd by the arts of the Chaldeans, into the "term of the Prince's life." In his crime was involv'd his mother JUNIA, "as having born with impatience her

“ own lot;” for she too had been banish’d. CAMILLUS the father of SCRIBONIANUS, had levied war in DALMATIA; hence CLAUDIUS vaunted his own clemency, that to a hostile race he still persisted to grant their lives: that however of the present exile, remain’d not long; whether he died naturally or by poison, was differently reported as each differently believ’d. For expelling the Astrologers from Italy, a decree of Senate was made full of rigour, but never executed. The Emperor thereafter utter’d a discourse in praise of those Senators, who, from the narrowness of their fortunes, of their own accord renounced their dignity; and such as by adhering to their order, added confidence to their poverty, were degraded.

DURING these transactions, in the Senate was propos’d a penalty to be inflicted upon Ladies who married slaves; and ordain’d, “ that she who thus debas’d her self, unknown to the master of the slave, should be adjudg’d her self in a state of slavery; but, where he consented, she should be held for a slave manumitted.” To PALLAS who was by CLAUDIUS declar’d to be the devisor of this scheme, the ornaments of the Pretorship, and three hundred sixty five thousand crowns, were adjudg’d by BAREAS SORANUS, Consul design’d. CORNELIUS SCIPIO added, “ that the publick thanks ought likewise to be paid him; for, that being a descendent from the old Kings of Arcadia, he postpon’d the regard of such his most ancient nobility, to the service of the state, and daign’d to be number’d amongst the ministers of the Prince.” CLAUDIUS avow’d, “ that PALLAS accepted the honour only, and was with it content, resolving to live still in his former poverty.” Thus a decree of Senate was publish’d engraven in brass, in which a franchiz’d slave possessing an estate of more than seven millions, was extoll’d for observing the venerable parcimony of the ancients.

HIS brother surnamed FELIX, he who for some time had govern’d Judea, acted not with the same restraint, but as one who relying upon such potent protection, suppos’d he might perpetrate with impunity every kind of villany. The Jews, in truth, by their sedition, in the

time of CALIGULA, had minister'd some appearances of a general insurrection; and, even after they were appriz'd of his assassination, scarce return'd to obedience: their dread remain'd, lest some of the succeeding Emperors might lay upon them the like odious injunctions. FELIX too the while by applying unseasonable remedies, inflam'd their offence and disaffection, follow'd as he was with emulation in all his worst courses, by VENTIDIUS CUMANUS, who held under his jurisdiction part of the Province; for such was the division, that Galilea was subject to CUMANUS, and Samaria to FELIX; two nations these long at variance, and now, from contempt of their rulers, less than ever restraining their mutual hate. Hence depredations on both sides were committed, bands of robbers employ'd, ambushes form'd, and sometimes battles fought, and all the spoil and booty presented to these their Governors, who, at first, rejoyced over it; but when, after the mischief grew outrageous, they interpos'd their arm'd troops, their men were slain; and, but for the aid of QUADRATUS ruler of Syria, the whole Province had been in a blaze of war. Nor, in proceeding against the Jews, who had carried their violence so far as to kill our soldiers, did any obstacle arise against punishing them with present death: the affair of CUMANUS and FELIX created some delay; for CLAUDIUS, upon a hearing of the causes of the revolt, had also granted a power to try and sentence the Governors: but QUADRATUS, taking FELIX up to the Tribunal, and shewing him amongst the Judges, aw'd the accusers and stopp'd one part of the prosecution; so that, for the guilt and evil doings common to both, CUMANUS alone was doom'd to punishment. Thus the repose of the Province was restor'd.

SHORTLY after this, the boors of Cilicia, they who are firnam'd Clitæ, and had before rais'd many insurrections, betook themselves now, under the leading of THROSOBOR, to their steep and inaccessible mountains and there encamp'd. From thence in predatory bands they made excursions as far as the shore and round the adjoining cities; boldly committing ravages upon the villagers and husbandmen, and daily spoiling the merchants and seamen. They even besieg'd the city of Anemurium, and repuls'd a body

of horse sent from Syria to its relief, under the command of CURTIUS SEVERUS: for, the rocky situation of the place prov'd a defence to an army of foot, and scarcely admitted the attacks of the horse. But afterwards, ANTIOCHUS King of that territory, having by many courtesies gain'd the multitude, and by stratagem secured their leader, effectually disjoin'd the forces of the Barbarians; and putting to death THROSOBOR and a few more of the chiefs, pacified the rest by methods of clemency.

ABOUT the same time, a naval fight was prepar'd upon the lake Fucinus, and to accommodate the greater numbers with the advantage of beholding the mighty magnificence of the work, a mountain between the lake and the river Liris was levell'd: in imitation this of AUGUSTUS, who once exhibited the like spectacle upon an artificial pool on this side the Tiber, but with light ships, and fewer men. CLAUDIUS arm'd large gallies, some of three, some of four banks of oars, and mann'd them with nineteen hundred combatants. The circle assign'd for the combat was surrounded with an enclosure of great rafts of wood, to obstruct all means of flight or escape: space sufficient was however allow'd for the velocity of rowing, for the stratagems of the pilots, the mutual encounters of the ships, and for all the usual feats in naval battles. Upon the rafts stood the Emperors guards, foot and horse, with platforms before them, for wielding and discharging the engines of battery: all the rest of the lake was possess'd by the combatants upon cover'd vessels. The shore, the adjacent hills, and the tops of the mountains, were crowded with a mighty multitude, many from the neighbouring towns, others from Rome it self; some from a passion to behold the spectacle, some in complement to the Prince; and the whole represented a vast theatre. The Emperor presided in a splendid coat of mail, and with him AGRIPPINA in a mantle woven of pure gold. The battle, tho' between malefactors, was fought with a spirit becoming brave soldiers; so that, after many wounds and much blood, they were redeem'd from utter slaughter.

WHEN the spectacle was concluded, and the water discharg'd, the negligence of the workmen became manifest, and the insufficiency of the work, which was not sunk sufficiently

ficiently low about the center of the lake. Its bed therefore some time after was hollow'd deeper; and, to draw the multitude once more together, a shew of Gladiators was exhibited upon bridges laid over it, in order to display a foot fight. But, as a banquet was prepar'd just at the fall from the lake, the same prov'd the occasion of a great affright; for, the weight of the water breaking out with violence, bore down with it whoever was near it, shook what was more distant, and by its impetuosity and roaring dismay'd all that were present. AGRIPPINA laying instant hold of the Emperor's fright, charg'd NARCIS-SUS, the director of the work, with avarice and rapaciousness: nor did NARCISSUS spare AGRIPPINA, but attack'd and upbraided, "the domineering spirit of the
" woman, with her aspiring and boundless views."

DURING the Consulship of DECIMUS JUNIUS and QUINTUS HATERIUS; NERO, now in the sixteenth year of his age, espous'd OCTAVIA the daughter of CLAUDIUS; and, to signalize his accomplishments in polite learning and acquire the glory of eloquence, undertook the cause of the Ilians, and having floridly represented the Romans as descendents from Troy, and AENEAS as the founder of the Julian race, with other old traditions little remote from fables, he obtain'd for the Ilians entire immunity from all publick charges. By the rhetorick of the same advocate, the Colony of Boulogna, which had been utterly consum'd by fire, were reliev'd by a bounty of two hundred and fifty thousand crowns. To the Rhodians too their liberty was restor'd, which had been often withdrawn and often re-establish'd, as a punishment or reward for their different behaviour, when they oblig'd us by their assistance in our foreign wars, or provok'd us by their seditions at home: and, to the city of Apamea, overturn'd by an earthquake, a remission of tribute was granted for five years.

THE policy all this of AGRIPPINA, who push'd CLAUDIUS on the contrary upon all the most detested measures of cruelty. As she panted inordinately after the gardens of STATILIUS TAURUS, a nobleman of illustrious fortune, who had been Proconsul of Africa; she procur'd his banishment by the ministry of TARQUITIUS PRISCUS, one who was
his

his Lieutenant there. After their return, he charg'd him with some few crimes of extortion; but, the sum of the accusation, were the practices of Magic. Neither did TAURUS design longer to bear the unworthy lot of prosecution from that traiterous accuser, but, without waiting for the decision of the Senate, laid violent hands upon himself. TARQUITIUS was however expell'd the Senate: such was the detestation of the fathers towards the accuser, that they carried his condemnation against the protection and intrigues of AGRIPPINA.

THIS year, what the Prince had frequently declar'd, "that to the decisions of his Imperial Procurators, the same force should be allow'd as to his own"; was moreover confirm'd and establish'd by a decree of Senate; as a proof that the same was no declaration at random; and, with more fulness than heretofore and greater enlargements: for, the deified AUGUSTUS had ordain'd too, that the Knights who ruled Egypt, should act judicially, and that the sentences by them pronounc'd should be equally valid with those of the Roman Magistrates: soon after, this jurisdiction of the Knights was extended to other Provinces; and, even in Rome it self, to their Tribunal were referr'd many things formerly determin'd by the Pretors. CLAUDIUS now conferr'd upon them universal jurisdiction; that same jurisdiction for which so many seditions had been rais'd and so much blood shed, when by the popular ordinances of the Tribune SEMPRONIUS, the Equestrian Order was invest'd with the power of judicature, and when SERVILIUS the Consul, by a contrary establishment, restor'd to the Senate the judicial authority. This too chiefly was the end and incitement of the bloody wars between MARIUS and SYLLA. But, in those days, the different Orders of the State were engag'd in different and interfering pursuits, and the party that prevail'd made publick regulations at their pleasure: CAIUS OPPILIUS and CORNELIUS BALBUS were the first particulars, who (enabled as they were by the prevalent power of CESAR the Dictator) arbitrated matters of peace and war. It would little avail to recount after this, the potent names and credit of such as MATIUS and VEDIUS, and other Roman Knights, who had sway'd in the administration; when to his franchiz'd

chiz'd slaves, such as were entrusted with his domestick concerns, CLAUDIUS thus asserted a power equal to his own and to that of the laws.

THEREAFTER, he propos'd for the inhabitants of Coos, a general immunity from impositions, and recounted their antiquity in a copious detail; "how the Argives, or at least CEUS the father of LATONA, first cultivated that island; and that thither soon after arriv'd ESCULAPIUS, and with him the art of medicine and healing; an art, which had great applause amongst his descendents:" whose names he rehears'd, and mark'd the several ages in which they flourish'd. He even said, that "XENOPHON his own physician, was a branch of the same family, and to his supplications it ought to be granted, that his countrymen the people of Coos should be for ever discharg'd from all tribute, and only attend the cultivation of an Island sacred to that Deity, and solely devoted to his ministry." It is without question, that many good offices of theirs towards the Roman people, might have been alledg'd, and even victories gain'd by their aid; but CLAUDIUS, led by his wonted weakness, colour'd under no publick considerations what he had thus granted only in personal partiality to his physician.

THE deputies from Byzantium being heard, besought of the Senate to be eas'd of their heavy impositions; and recapitulating things from the first, began with the confederacy which they had struck with us so long ago as the war we maintain'd against that King of Macedon, who from the degeneracy of his spirit was distinguish'd by the name of PSEUDOPHILIPPUS. Next they recounted the forces by them sent against King ANTIOCHUS, PERSES, and ARISTONICUS; as also how they had supported ANTONIUS in the war to suppress the Pyrates; with the several aids they had bestow'd upon SYLLA, LUCULLUS and POMPEY. They added the services which more lately they had render'd to the CESARS, during their encampments and abode in these their territories, where our armies and their leaders, in all their progresses by land and water, were well accommodated, and all their stores carried after them.

FOR, Byzantium was founded by the Greeks, in the extremity of Europe, upon a streight which disjoins Europe and Asia. Thither the founders were directed by an Oracle of the Pythian Apollo, who, when consulted by them, where to build a city; replied, “ that they should seek a situation opposite to the habitations of the blind-men.” By this riddle the Chalcedonians were represented; for they, who were the first comers into those parts, and had view’d the advantages of this shore, had yet chosen the opposite and the worst. Byzantium, in truth, stands upon a fertile soil and a plentiful sea; for, into her port are borne all those infinite shoals of fish, which breaking out of the Euxin, shun the other coast, as they are scar’d by the rocks which under the waters shoot from it. Hence, at first the gain and wealth of the Byzantines; but, afterwards press’d by the excess of their impositions, they now besought that the same might be abolish’d or abated. The Emperor too was their advocate, who represented them as late sufferers in the war of Thrace, and in that of Bosphorus, and worthy to be reliev’d. They were therefore acquitted from tribute for five years.

IN the Consulship of MARCUS ASINIUS and MARCUS ACILIUS, a change of affairs for the worse was gather’d to be portended from the frequency of Prodigies. The Ensigns of the soldiers and their tents were scorch’d with fire from heaven: a swarm of Bees pitch’d upon the summit of the Capitol: children were born of compounded forms; and a Pig was farrow’d with the talons of a hawk. Amongst the prodigies it also was reckon’d, that the number of every order of Magistrates was then curtail’d; one of the Questors, one of the Ediles, a Tribune, a Pretor and a Consul, being all deceas’d, within a few months. But, more particular was the fear of AGRIPPINA: she was alarm’d by a saying of CLAUDIUS, utter’d heedlessly in his wine, “ that it was a fate upon him, to bear the iniquities of his wives, and at last to punish them.” Hence she determin’d to be quick and prevent him; but first to destroy DOMITIA LEPIDA, upon motives deriv’d from the pride and resentments of women. For LEPIDA, who was the daughter of the younger ANTONIA, the great niece of AUGUSTUS, cousin german to AGRIPPINA the elder,

elder, and sister to CNEIUS DOMITIUS (once husband to the present AGRIPPINA) accounted her self of equal nobility with the other: neither were they much differing in beauty, age or wealth: both prostitutes in their persons, infamous in their manners, and violent in their tempers; nor less rivals in vices than in the lustre and advantages of their fortune. Hence however arose the most vehement contention and struggle, whether the aunt or mother should acquire the ascendent over the spirit of NERO. LEPIDA labour'd to engage and govern his youthful mind, by caresses and liberalities; while AGRIPPINA, on the contrary, treated him with sternness and threats; like one who would in truth confer the sovereignty upon her son, but not bear him for her sovereign.

THE crimes therefore charg'd upon LEPIDA, were
 “ that, by impious charms and imprecations, she had
 “ sought to destroy the Emperor's Confort, and that
 “ by neglecting to restrain the tumultuous behaviour of
 “ her bands of slaves in Calabria, she disturb'd the pub-
 “ lick peace of Italy.” For these imputations she was
 doom'd to die, notwithstanding the labour'd opposition
 of NARCISSUS, who was now become more and more
 distrustful of AGRIPPINA; insomuch that he is said to have
 utter'd amongst his intimates such griefs and complaints as
 these; “ that to himself nothing but certain destruction
 “ remain'd whether BRITANNICUS or NERO succeeded
 “ to the Empire; but such towards him had been the
 “ favour of the Emperor, that for the service of his master
 “ he would lay down his life. Under CLAUDIUS he had
 “ procur'd the conviction and doom of MESSALINA and
 “ of SILIUS: and under NERO (if NERO came to reign)
 “ there would be the like causes for the like accusation.
 “ If BRITANNICUS was to succeed, neither from that
 “ Prince had he any claim to favour, since he had, by
 “ the death of his mother, made room for a step-mother,
 “ who by black and insidious plots was ruining all his
 “ house with such notable wickedness, that better it were
 “ he had never divulg'd to the Emperor the prostitutions of
 “ his former wife, tho' neither in truth was the present free
 “ from prostitution, as PALLAS was notoriously her adul-
 “ terer; insomuch that with no mortal could any doubt
 “ remain;

“ remain; but to the lust of rule she postpon’d her fame;
 “ her modesty, her person, and all things.” Repeating
 these and the like speeches, he tenderly embrac’d BRI-
TANNICUS, and supplicated for him full and sudden ripe-
 ness of age: now to the Gods, then to the young Prince,
 he lifted up his hands and pour’d out prayers, “ that
 “ he might attain vigour of years; that he might exter-
 “ minate the enemies of his father, and even be reveng’d
 “ on those who slew his mother.”

AMIDST all these mighty agitations and cares, CLAU-
DIUS was taken ill, and for the recovery of his health had
 recourse to the soft air, and salubrious waters of Sinuessæ.
 It was then that AGRIPPINA, long since bent upon the
 parricide, and greedy of the present occasion, well fur-
 nish’d too as she was with wicked agents; consulted con-
 cerning the quality of the poison: “ if it were sudden
 “ and rapid in its operation, the dark deed might thence
 “ be betray’d: if one slow and consuming were admini-
 “ ster’d; there was danger that CLAUDIUS, when his end
 “ approach’d, and perhaps having the while discover’d the
 “ deadly fraud, would recall the tenderness and partia-
 “ lity of a father for his son.” A subtle poison was there-
 fore judg’d best, “ such as would disorder his brain and
 “ not presently kill.” An experienc’d artist in such pre-
 parations was chosen, her name LOCUSTA; lately con-
 demn’d for poisoning, and one long entertain’d amongst
 the other machines of the Monarchy. By this woman’s
 skill the poison was prepar’d: to administer the same was
 the part of HALOTUS, one of the Eunuchs, steward of
 the Emperor’s table and his taster. Indeed, all the par-
 ticulars of this deed were soon afterwards so thoroughly
 known, that the writers of those times are able to recount,
 “ how the poison was feeth’d in a delicious mess of mush-
 “ rooms; but, whether from the natural stupidity of CLAU-
DIUS, or that he was drunk, he felt not instantly the
 “ virulence of the dose:” A looseness too at the same time
 seem’d to relieve him, and to defeat the operation: AGRIP-
PINA became terribly dismay’d; but, as her own life lay
 at stake, she despis’d the stain and odium which must
 accompany her present proceedings, and call’d in the aid
 of XENOPHON the physician, whom she had already en-
 gag’d

gag'd in her guilty purposes. It is thought that he, as if he had meant to assist *CLAUDIUS* in his efforts to vomit, thrust down his throat a feather dipt in outrageous poison; as one who well knew, that the most daring iniquities are attempted with hazard, but accomplish'd with rewards.

THE Senate was in the mean time assembled, and the Consuls and Pontiffs were offering vows for the recovery of the Emperor, when he was already dead; tho' coverings and restoratives were still applied, till matters were dispos'd for securing the Empire to *NERO*. And first *AGRIPPINA* personating unconquerable sorrow, and one who fought on all hands for consolation, clasp'd *BRITANNICUS* in her arms, stil'd him "the genuine image of his father," and, by various and feign'd devices, withheld him from leaving the chamber: there she likewise detain'd *ANTONIA* and *OCTAVIA*, his sisters; and, by posting guards, shut up all the passages: from time to time too she declar'd, that the Prince was upon recovery; thence to encourage the hopes of the soldiery, till the fortunate moment according to the calculations of the Astrologers, were at hand.

AT last, on the thirteenth of October, at noon, the gates of the palace were unexpectedly thrown open, and *NERO* accompanied by *BURRUS*, walk'd forth to the cohort, which, according to the custom of the army, was then upon guard. There, upon signification made by the Prefect, he was receiv'd with shouts of joy, and instantly put into a litter. It is reported, that there were some who hesitated; diligently looking and frequently asking, where was *BRITANNICUS*? but that, as no one appear'd to propose him; they presently embraced the choice which was offer'd them. Thus *NERO* was borne to the camp, where, after a speech suitable to the exigency, and the promise of a largess equal to that of the late Emperor his father, he was saluted Emperor. The declaration of the soldiers was follow'd and confirm'd by the decrees of the Senate; nor was there any reluctance in the several provinces. To *CLAUDIUS* were decreed celestial honours, and the solemnity of his funeral the same as that of the deified *AUGUSTUS*; since in it *AGRIPPINA* would needs emulate the magnificence of her great grand-mother *LIVIA*.

His testament however was not rehears'd in publick, lest the preference there given from his own son to the son of his wife, might grate and affect the spirit of the populace.

THIRTEENTH ANNAL.

THE first victim under the new Prince was JUNIUS SILANUS Proconsul of Asia, dispatch'd unknown to NERO, by the fraud of AGRIPPINA: not that he had provok'd his fate by any turbulence of spirit, having liv'd in such slothful indolence and even such scorn, during the late reigns, that CALIGULA was wont to call him the golden sheep. But AGRIPPINA fear'd that he might prove the avenger of the murder of his brother LUCIUS SILANUS, by her formerly procur'd: for, it was now the current rumour amongst the populace that; as "NERO
" was scarce past his childhood, and by iniquity had ac-
" quir'd the Empire; to him therefore was to be preferr'd
" such a man as SILANUS, one of compos'd age, spot-
" less integrity, noble, and (which was then highly priz'd)
" descended from the CESARS." For, he too was the great grandson of AUGUSTUS. Such was the cause of his doom: the instruments were PUBLIUS CELER a Roman Knight, and HELIUS the freedman, both employ'd to manage the Emperor's domestick revenue in Asia. By them the Proconsul had poison given him at a banquet, so openly, as if they meant not to disavow the giving it. Nor was less haste us'd to dispatch NARCISSUS, the late Emperor's freedman, whose bold invectives against AGRIPPINA I have mention'd: In a rigorous prison, and thro' the miserable extremity of want, he was constrain'd to die; forc against the mind of NERO, who, however he hitherto smother'd his vices, bore a wonderful conformity to the temper of NARCISSUS, profuse and rapacious like his own.

A torrent of slaughters was about to have follow'd, had not AFRANIUS BURRUS and ANNEUS SENECA prevented it. These were the governors of the Emperor's youth; two men, tho' engag'd in partnership of power, yet by
a rare

a rare instance, well united, different in their accomplishments, but of equal weight and authority; BURRUS his instructor in lessons of arms, and the gravity of manners; SENECA in the precepts of eloquence, and polite address. In this office they help'd and supported each other, the easier to manage between them the dangerous age of the Prince; or, if he rejected the pursuits of virtue, to restrain him at least within the bounds of guiltless pleasures. One constant struggle they had both to maintain, against the tempestuous spirit of AGRIPPINA, who was transported with every lust of lawless dominion, and, in her designs, upheld by PALLAS; the same who had led CLAUDIUS into that incestuous match, then into the fatal adoption, and, by these counsels, into his own destruction. But NERO's temper was not such as to be controul'd by slaves; and PALLAS too having exceeded the liberties of a slave manumiz'd, had by his horrid arrogance provok'd NERO's disgust: upon AGRIPPINA however, in publick, he accumulated all kinds of honours; and, to a Tribune once, who, according to the discipline of the soldiery, desir'd the word, gave that of *excellent mother*; by the Senate too were decreed her two lictors, with the character of Priestesses to CLAUDIUS. To him at the same time was ordain'd a cenforial funeral, and afterwards deification.

THE day of burial, his funeral praises were pronounc'd by NERO; and, whilst he recounted sedulously the antiquity of his lineage, the many Consulships, the many triumphs of his ancestors; others as sedulously listen'd: the display too of his acquirements in Letters, was heard with attention and pleasure; as also the observation, that during his reign no calamity from foreigners had befallen the state. But when once he fell into a commemoration of the wisdom, foresight and providence of CLAUDIUS, not a soul could refrain from laughter; tho' the speech was of SENECA's composing, and discover'd much accuracy and fineness; as he had, in truth, a beautiful genius, and a stile well suited to the taste of that time. Old men, they who make it their recreation to draw parallels between the present and past, took notice, that NERO was the first Roman Emperor who needed the aid of another
man's

man's eloquence: for, CESAR the Dictator stood in rank with the most distinguish'd Orators; and AUGUSTUS had an easie and flowing elocution, such as became a Prince: TIBERIUS also possess'd the art of marshalling words; his sentiments too were strong, and from policy it was that sometimes his expressions were obscure: even the disorder'd spirit of CALIGULA impair'd not his address and energy in speaking: nor was CLAUDIUS wanting in elegance of discourse, whenever his discourse was the effect of study. NERO from his early childhood had abandon'd his lively imagination to other occupations and diversions, those of graving, painting, singing, and managing the horse; at times too in composing poems, whence some seeds and grounds of science appear'd to have been in him.

HAVING finish'd this mimickry of mourning, he repair'd to the Senate, where, after an introduction concerning his establishment in the Empire by the authority of the fathers, and the common concurrence of the soldiery, he declar'd with what worthy purposes and upon what good examples he assum'd the Sovereignty; that his youth being never ruffled nor engag'd in any of the animosities of civil wars, or any domestick dissensions, he brought with him no spirit of hatred, no sense of injuries, nor appetite of revenge. He then propos'd the scheme of his future rule, and in it avoided carefully all those late measures of reigning which were still fresh and odious: "for that he claim'd not the judgment and decision of
" affairs; nor would allow the shutting up those who
" were accus'd in the same house with their accusers;
" and by it sustain the impotent tyranny of a few: no-
" thing should be saleable within his walls, nor any access
" there to the crooked plots and attempts of ambition:
" between his family and the republick a just distinction
" should be maintain'd: the Senate should uphold her
" ancient jurisdiction: Italy and all those provinces, which
" depended, by separate allotment, upon the people, should
" apply only to the tribunal of the Consuls; and by them
" procure access to the fathers: to himself he reserv'd
" what was especially committed to his trust, the direction
" of the armies."

THIS

THIS declaration wanted no sincerity, and by the Senate many regulations were made, agreeable to their own good liking; particularly that no advocate should defend a cause for gift or payment, and that those who were design'd Questors, should be no longer oblig'd to exhibit publick shews of Gladiators. All this was oppos'd by AGRIPPINA, as what rescinded the acts of CLAUDIUS; but the fathers prevail'd, tho' by her contrivance, they were purposely assembled in the palace, that there posted by a door behind a curtain, secure from sight, she might yet easily overhear. Nay, at a time when the Ambassadors from Armenia were pleading before NERO a cause of their nation, she was advancing to ascend the Imperial Tribunal, and to sit in joint judgment with the Emperor, if SENECA seeing all the rest mute through fear, had not remember'd him "to descend and meet his mother." Thus, under the guise of filial reverence, that publick disgrace was prevented.

AT the end of the year, tidings were brought, by the flying alarms of rumour, "that the Parthians having
 " broke out into fresh hostilities, had seiz'd Armenia and
 " exterminated RHADAMISTUS," who, often Sovereign of that Kingdom, and as often a fugitive, had now too quite abandon'd the war. At Rome therefore, a city fond of discanting upon the publick, they began to inquire, "how a Prince scarce pass'd his seventeenth year,
 " could undertake so mighty a charge, how encounter
 " and repulse such a potent foe? what protection to the
 " State from him, a youth govern'd by a woman? would
 " he, upon this occasion also, act by the ministry of his
 " Tutors? would his Tutors fight battles, storm towns,
 " and execute the other functions of war?" others, on the contrary, alledg'd, "that it had thus better happen'd,
 " than if the weight and care of that war had fallen upon
 " CLAUDIUS, under all the defects of old age and stupidity, one who would have blindly obey'd the dictates
 " of his slaves. BURRUS and SENECA were known for
 " men of long and various experience in affairs: and to the
 " Emperor himself how little was wanting of mature age;
 " when POMPEY, in his eighteenth year, and OCTAVIUS
 " CESAR in his nineteenth, each sustain'd the weight of a
 " civil

“ civil war? by rulers more matters were accomplish’d
 “ through lucky incidents and contrivance, than by dint
 “ of arms and strength: NERO besides would soon exhi-
 “ bit a manifest proof, whether he employ’d worthy or
 “ unworthy Counsellors; if his choice of a General fell,
 “ without pique or partiality, upon a man of signal re-
 “ putation, rather than upon one that was only wealthy,
 “ and trusted to favour and intrigues.”

WHILST these and the like discourses employ’d the publick, NERO, to supply the Legions in the East, order’d recruits to be rais’d through the neighbouring provinces, and the Legions themselves to be posted near to Armenia: as also that these ancient Kings, AGRIPPA and ANTIOCHUS, should make ready their forces, such as might enable them to invade the territories of the Parthians; and that bridges should be forthwith made upon the Euphrates. To ARISTOBULUS he moreover committed the lesser Armenia; and the region of SOPHENES to SOHEMUS, with the ensigns of Royalty and title of Kings. There arose likewise to VOLOGESES a competitor for his Crown; his own son, VARDANES: hence the Parthians withdrew from Armenia, yet so as if they meant to return, and only post-pon’d the war.

But, in the Senate, all this was extoll’d above measure, by such as voted, “ that days of publick supplica-
 “ tions should be decreed to the Gods; that on those
 “ publick days the Prince should wear the triumphal robe;
 “ that he should enter the city in the pomp of ovation,
 “ that to him a statue should be erected of the same
 “ bulk with that of MARS the avenger, and in the same
 “ temple.” Besides their habitual proness to flattery, they sincerely rejoic’d that, for the reconquest of Armenia, he had preferr’d DOMITIUS CORBULO; whence a door seem’d to be open’d for the reward of virtue and merit. The forces in the East were so divided, that part of the auxiliaries, with two Legions, were to remain in Syria, under the command of NUMIDIUS QUADRATUS governor of the province; an equal number of Romans and allies were assign’d to CORBULO, with an addition of the cohorts, and other troops, which winter’d in Cappadocia. The confederate Kings were order’d to obey either, according to
 I the

the exigencies of the war: but their affections were much more devoted to CORBULO; who, in order to take advantage of fame, which in all new enterprizes has ever most powerful influence, march'd with expedition, and at Egeas a city of Cilicia, was met by QUADRATUS, who advanc'd purposely thus far, lest CORBULO, if he had enter'd Syria to receive his forces there, should draw upon himself the eyes of all men; grand as he was in his person, a magnificent speaker, and, besides the esteem of his wisdom and great experience, even things empty in themselves, his air and fashion serv'd powerfully to recommend him.

BOTH however warn'd VOLOGESES by messages, “to prefer peace to war, and by delivering hostages to preserve towards the Roman people that reverence which was wont to be paid by his ancestors.” VOLOGESES too, in order to make the more effectual preparations for war, or to remove under the name of hostages, such as he suspected of aiming at the Diadem, yielded the most illustrious of the family of ARSACIDES: they were receiv'd by HISTEIUS the Centurion, who had been for this very end dispatch'd to the King by NUMIDIUS. When this became known to CORBULO, he order'd ARRIUS VARUS, Prefect of a Cohort, to go and take them; hence a quarrel arose between the Centurion and the Prefect; but, to prevent the same from being the sport of foreign nations; to the hostages themselves and deputies who conducted them, the decision of the difference was committed: and they prefer'd the pretensions of CORBULO, in regard of his late exaltation, and even from a certain bias in the hearts of our enemies. A source this of discord between the Generals: NUMIDIUS complain'd that he was bereft of what he had by his own counsels atchiev'd; and CORBULO, on the contrary, maintain'd that the King had not inclin'd to yield hostages till he himself being appointed to conduct the war, had chang'd his hopes into fear. NERO, to compose their jarrings, order'd publick declaration to be made, “that for the successful conduct of QUADRATUS and CORBULO, the laurel should be annexed to their fasces.” These transactions, tho' they reach'd into the year of the succeeding Consuls, I have thus laid together.

THE

THE same year, NERO applied to the Senate for a statue to his father DOMITIUS, and for the Consular ornaments to ASCONIUS LABEO, who had been his Tutor. Statues to himself of solid silver and gold he refus'd, and oppos'd such who propos'd them; and, notwithstanding an ordinance of Senate, that the Year for the future should begin on December, the month in which NERO was born, he preserv'd the ancient solemnity of beginning the year with the first of January. Neither would he admit a criminal prosecution against CARINAS CELER the Senator, upon the accusation of a slave; nor against JULIUS DEN-SUS of the Equestrian Order, charg'd as a delinquent for his devotion to BRITANNICUS.

IN the Consulship of NERO and LUCIUS ANTISTIUS, as the Magistrates were swearing upon the acts of the Emperors, he withheld ANTISTIUS his colleague from swearing upon his: an action copiously extoll'd by the fathers, with design that his youthful spirit, first animated by the glory resulting from light things, might proceed to court the same in things which were greater. There follow'd an instance of his mercy towards PLAUTIUS LATERANUS, formerly degraded from the order of Senator for adultery with MESSALINA, but now by NERO restor'd: and he chose to make many professions of clemency in the frequent speeches which SENECA the composer, either to manifest what worthy counsels he gave, or in ostentation of his own wit, utter'd in publick by the mouth of the Emperor.

IN the mean while, the authority of his mother became by little and little slighted and impair'd: for NERO having fallen into a passion for a franchiz'd Damself, her name ACTE, at the same time assum'd as confidents in his amour OTHO and CLAUDIUS SENECEO; the first of a Consular family, the other a son of one of the Emperor's freedmen; two youths of graceful persons, who first, unknown to his mother, and then in spite of her, had by fellowship in luxury and secret pleasures crept into an unbounded intimacy with him: nor did even his severest ministers thwart this intrigue; when with a woman of low condition, to the injury of no man, the Prince satisfied his youthful inclinations and pleasures: for, OCTAVIA
his

his wife, however illustrious in her birth, however celebrated for her virtue, he intirely nauseated; whether from a certain fatality entirely blind and unaccountable, or that forbidden pursuits are more prevalent and attractive. Hence it was dreaded that, had he been withheld from that gallantry, he would have outrageously polluted Ladies of the most signal quality.

BUT AGRIPPINA storm'd, "that a manumis'd slave
 " was become her competitor, and a handmaid her
 " daughter-in-law," with other the like angry invectives
 of an incens'd woman: nor would she practise the least
 patience till her son were reclaim'd by being asham'd or
 surfeited; tho' the fouler her reproaches were, the more ve-
 hemently she fir'd his passion: so that, overcome at last by
 its superiour force, he shook off all reverence for his mother,
 and surrender'd himself intirely to SENECA, who had a
 friend nam'd ANNEUS SERENUS that had hither to cloak'd
 the Prince's passion for ACTE, by feigning one of his own,
 and furnish'd his name, that in it he might openly pre-
 sent to her whatever NERO in secret bestow'd upon her.
 And now AGRIPPINA changing her arts and address, as-
 sail'd his youthful spirit with softness and blandishments: she
 offer'd him " her own chamber, that there, and even with-
 " in her own arms, he might more covertly accomplish
 " whatever the warmth of his youth and sovereign fortune
 " prompted him to." She even acknowledg'd her unseason-
 able rigour, and tender'd him the disposal of all her wealth;
 which was not far short of the Imperial treasures: as she
 had lately been over strict in checking her son, so now
 she was become beyond measure submissive and condes-
 cending. This sudden change deceiv'd not NERO; and
 his closest friends dreading it, besought him, " to beware
 " of snares from a woman always implacable, and then
 " both implacable and dissembling." It happen'd about
 that time, that as NERO was surveying the precious orna-
 ments, in which the wives and mothers of the Emperors
 were wont to shine, he chose out rich raiment with many
 jewels, and sent them as presents to his mother: nor were
 the same any wise stinted, since the choicest things and
 such as others passionately covet, were by him, unask'd,
 presented to her: but AGRIPPINA wax'd violent and said,

“ that by these gifts, the adorning of her person was
 “ not intended, but rather her exclusion from all besides;
 “ and her son would thus divide with her what he had
 “ wholly receiv’d from her.” Nor were there wanting
 those who related these her words with aggravations.

NERO therefore provok’d with those who manag’d and
 upheld the imperious spirit of AGRIPPINA, dismiss’d PAL-
 LAS from the employment which he had receiv’d from
 CLAUDIUS, and in it had acted like the sovereign direc-
 tor of the Empire: it is reported that, as he departed the
 palace, attended by a mighty throng of followers, NERO
 said not unpleasantly; “ PALLAS is going to abdicate his
 “ Sovereignty.” PALLAS had, in truth, stipulated, “ that
 “ he should be question’d for no part of his past beha-
 “ viour; and, for his accounts, the publick should have
 “ no more demands upon him, than he upon the pub-
 “ lick.” After this AGRIPPINA quite abandon’d her self
 to a stile of threats and terrors, nor spar’d she to utter
 them in the Emperor’s hearing: she even declar’d, “ that
 “ BRITANNICUS was now grown up, the true and na-
 “ tural descendent from CLAUDIUS, and worthy to as-
 “ sume the Empire of his father; an Empire which one,
 “ who was a son only by adoption and ingraftment,
 “ sway’d by trampling upon his own mother: for her
 “ self; she freely consented that all the crying calamities
 “ brought upon that unhappy house, should be laid open
 “ to the world; that first in the list should appear her
 “ own incestuous marriage with her uncle, her own guilt
 “ in poisoning her husband: one only consolation, by the
 “ providence of the Gods and her own, remain’d to her,
 “ that her step-son was still left alive: with him she would
 “ repair to the camp; where, on one side, would be
 “ heard the daughter of GERMANICUS, on the other
 “ BURRUS and SENECA, the first with his maim’d hand,
 “ the second with the stile of a pedagogue; both engag’d
 “ in a contest with her about the sovereign rule of hu-
 “ man kind.” At the same time she toss’d her menacing
 hands, accumulated reproaches, invok’d the deified CLAU-
 DIUS, with the manes of the Silani, and of so many others
 whose murders she had in vain perpetrated!

ALL this alarm'd NERO; and as the following day was that of the nativity of BRITANNICUS, who on it accomplish'd his fourteenth year; he revolv'd, within himself, now upon the violent spirit of his mother, then upon the promising genius of that youth, of which, during the late Festival of the Saturnalia, he had given a remarkable specimen, and by it acquired universal esteem. Besides other sports, on that occasion, amongst them and others of the like age and condition; as they drew lots who should be King of the play, the lot fell upon NERO: he therefore, in that quality, gave to all the rest distinct commands, yet such as expos'd them to no ridicule: but that to BRITANNICUS was, to stand forth in the center of the company, and there begin some song. From attempting this task he hop'd the boy would become an object of laughter, untrain'd as he was even in the parts of sober conversation, much more in the rants of drunkards. BRITANNICUS, however, with an address steady and undisturb'd, rais'd his voice to some verses which imported, how "he was bereft of his natural inheritance and the "Imperial power." Hence he drew compassion from those who heard him, which was the more unrestrain'd for that their gaiety and the night had banish'd hypocrisy. NERO was struck with the invidious application, and grew into still more mortal hate: but, however urg'd to dispatch by the menaces of AGRIPPINA, yet as his brother was without crime, and openly he dar'd not command his execution, he set about a secret machination: he order'd poison to be prepar'd; and as his agent in it employ'd JULIUS POLLIO Tribune of a Pretorian Cohort, in whose custody was kept she who was under condemnation for poisoning, LOCUSTA, famous for many black iniquities in that art. For, as to any obstacle from those who were nearest about the person of BRITANNICUS, care had been long since taken that they should be such as were to have no sense of common honesty, or conscience of their faith and duty. The first poison he took was even administer'd by the hands of his governors, but without effect, being voided in a looseness; whether in it self it wanted energy, or to prevent a discovery by its sudden rage, had been qualified. NERO, who was im-
patient

patient of a slow progress in his cruelty, threaten'd terribly the Tribune, and was dooming the Sorcerers to execution, "for that whilst they only apprehended the out-cries of the people, and were meditating ways to acquit themselves, they postpon'd the security of the Prince." Hence they undertook to prepare a dose which, sudden as a dagger, should dispatch him; and in a chamber next to the Emperor's, the deadly potion was seeth'd, compounded of several poisons, all of experienc'd rapidity.

At meals, it was the manner of the children of Princes, accompanied with other young nobles, to be serv'd in a sitting posture, in the sight of their nearest kindred, at a separate table, and more sparingly cover'd. While BRITANNICUS was thus at meat, the opportunity was taken: but, for as much as whatever he eat or drank, was first tried by a special officer of his, a taster; to the end therefore that neither this usage might be omitted, nor by the death of both, the iniquity be detected, the guile was thus concerted. To BRITANNICUS drink was presented, such as was yet free from all infection, and tried by the taster, but scalding hot, and for that reason return'd by BRITANNICUS: hence it was qualified with cold water, wherein the poison was pour'd; which seiz'd all his organs with such sudden efficacy, that he was at once bereft of speech and life. Fear and trembling possess'd his companions; such too as comprehended not the mystery, made instantly off, but those of deeper discernment remain'd, with their eyes fix'd stedfastly upon NERO; who, as he lay in a reclining posture, declar'd, with the air of one utterly ignorant, "that it was a usual fit of the falling sickness, with which BRITANNICUS from his early childhood had been afflicted; and by degrees his sight and understanding would return." But, in AGRIPPINA such tokens of dread and consternation of spirit broke out, tho' by disguis'd looks she labour'd to smother the same, that it was manifest she was as much a stranger to the doom of BRITANNICUS as was his own sister OCTAVIA: for, by his death she was sensible, that her last refuge was snatch'd from her, and saw here an awakening example of parricide before her. Even OCTAVIA, how-

ever raw in years, had learnt to hide under diffimulation her grief and tenderness, and every other affection of her soul. So after a short silence, the pleasantry of the entertainment was resum'd.

UPON one and the same night were seen the untimely fate of BRITANNICUS and his funeral pile; for beforehand had been prepar'd all the appointments for his burial, which it self prov'd but moderate and stinted. In the Field of Mars, however, his remains were repositd, during such tempestuous rains as the populace believ'd to be denunciations of the wrath of the Deities against the crying deed; a deed which yet was in the judgment of many men, entitul'd to pardon, whilst they consider'd the wonted dissensions eternally happening between rival brothers, and the unsocial and incommunicable genius of sovereignty. It is related by most of the writers of those times, that, for some time before the murder, NERO had defiled the youth by frequent constupration: so that this death of his, however dispatch'd during the inviolable hospitality of the table, and so precipitately that to his sister not a moment was allow'd for a last embrace, and under the eye of his capital enemy, could not for all this appear too early incurr'd, nor even cruelly inflicted; tho' by it the last branch of the Claudian race was extirpated, since it was a branch vitiated by unnatural pollution before it perish'd by poison. NERO, by an edict, justified the hasty dispatch of the obsequies: the same, he said, was the institution of our ancestors, "presently to withdraw from the eyes of the publick the
"coarces of such as fell before their prime, nor to stay
"to lengthen the solemnity by pomp and funeral ora-
"tions: he too in BRITANNICUS had lost the support
"of a brother; hence all his surviving hopes rested solely
"in the Commonwealth, and hence with the greater
"tenderness ought the Senate and people to cherish a Prince,
"who alone surviv'd of a family born to sustain sove-
"reignty."

HE then distinguish'd his most noted friends with great donations: nor were there wanting such as severely censur'd some, who, notwithstanding their avow'd gravity and uprightness, were yet parting amongst themselves,

like spoils taken in war, the possessions of BRITANNICUS, his palaces in Rome, and his manners and villas throughout Italy: others believ'd, that they were constrain'd to accept them, by the authority of the Emperor, who stung with the guilt of his own conscience, hop'd that his crimes would be overlook'd, if by largesses he could engage in his interest the most powerful men in the state. But his mother's wrath, no liberalities however noble, could atswage: she was still caressing OCTAVIA, still holding secret cabals with her confidants; and, besides the usual cravings of her inherent avarice, she was on all hands exacting and amassing treasure, as if by it she had some great design to support: the Tribunes and Centurions she receiv'd with great court and affability, and to the quality and merit of such of the virtuous nobility as even then remain'd, she paid distinguish'd honour: as if she were thus studying to create a party and find a leader. These her measures were known to NERO; and therefore the guards which attended at her gate (a preheminance which she held as consort to the late Emperor, and had continued to her, as mother to this) were by his order withdrawn, together with the band of Germans which, as an additional honour, had been join'd to the former: moreover, to prevent her being follow'd by such a throng of courtiers, he separated her habitation from his, and convey'd her into the house which had belong'd to ANTONIA: there, as often as he visited her, he went always surround-ed with a crowd of officers, and after the short ceremony of returning her salute, immediately departed.

OF all mortal things there is nought so unstable and transitory, as the name of power which stands not upon its own native vigour and basis: instantly the house of AGRIPPINA was deserted; none appear'd to give her consolation, none to visit her, except some few Ladies; and whether from affection or hate they did it, is uncertain. Amongst these was JUNIA SILANA, she who was by MESSALINA divorc'd from CAIUS SILIUS, as above I have recounted; a Lady signal in her quality, beauty, and lewdness, and one for a long while, very dear to AGRIPPINA: but, between them afterwards secret heartburnings and resentments arose; for that SEXTIUS AFRICANUS, a
noble

noble youth, purposing to espouse SILANA, was diverted by AGRIPPINA, who urg'd, "that she was lewd, "and past her prime:" not that she meant to reserve AFRICANUS for her self, but lest by marrying SILANA, he should, as she had no children, with her possess all her wealth. SILANA, who thought she saw a prospect of vengeance, instructed two of her own creatures, ITURIUS and CALVISIUS, to accuse her: neither did she attack her with stale charges often before alledg'd, such "as her bewailing the fate of BRITANNICUS, and publishing the wrongs done to OCTAVIA; but with designs to stir up RUBELLIUS PLAUTUS to effect a revolution in the state; a nobleman who, by his mother, "was in blood as nigh as NERO, to the deified AUGUSTUS: that by espousing him and investing him with "Empire, she meant once more to seize the Commonwealth." All this was by ITURIUS and CALVISIUS imparted to ATIMETUS freedman to DOMITIA NERO's aunt. ATIMETUS overjoy'd at the discovery (for between AGRIPPINA and DOMITIA a passionate competition was maintain'd) instigated PARIS the player; who was also DOMITIA's freedman, to proceed with all haste to the Emperor, "and there, in tragical colours, to announce "the crime."

It was far in night, and NERO was wasting the remainder in carousing, when PARIS enter'd, who else was wont at such seasons to heighten the voluptuous gayeties of the Prince: but now, with a face carefully fram'd into sadness, he laid before NERO a minute and orderly detail of the conspiracy, and by it so thoroughly affrighted him, that he not only determined the death of his mother and of PLAUTUS, but also to remove BURRUS the captain of his guards, as one who ow'd his promotion to the favour of AGRIPPINA, and would be ready to return her the like good office. We have it upon the authority of FABIVS RUSTICUS, "that to CECINA THUSCUS a codicil was already dispatch'd, entrusting him "with the command of the Pretorian bands; but that "through the credit and mediation of SENECA, BURRUS retain'd his dignity." According to the account of CLUVIUS and PLINY, no jealousy was entertain'd concerning

cerning the fidelity of the Prefect: but, it must be own'd that FABIVS manifests a constant zeal to extoll SENECA, by whose friendship his own fortune flourish'd: as my own purpose is to follow the general consent of authors, so I shall insert under the name of each whatever they diversly publish. NERO possess'd with dread, and with a blind passion to slay his mother, could not be brought to defer his cruel purposes, till BURRUS undertook for her execution, in case she were convicted of the imputed crimes: "but, to every one, whoever it were, a liberty
 " of defence, he said, must be granted; how much
 " more to a mother? Nor, in truth, against her did any
 " accusers appear, but only the hearsay of one man, and
 " by him brought from the house of her enemy: a hear-
 " say too which the circumstances and unseasonable hour
 " contributed to refute: it was during the dead darkness
 " and solitude of the night, and during a night spent
 " in the festivity of banquetting, when all things con-
 " spir'd to produce only rash judgment and uncertainty."

THE Emperor's fears being thus in some measure asswaged and day return'd, recourse was had to AGRIPPINA her self; that having notified to her the several charges against her, she might invalidate the same, or bear the punishment: these orders were perform'd by BURRUS, in the presence of SENECA: there attended likewise some of the Emperor's freedmen, to watch his discourse. BURRUS, after he had to her explain'd her crimes, and given her the names of those who alledg'd them, proceeded to high words and menaces. AGRIPPINA retain'd still the wonted fierceness of her spirit: "I wonder not, said she,
 " that to SILANA who never bore a child, the tender
 " affections of a mother are thus unknown; for, in truth,
 " children are not so easily chang'd by their parents, as by
 " a harlot are her adulterers: nor, because ITURIUS and
 " CALVISIUS, after having riotously devour'd their whole
 " fortunes, prostitute themselves, for their last resource,
 " to gratify the vengeance of an old woman, by turn-
 " ing my accusers; does it therefore follow that I am to
 " undergo the foul infamy of parricide, or that any ap-
 " prehensions should thence alarm the mind of CESAR.
 " As to DOMITIA, I would thank her even for all the
 " efforts

“ efforts of her enmity to me, if in instances of tender-
 “ nefs towards my child NERO, ſhe would ſtrive to exceed
 “ me. At preſent, by the miniſtration of ATIMETUS
 “ her minion, and of PARIS the player, ſhe is framing
 “ a plot, like one for the ſtage: but ſhe was occu-
 “ pied in trimming the canals of her villa at Baiæ, at a
 “ time when by my councils and management, he was
 “ adopted into the Claudian name, inveſted with the Pro-
 “ conſular authority, deſign’d to the Conſulſhip; and all other
 “ meaſures taken proper for acquiring him the Empire.
 “ In ſhort, produce the perſon, who can charge me,
 “ either with attempting the faith of the guards at Rome,
 “ or with ſhaking the allegiance of the provinces, or with
 “ ſuborning the Prince’s ſlaves and freedmen to treaſon
 “ againſt his perſon. Under the reign of BRITANNICUS,
 “ indeed, had he poſſeſs’d the ſovereignty, I could have
 “ preſerv’d my life: but, were PLAUTUS or any other
 “ to gain the ſupream rule, and thence a power of pro-
 “ nouncing judgment upon any proceſs againſt me; is it
 “ likely that I ſhould want accuſers, when, even under
 “ NERO, there are thoſe who ſtand up to accuſe me;
 “ not of words, ſometimes by me incautiously utter’d
 “ in the heat of affection and pity, but of treaſon ſo fla-
 “ grant, that only through the bowels of a ſon for his
 “ mother, can I be acquitted by mine?” Compunction
 ſeiz’d all who attended her: they voluntarily ſtrove to
 allay the ſwellings of her heart; and ſhe demanded an
 interview with her ſon: during it, ſhe alledg’d not a ſyl-
 lable in behalf of her innocence, like one who miſtruſted
 her ſelf, nor of his engagements to gratitude, like one
 who could reproach him for want of it; but inſiſted that
 vengeance ſhould be done upon her accuſers, recompences
 be conferr’d on her friends; and obtain’d both. To FE-
 NIUS RUFUS was granted the ſuperintendance of provi-
 ſions; to ARUNTIVS STELLA the direction of the pub-
 lick ſhews, which the Emperor was preparing to exhibit;
 and to CAIVS BALBILLVS the government of Egypt:
 that of Syria was aſſign’d to PVBIVS ANTEIVS; but by
 various ſcints and ſtratagems he was, from time to time,
 eluded of the poſſeſſion, and at laſt detain’d for good
 and all at Rome. SILANA was ſent into exile: CALVI-

SIUS too and ITURIUS were banish'd: upon ATIMETUS capital pains were inflicted: but PARIS was of too prevailing consequence to the Emperor in his debauches, to be subjected to punishment. PLAUTUS was for the present pass'd over in silence.

A charge was thereafter brought against PALLAS and BURRUS, "for having engag'd in a design of advancing to the Empire CORNELIUS SYLLA, in regard of his splendour and alliance with CLAUDIUS," whose son-in-law he was, having espous'd his daughter ANTONIA. This accusation was supported by one PETUS, a fellow infamous for busily promoting confiscations in the exchequer, and purchasing the effects of such as were condemn'd: equally notorious too, upon this occasion, was the vanity and falsehood of his allegations: and yet, the apparent innocence of PALLAS prov'd not so well pleasing, as his arrogance prov'd shocking: for, upon naming to him those of his freedmen who were said to have been his accomplices, he answer'd, "that at home he never us'd any other way of signifying his pleasure than sometimes by a nod, sometimes by a motion of his hand; or, if his commands consisted of many particulars, he then committed the same to writing: so that, at all adventures, he ever avoided to mix in discourse with his domesticks." BURRUS, notwithstanding he was arraign'd, sat and voted with the other judges: and upon the accuser the doom of banishment was inflicted. His duplicates too were burnt, the instruments by which he was wont to exact fresh payment to the cancell'd claims of the exchequer.

TOWARDS the close of the year, was remov'd the band of men which, as a guard, was wont to attend at the celebration of the publick plays; thence to exhibit a more plausible appearance of popular liberty; as also to preserve the soldiery from tainting their discipline by the dissolute licentiousness of the theatre; and moreover "to prove, whether the populace would still retain the same modesty of behaviour, now the guards were remov'd." At the admonitions of the soothsayers, the Emperor purified the city by lustration; for that the temples of Jupiter and Minerva had been struck with lightning.

IN the Consulship of QUINTUS VOLUSIUS and PUBLIUS SCIPIO, while profound quiet reign'd all over the Empire abroad, abominable revellings prevail'd at Rome, under the leading of NERO; who disguis'd in the habit of a slave, went roaming about the streets and scour'd the publick inns and stews, follow'd by a set of companions who seiz'd as prey whatever stood expos'd to sale, and assaulted whomsoever they met; and all these violences were committed upon people so unappriz'd of the author; that he himself was once wounded and bore the scar in his face. When afterwards it came to be divulg'd, that it was the Emperor who rioted thus; and as fresh outrages were daily done to men and ladies of illustrious quality; the name of NERO being once us'd to warrant licentiousness, was falsely assum'd as a cloak by others, and many with their own separate gangs boldly practis'd the same excesses: so that such were the nightly combustions at Rome, as if the city had been storm'd and the inhabitants taken captive. JULIUS MONTANUS, one in the rank of Senators but hitherto invested with no Magistracy, having casually encounter'd the Prince in the dark, resolutely repuls'd his assaults; and afterwards discovering him, implor'd his forgiveness: but, as if he had reproach'd the Emperor, by owning that he knew him, he was compell'd to die. Thenceforward, however, NERO became more fearful, and in these his rambles fortified himself with a party of soldiers and a great train of Gladiators: these interpos'd not in the beginning of a fray, nor while the same continued but moderately high; as if it were only a quarrel between particulars, and they were unconcern'd: but, if such as were insulted, resist'd with vigour, instantly the men of arms fell on: nay, at the diversions of the theatre, the several parties that favour'd particular players, were by him turn'd into hostile factions, encountering as it were in battel; animated as they were by the influence of impunity and rewards: besides, he greedily attended those broils, sometimes conceal'd, and often as an avow'd spectator. These tumults went on, till the people being heated and rent into dissensions, and commotions still more terrible apprehended, no other remedy was found but that of driving the players out of Italy, and of recalling the soldiers to guard the theatre.

ABOUT the same time the Senate had under consideration the insolence and base dealings of the Freedmen towards their Lords; and it was demanded with great eagerness, “ that to patrons a privilege should be granted of revoking the liberty of such as ungratefully us’d it.” For this many were ready to vote; but, the Consuls were afraid to propose the question, without apprizing the Prince: they however acquainted him by writing with the concurrence and bias of the Senate, and consulted him whether he would be declar’d the author of this decree, which was oppos’d by so few. They laid before him the reasonings on both sides: some urg’d with great vehemence and resentment, “ that, since their investiture with liberty, to such an excess of insolence they had soar’d, that they scarce allow’d their patrons the common treatment of equals, but assail’d them with insults and violence, spurn’d at their motions in the Senate, lifted up their hands against them, threaten’d them with blows; and with outrageous impudence warn’d their patrons from prosecuting the delinquencies of these their former slaves. And, in truth, what higher satisfaction or amends was permitted to the abus’d patron, than to banish his criminal freedmen an hundred miles off, into the pleasant confines of Campania? In every other circumstance and transaction between them, their conditions were equal, and the privileges of the freedmen the same with those of his patron. It was therefore expedient to arm the patron with some prerogative not to be despis’d: nor could it be deem’d any grievance upon slaves manumis’d, to preserve their liberty by the same dutiful observances by which they attain’d it. And, for those already notoriously guilty, it was but just to remand them to the yoke of servitude; that through their example, fear might curb such as benefits could not amend.”

ON the other side it was argued, “ the transgression of a few ought to prove pernicious only to themselves, and nothing be derogated from the establish’d rights of all; for that they were a body widely diffus’d: from thence in a good measure the tribes were supplied, and the colleges of scribes often fill’d: from the same source arose

“ the several officers attending the Magistrates and Pon-
 “ tiffs; and from thence too the city cohorts were en-
 “ roll’d: nor from any other original did a multitude of
 “ Knights and many Senators derive their pedigree. Now
 “ if from the several ranks of the community the descen-
 “ dents of freedmen were separated, there would quickly
 “ be discover’d a manifest scarcity of such as were ori-
 “ ginally free. Not without good ground had our an-
 “ cestors, when they ascertain’d the distinction and pri-
 “ vileges of the three orders, awarded undistinguish’d li-
 “ berty to all men: besides there were two kinds of ma-
 “ numission appointed on purpose to reserve a latitude
 “ for revoking liberty, where the grant was repented, or
 “ for the exercise of fresh generosity, by rendering the fa-
 “ vour irrevocable: those who had not been by their pa-
 “ tron regularly freed before the Pretor, remain’d still
 “ bound to him by a certain tye of servitude: every pa-
 “ tron must examine carefully the merit of such as he
 “ meant to discharge, and grant with deliberation an im-
 “ munity, which once granted he could never annul.”

This opinion prevail’d; and NERO wrote to the Senate,
 that they should try the offences of freedmen singly,
 whenever they were prosecuted by their patrons; but in
 nothing retrench from the rights of the body. Not long
 after NERO bereft DOMITIA his aunt of PARIS her freed-
 man; an act done by pretended law; to the great in-
 famy of the Prince, since by his special authority was
 obtain’d the judgment which asserted him free born.

THERE however subsisted still some resemblance of the
 ancient Republick: for, in the contest which arose be-
 tween VIBULLIUS the Pretor and ANTISTIUS Tribune
 of the people, about some turbulent partizans of the
 players, by the Pretor cast into irons, and by order of the
 Tribune releas’d; the Senate affirm’d the judgment of
 VIBULLIUS, and reprimanded the arbitrary conduct of
 ANTISTIUS. The Tribunes were moreover prohibited from
 entrenching upon the jurisdiction of the Pretors and Con-
 suls, as also from summoning before them out of any
 quarters of Italy such as might be tried at tribunals of
 their own: it was added by LUCIUS PISO Consul elect,
 “ that in their own houses they should not be allow’d to

“ exert any act of power; nor that under four months
 “ the Questors of the Exchequer should register the mulcts
 “ by them laid; that in the interval there should be pri-
 “ vilege to controvert their sentence, and that by one of
 “ the Consuls the contest should be determin’d.” The
 jurisdiction too of the Ediles was further straiten’d, and
 it was settled how high the Patrician Ediles, how high the
 Plebeian, might exact sureties, and to what value impose
 penalties. These proceedings encourag’d HELVIDIUS
 PRISCUS to gratify his own personal pique against OBUL-
 TRONIUS SABINUS Questor of the Exchequer, by charg-
 ing him, “ that by his prerogative of confiscating goods
 “ for taxes, he unmercifully extorted upon the poor and
 “ insolvent.” After this, the management of the Exche-
 quer was by the Prince remov’d from the Questors, and
 committed to the Prefects.

VARIOUS had been the regulations of this office, and
 its form often alter’d: for, AUGUSTUS had left to the
 Senate the power of chusing the Prefects: thereafter, as
 the suffrages were suspected to have been gain’d by
 caballing; out of the list of Pretors were drawn by lot
 such as were to preside there. Neither held this expe-
 dient long; for that the blind lot often stray’d, and fell
 upon those who were little qualified. CLAUDIUS there-
 fore once more restor’d the Questors; and, that the fear
 of raising enemies might not slacken their activity and
 inspection; he promis’d them, by special dispensation, an im-
 mediate designation to the greater Magistracies: but, as this
 was the first they sustain’d, ripeness of age was found want-
 ing in them: hence NERO chose into their places such as
 had exercis’d the Pretorship; and were of tried abilities.

UNDER the same Consuls was condemn’d VIPSANIUS
 LENAS, for his rapacious administration in Sardinia.
 CESTIUS PROCULUS charg’d with extortion (his accusers
 acquiescing) was acquitted: CLODIUS QUIRINALIS Ad-
 miral of the galleys which rode at Ravenna, as he stood
 convicted, “ for having by his profligate manners and acts
 “ of cruelty, infested Italy and treated it as the most abject
 “ of all nations,” prevented by poison his impending con-
 demnation: CANINIUS REBILUS one of the first rank in
 Rome for his abilities in the law, and his abundant trea-
 sures,

tures, chose a quick release from the torments of an old age broken with infirmities, by opening his veins; a man never before esteem'd of magnanimity sufficient to encounter a voluntary death; infamous as he was for a life of lasciviousness and effeminacy. But, illustrious and amiable in fame departed LUCIUS VOLUSIUS, after a long life of ninety three years, and the upright acquisition of signal opulence; with the singular felicity of having never alarm'd or incens'd the bloody spirit of so many Emperors.

DURING the second Consulship of NERO, and that of LUCIUS PISO his colleague, few events occur'd worthy commemoration, unless any writer liked to fill pages in magnifying the vast foundations and wooden structure of the new Amphitheatre, an immense pile then erected by the Emperor in the Field of Mars: but, to the dignity of the Roman people it belongs, that in their History should be inserted illustrious events only, and in the City-Journals such descriptions as those. The Colonies however of Capua and Nuceria were strengthen'd by a supply of Veterans; to the populace was distributed a largess of four hundred small sesterces a man; and into the Exchequer was convey'd the sum of four hundred thousand sesterces; as a fund to support the credit of the Roman people. Moreover, the duty of four in the hundred upon the sale of slaves, was remitted; an act rather specious in appearance than of any efficacy; for, as the seller was oblig'd to pay it, he thence rais'd the price upon the buyer. The Emperor too issued an edict, "that no Procurator, " or any other Magistrate, who had obtain'd a charge in " any province should exhibit a spectacle of Gladiators, " or of wild beasts, nor any other popular entertainment " whatsoever:" for, before this, they had by such acts of munificence no less afflicted those under their jurisdiction, than by plundering them of their money; whilst, under the influence of such court to the multitude, they shelter'd their arbitrary delinquencies and rapine.

A decree of Senate also pass'd equally tending to the avenging of crimes, and providing for domestick security; " that if any one was kill'd by his slaves, those too, " whom by his last will he had made free, if they still

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" continued

“ continued under the same roof, should amongst his
 “ other slaves suffer execution.” LUCIUS VARIUS, one
 who had been Consul, but for the crimes of rapine for-
 merly branded with degradation, was now restor’d to his
 primitive dignity: and POMPONIA GRECINA a Lady of
 signal quality, arraign’d of having embrac’d an extraneous
 Superstition, was referr’d to the inquisition of her husband;
 for, she was married to PLAUTIUS; the same who upon
 his return from Britain, enter’d the city in the pomp of
 Ovation. PLAUTUS assembled her kindred, and, in obser-
 vance of primitive institution, having in their presence
 taken cognizance of the behaviour and reputation of his
 wife, adjudg’d her innocent. To a great age this Lady
 liv’d, and under incessant sorrow: for ever after the un-
 timely fate of JULIA, (the daughter of DRUSUS) procur’d
 by the perfidious snares of MESSALINA, she wore for the
 space of forty years, no habit but that of mourning, en-
 tertain’d no sentiments but those of grief; a temper which
 during the reign of CLAUDIUS escap’d with impunity;
 and redounded thereafter to her glory.

THE same year produced many arraignments; and
 amongst them one against PUBLIUS CELER, prosecuted
 by the province of Asia, with such incontestable evidence;
 that the Emperor finding no pretence to discharge him,
 lengthen’d out the process till he died of old age. For,
 CELER having, as is above remember’d, dispatch’d by poi-
 son the Proconsul SILANUS, skreen’d under that merito-
 rious iniquity all his other enormities. CASSUTIANUS
 CAPITO was impleaded by the Cilicians, “ as a man ut-
 “ terly abominable and infamous, one who claim’d autho-
 “ rity to commit in his province the same bold exorbi-
 “ tancies which in Rome he had committed.” And he
 found himself so sorely beset with the vigour of the ac-
 cusation, that at last he wholly abandon’d his defence, and
 was condemn’d by the law against extortion. But, for
 EPRIUS MARCELLUS, who was charg’d by those of Lycia
 with the violation of that very law, a faction so power-
 ful was form’d, that some of his accusers were punish’d
 with exile, “ as if they had conspir’d the ruin of an in-
 “ nocent man.”

With NERO, now in his third Consulship, VALERIUS MESSALA commenced colleague, he whose great grandfather CORVINUS the Orator, was by some few old men (and but very few) remember'd to have been colleague in the same Magistracy with the deified AUGUSTUS, who by one degree more remote was ancestor to NERO. But, as an additional honour to that illustrious family, a yearly pension was presented to MESSALA, of about twelve thousand crowns; that by it he might relieve his honest poverty and still support his integrity. To AURELIUS COTTA also, and HATERIUS ANTONINUS, annual appointments were assign'd by the Prince, tho' they had wasted in voluptuousness their paternal wealth. In the beginning of this year the war between the Parthians and Romans, for the mastery of Armenia, tho' it had commenced with faint efforts, and hitherto lingred, was prosecuted with vigour: for, on one side, VOLOGESES would neither suffer his brother TIRIDATES to be bereft of the monarchy by himself conferr'd upon him, nor to hold the same as a gift from any other power: and CORBULO, on the other, esteem'd it becoming the grandeur of the Roman people, to re-establish the conquests formerly made by LUCULLUS and POMPEY. Moreover the Armenians, a people of double and faithless minds, invited the arms and protection of both; tho' from the situation of their country and similitude of manners, they stood in nearer conformity to the Parthians, being besides commonly link'd with them in conjugal alliances; and, being destitute of all experience or sense of liberty, they were rather addicted to Parthian slavery.

BUT, to CORBULO it prov'd greater labour to struggle with the degenerate sloth of his soldiers, than against the perfidious dealings of his enemies: for, the Legions brought out of Syria, and enervated by long peace, bore with much impatience the laborious occupations of war. It fully appear'd that in that army there were those who had serv'd to the age of Veterans, and yet had never kept guard, never stood sentry; men who beheld entrenchments and pallisades as sights that were new and wonderful, and who, in spruce apparel and pursuit of gain, without ever wearing helmet or body armour, had amongst the deli-

cacies of cities fulfilled the term of their service. Having therefore discharg'd such as were enfeebled by sickness or age, he sent to demand recruits. Hence levies were made through Cappadocia and Galatia, and to these was added a Legion from Germany, with some wings of horse and a detachment of infantry from the Cohorts. The whole army too was encamp'd; tho' such was the rigour of the winter, and so stubbornly had the frost bound the earth, that without digging they could not pierce it in order to pitch their tents. Many had their limbs utterly scorched up by the raging cold; and some, as they stood sentry, were frozen to death. More remarkable still was the fate of one particular soldier, whose hands, as he carried in them a bundle of wood, stiffen'd and mortified so suddenly, that still clasping their burden they dropp'd from his mutilated arms. The General himself, in a thin habit and his head bare, whether they march'd or work'd, was hourly amongst them, commending the magnanimous, heartening the weak, and exhibiting an example to all. Next, as many refus'd to bear the asperity of the weather and service, and began to depart; he had recourse to severity for a cure, for, he proceeded not as in the other armies, where the first or second offence was forgiven; but whoever deserted his colours, was instantly put to death: a course which was by experience prov'd to be wholesome, and preferable to that of clemency: since, from his camp there were fewer desertions, than from those in which acts of mercy were wont to prevail.

CORBULO, the while, holding his Legions encamp'd, waited the advancement of the spring; and, having quarter'd the auxiliary Cohorts in convenient places, expressly forewarn'd them that they should not venture to engage first in a battle: the superintendance of these garrisons, he conferr'd upon PACTIUS ORPHITUS, one who had serv'd as Lieutenant Colonel of a Legion. This officer, altho' he acquainted the General by letter, that the Barbarians acted negligently, and thence an opportunity presented of assailing them with success, was order'd to abide within his entrenchments, and wait for greater forces: but, he broke through his orders: for, upon the arrival of some few troops of horse, who assembling from the neighbour-
ing

ing castles, rashly demanded battle, he encounter'd the enemy, and was routed. Those too, who ought to have reinforc'd him, being themselves terrified with his disaster, betook themselves to a cowardly and tumultuous flight, and return'd to their several fortifications: an event which grievously affected CORBULO; hence, after he had bitterly reproach'd PACTIUS himself and the captains and common soldiers, he expell'd them all from the camp, doom'd them to lie on the other side its enclosure, without tents or defence: and under this contumelious punishment they were held, till, at the universal supplications of the whole army, they were releas'd.

NOW TIRIDATES, who over and above the forces which he drew from his own vassals, was supported by the might of his brother VOLOGESSES, proceeded no longer against Armenia by disguis'd efforts, but attack'd it with open war, and, upon all such as he suspected of attachment to us, committed depredations; but, where troops were drawn out against him, eluded the encounter, scouring to and fro, and effecting greater matters by the fame and terror of his incursions, than by any exploits in fight. CORBULO therefore, having long labour'd to come to an engagement, and being still frustrated, found himself oblig'd to follow the method of the enemy, and make a circulatory war: hence he distributed his forces so that his several Lieutenants might at once attack diverse quarters: he at the same time directed King ANTIOCHUS to fall into the Armenian districts which lay contiguous to his own. For, as to PHARASMANES King of Iberia; having for the imputation of treason, slain his son RHADAMISTUS; he was already, in order to display his fidelity towards us, renewing with the more acrimony against the Armenians the exercise of his old inveterate hate. The Insechians too, a people since singularly attach'd to the Roman interest, were then first engag'd in our alliance, and over-run the wilds of Armenia. Thus all the measures of TIRIDATES prov'd abortive and contradictory; so that he dispatch'd Embassadors to expostulate, in his own name and that of the Parthians; “ upon what score
“ it was that, after he had so lately deliver'd hostages
“ to the Romans, and with them renew'd his former
“ amity,

“ amity, which might reasonably have prov’d to him a
 “ source of new friendship; he must yet be chas’d out of
 “ Armenia, a Kingdom so long in the possession of his
 “ ancestors? Hence it was, that VOLOGESES had not hi-
 “ therto taken arms in person, because they both desir’d
 “ to commit the justice of their cause to the way of ac-
 “ commodation rather than to that of violence. But, if
 “ war were still to be obstinately pursued, the Arfacides
 “ would not find themselves forsaken of that same victo-
 “ rious bravery so often tried by the Romans, in many
 “ bloody overthrows.” CORBULO was well inform’d,
 that what engag’d VOLOGESES was the revolt of Hyr-
 cania: he therefore, in answer to TIRIDATES, persuaded
 him to apply to the Emperor with humility and suppli-
 cations; “ hence he might enjoy his Kingdom in secu-
 “ rity, and an establishment without the expence of blood;
 “ if rejecting his remote and tedious hopes, he would
 “ close with sounder measures already concerted.

BUT, as the business of peace was nothing advanc’d
 by an intercourse of messengers, it was at last judg’d
 proper to ascertain a time and place for an interview be-
 tween the two chiefs. TIRIDATES declar’d “ that he
 “ would come attended only by a guard of a thousand
 “ horse, but would not restrain CORBULO to any num-
 “ ber of troops of any kind, provided they came with-
 “ out armour, as a proof of their disposition to peace.”
 This perfidious wile of the Barbarian must have appear’d
 manifest to every man breathing, especially to an old and
 cautious Captain; since by limiting the number of men
 on one side, and leaving liberty for a greater number on
 the other, nothing but a snare could be intended: for,
 against a body of Parthian horsemen constantly train’d
 in the use of the bow, any numbers whatever, when naked
 of armour, would avail nothing. CORBULO, however
 disguis’d all his apprehensions of guile, and return’d an-
 swer, “ that matters which concern’d the interest of both
 “ their states, would be more properly discuss’d in pre-
 “ sence of both armies:” hence he chose a station con-
 sisting partly of hills rising with a gentle slope, fit for
 embattling his infantry; partly of a large plain, affording
 scope for ranging the squadrons of horse. On the day
 appointed,

appointed, CORBULO advanc'd first; on the wings he posted the social troops and the auxiliary forces sent by the confederate Kings: and, in the center, the sixth Legion, which he had strengthen'd with three thousand men of the third, led by night from another camp; all mixt together under one Eagle, to preserve still the appearance of a single Legion. TIRIDATES at last appear'd, but late in the day, and afar off, from whence he could be easier seen than heard: so that the Roman General, having obtain'd no conference, order'd his men to retire to their several camps.

THE King too retreated in haste, whether it were that he apprehended a design to surprize him, for that the Romans filed off in different routs; or, that he meant to intercept their provisions which were coming from Trebizond and the Euxin Sea: but, as the provisions passed over the mountains, which were secur'd by several bands of our men, he found no means to attack them: and CORBULO the while, that the war might not thus linger without action, and in order to force the Armenians to defend their own dwellings, set himself to raze their strong holds: the attack of the strongest of all those in that quarter, the fort nam'd Volandum, he reserv'd to himself; and to CORNELIUS FLACCUS his Lieutenant, and INSTEIUS CAPITO Camp Marshall, committed those of smaller note. Having therefore view'd the fortifications and prepar'd all things requisite for storming the place, he exhorted his men, “ to exterminate that base and vagabond
“ foe, never prepar'd for war, yet never dispos'd to peace,
“ but still by flight confessing faithlessness and cowardice:
“ do this, said he, and at once pursue a harvest of spoil
“ and glory.” He then distributed his forces into four divisions: one he form'd close under their shields into the military shell, in order to overthrow the pallisade and undermine the rampart: others were order'd, by ladders to mount the walls, and a party to manage the engines, and thence annoy the fortress with showers of darts and artificial fire: to the archers too and slingers a quarter was assign'd whence they might from afar discharge volleys of stones and bullets: so that every part of the fortress being assail'd, and the consternation every where equal,

no one quarter of the besieg'd might be at leisure to relieve another. All this was executed by the besiegers with such spirit and vigour; that, in a few hours the defenders were entirely driven from the walls, the gates were forced, the bulwarks scaled, and all that were arriv'd to full age, put to the edge of the sword; without the loss of one of our men, and very few were wounded. The weak and mixt multitude were sold by the publick cryer: and to the conquerors remain'd all the rest of the spoil. Equal success attended the Lieutenant General and Camp Marshall: in one day they took three castles by storm: insomuch that all the others, some from dread, others from the inclination of the inhabitants, surrender'd. Such a series of good fortune inspir'd a resolution, to attempt the siege of Artaxata, the capital of Armenia. The Legions were not however conducted thither the shortest road; for that, in passing the bridge over the Araxes, which washes the walls of the city, they would have been expos'd to have been gall'd by the enemy. Fetching therefore a long circuit, they forded over upon the large shallows.

As to TIRIDATES; he struggl'd between shame and fear: if he gave way to the siege, it would appear that there was no reliance upon any relief or force from him: if he attempted to prevent it; he must be hemm'd in with his cavalry in close and intricate places: at last, he determin'd to shew himself in order of battle, and at break of day begin the onset, or by a feign'd flight try to draw the Romans into a snare. With great suddenness therefore he beset them, but without any surprize to our General, who had form'd his army as well for a fight as a march. On the right march'd the third Legion; on the left the sixth, and in the center a chosen detachment from the tenth; the baggage was secur'd between the ranks, and a thousand horse guarded the rear: these last were order'd "to repulse the foe, if they made any close attack; but, not to pursue them when they fled." The foot archers and remainder of the horse were placed on the wings, but the left was the most extended, and reach'd to the roots of the hills; that, if the enemy attempted an onset there, he might be encounter'd at once by our front, and by the heart of the army. TIRIDATES, on
his

his side, pickeer'd about, yet never approach'd within the throw of a dart; but, now braving us with the countenance of an assailant, then assuming an air of dismay, provok'd us to loosen our ranks, that he might fall upon us when we were disjoyn'd. When he saw no unwary relaxation in our order, and that only one captain of horse, who had adventur'd too rashly, was by a volley of arrows slain, and by his fate had confirm'd all the rest in submission to discipline; he march'd off at the close of the evening.

CORBULO encamp'd upon the place, and, supposing that TIRIDATES had retir'd to Artaxata, was unresolv'd whether he should march thither the same night with his Legions unincumber'd by baggage, and immediately invest it: but, upon tidings brought him by his spies, that the King had undertaken a long rout; tho' it was uncertain whether towards the regions of Media or Albania: he waited for the morning, and dispatch'd his troops lightly arm'd to beset the city, and begin the storm of the place by a distant attack. But, the citizens voluntarily opening their gates, made an unreserv'd surrender to the Romans: by this their persons were secur'd. The city was fir'd, and laid level with the ground; for, such was the wide circuit of its walls, that, without a powerful garrison, they could not be defended; nor were our forces sufficiently large to fill the garrison, and yet to prosecute the war: or, had it been left untouch'd and destitute of a guard, there had been no profit nor glory in having taken it. To this relation of the fall of the city is added a Phænomenon, which was deem'd miraculous, as a signal sent immediately from heaven; for that, while all the region round the walls and close to them, was gloriously irradiated by the sun; the whole space encompass'd by them, was so suddenly darken'd by a thick cloud, spangled with lightning and roaring with thunder, that it was believ'd the angry Gods, to satiate their vengeance, had consign'd that city to utter destruction.

FOR these prosperous exploits NERO was proclaim'd *Imperator*, and by decree of Senate, days of publick devotion were appointed, with statues of victory to the Prince, triumphal arches, and perpetuity of the Consulship:

ship: it was moreover decreed, that the day when the city was won, the day when the news arriv'd at Rome, and the day that produced this decree, should all be enroll'd amongst the annual festivals; with several other particulars of the same stamp, so much beyond all measure, that CAIUS CASSIUS, tho' he had agreed to the former, yet argued here, " that were every instance of
 " publick prosperity to be attended with publick thank-
 " giving, the whole year would not afford days enough
 " for days of devotion: a just distribution ought therefore
 " to be made between days of devotion and days of bu-
 " siness; in such sort that the worship of the Gods might
 " be solemniz'd, without interfering with the secular bu-
 " siness of men."

THEREAFTER was impleaded a man, who had passed through various revolutions of life, and justly incurr'd much hatred and many enmities: yet obnoxious as he was, his condemnation drew an imputation and blemish upon SENECA: it was PUBLIUS SUILIUS, he who, during the reign of CLAUDIUS, had made such a mischievous and terrible figure, and exercis'd such a venal spirit, and tho' now by the change of times, considerably sunk, yet not so low as his enemies wish'd: besides, he was one, who chose rather to bear the character of a criminal, than descend to that of a suppliant. Hence the decree of Senate made at this time for the revival of the Cincian law, which subjected to penalties all those who had pleaded for pay, was thought to have passed on purpose to ruine him. Nor did SUILIUS, on his part, spare to retort complaints and recriminations; but, vehement as he ever was in his temper, now too, extremely old, and thence indulging avowed freedom, upbraided SENECA, " as an inveterate
 " foe to all the friends of CLAUDIUS, during whose reign
 " he had been justly doom'd to exile; as one who, be-
 " ing himself conversant in stupid and insignificant stu-
 " dies, and in teaching scholars, was actuated by envy
 " towards all such, who in defending the rights of their
 " fellow citizens, exercis'd vigorous eloquence, free from
 " pedantry and corruption. For himself; he had been Que-
 " stor to GERMANICUS; but SENECA the adulterer of
 " GERMANICUS's daughter. Now, was it to be judg'd a
 " more

“ more heinous offence, to pursue the advantages of a wor-
 “ thy vocation, by accepting a reward from a suitor who
 “ freely gives it, than to contaminate the beds of Princesses?
 “ By what precepts of wisdom, by what principles of phi-
 “ losophy, had he, during four years of imperial favour,
 “ amass’d a treasure of more than seven millions? Through
 “ Rome he hunted after testaments and inheritances; the
 “ rich and childish were catch’d as ’twere in his net; and
 “ all Italy and the Provinces were, by his mighty and ex-
 “ cessive usury, exhausted. But, small is my own wealth,
 “ and with industry acquir’d; and upon the whole, I
 “ am determin’d rather to undergo the heaviest prosecu-
 “ tion, the severest sentence and doom, and every degree
 “ of hardship and suffering, than debase a distinguish’d
 “ reputation, the acquisition of a long life, and bend to
 “ this sudden son of felicity.”

THERE were some too, who fail’d not to relate to
 SENECA all these reproaches, in the same angry strain, or
 in one still more embitter’d. Accusers moreover were
 found, who arraign’d him, “ for his excesses in Asia, when
 “ he rul’d as Questor there; for plundering the inhabi-
 “ tants, and robbing from the publick revenue.” But,
 as a whole year was granted them for preparing their
 evidence, it was deem’d a quicker expedient to proceed
 upon his enormities at Rome; of all which there were in
 store ready witnesses. By these it was urg’d, “ that by
 “ a virulent accusation, he had driven QUINTUS POM-
 “ PONIUS upon the necessity of raising a civil war: that,
 “ by him was procur’d the violent death of POPPEA
 “ SABINA, and of JULIA the daughter of DRUSUS: of
 “ his framing was the doom of VALERIUS ASIATICUS,
 “ of LUSIUS SATURNINUS, and of CORNELIUS LUPUS:
 “ add to these whole bands of Roman Knights, at his
 “ instigation condemn’d; with all the long train of cru-
 “ elties during the reign of CLAUDIUS.” For, upon
 SULLIUS they charg’d the whole. In his defence he be-
 gan to alledge, “ that of all these accumulated prosecuti-
 “ ons, he had of his own inclination engag’d in none, but
 “ purely in obedience to the Prince.” But, NERO check’d
 this plea, and testified that, from the Memoirs of CLAU-
 DIUS, he had found, that no accusation whatsoever had

ever been undertaken by compulsion from him. The accus'd then pleaded the violent and uncontrollable orders of MESSALINA: an impotent and languishing defence! "for why, it was said, had no other advocates but only "SUILIUS, been singled out, to have lent their eloquence "for accomplishing the purposes of that bloody prostitute? in truth, the ministers and promoters of such black "deeds, must be punish'd; they who, having received "the wages of their iniquities, would upon others father "the iniquities themselves." A part of his estate was therefore confiscated: for, to his son and grand-daughter the other part was granted; besides that from the sentence were also exempted the fortunes left them by the will of their mother, and that of their grand-father: he himself was banish'd to the Isles Baleares: but, neither during the heat and peril of the prosecution, nor after his condemnation, was his spirit in the least sunk or dismay'd: he was even said to have pass'd his solitary exile in a life of voluptuousness and pleasure. In hatred to him, NERULINUS his son was also arraign'd, upon the crimes of publick rapine: but, NERO interpos'd and alledg'd, that by the doom of the father, publick vengeance was sufficiently satiated.

ABOUT the same time OCTAVIUS SAGITTA Tribune of the people, one intoxicated with a wild passion for PONTIA, a married woman, gain'd her by vast presents, first to consent to the adultery, afterwards to quit her husband: engaging himself and her in a promise of marriage after the divorce. But the woman, once she found her self single, fram'd delays from time to time, pleaded the opposition of her father, and then, having discover'd some hopes of a wealthier husband, quite renounc'd her engagement. OCTAVIUS fail'd not to combat this resolution: one moment, he broke into complaints, the next into menaces: he adjur'd her by the reputation which for her he had shipwrec'd, by the wealth which upon her he had totally consum'd: in fine, he told her, that his life and person was the only fortune left him, and of that too the disposal lay wholly in her breast: at last perceiving her deaf to all his reasonings, he requested the happiness of one parting night; for that thus calm'd and gratified,

gratified, he would thenceforth be able to govern his passion. The night was granted and nam'd, and PONTIA appointed a maid, her confident, to secure the chamber. SAGITTA brought with him one freedman, and a dagger conceal'd under his robe. The interview began, as usual in combinations of love and anger, with a medley of chiding and beseeching, of reproaches and submissions; and part too of the night was devoted to joy and embraces: at length he became enrag'd with expostulations and despair, and suddenly plung'd his dagger into her heart, (free as she was of all dread), beat down and wounded the maid, who was flying to her assistance, and burst out of the chamber: next day the murder was divulg'd, and, by what hand, was apparent: for, it was prov'd they had lodg'd together: but the freedman adopted the guilt. He averr'd, that the assassination was of his own committing, to procure just vengeance to an injur'd master: and, by the exemplary greatness of such behaviour, many were induced to believe him, till the maid, when she was healed of her wound, fully disclos'd the author and all the particulars; so that the Tribune was arraign'd before the Consuls, by the father of the deceas'd, and, at the expiration of his office, condemn'd by the Senate to the penalties of the Cornelian Law.

AN instance of lewdness no less notorious, prov'd this year the source of heavy calamities to the Roman state. In the city liv'd a daughter of TITUS OLLIUS; but, as POPPEUS SABINUS her mother's father, had shone in the Commonwealth, and from the Consular dignity and glory of a triumph, acquired an illustrious name; from his she took her own, that of SABINA POPPEA: for, OLLIUS, e'er yet he had overtaken any publick dignity, was swallow'd up by the fatal friendship of SEJANUS. This Lady possess'd every ornament but that of a virtuous soul: for, from her mother, who in beauty had excell'd all the women of her time, she deriv'd her loveliness, as well as the glory of descent: the lustre of her birth was supported by proportionable wealth: her speech was soft and engaging, her wit pertinent; modesty the part she personated; lewdness that she practis'd: it was rare that she appear'd abroad; then too part of her face hid under her vail;

vail; the more to stimulate the curious beholders; or perhaps because, thus attir'd, she was still more charming. As to the awe of fame; it never once controull'd her: between husband and adulterer, she made no distinction: by no man's passion was she ever bias'd, nor even by her own: wherever her interest appear'd, thither she transferr'd her pleasures. Hence, tho' she was married to RUFUS CRISPINUS, a Roman Knight, and by him had brought forth a son, she was carried away by the gay youth and profuseness of OTHO; especially for that he was esteem'd to reign, beyond all others, in the affection of NERO; nor was it long e'er this commerce of adultery was follow'd by their intermarriage.

It became now the ordinary language of OTHO, to extoll to the Prince the beauty and delicate charms of his wife; either, as he was prompted by the indiscreet warmth of a lover; or design'd to enflame NERO with the like passion, and from their common enjoyment, of the same woman, hop'd to find an additional stay and security to his present authority. It was usual to hear him boast, as he rose from the Emperor's table, "that he now retir'd
 " to the sum of all nobleness and loveliness, her who was
 " the center of every joy and felicity, the desire of all
 " men, but happily his own peculiar lot." After these and the like incitements, NERO deferr'd not long his own gratification: an interview was appointed, where POPPEA, at first, employ'd all her soft arts and careffes, and by them intirely subdued him: she feign'd herself smitten with his fine person, and wholly overcome by her passion for him. But, afterwards, when she had work'd up the Prince's affection to a pitch of vehemence and impatience, she chang'd her former behaviour into haughtiness and despite: if she were detain'd above a night or two, "she
 " was a married woman, she cried; nor could she relin-
 " quish her husband; as to him she was engag'd by a
 " way of living, which no other man could equal: OTHO
 " was magnificent in his person, generous in his spirit:
 " in him she beheld every thing worthy the most exalted
 " fortune: for NERO; as he was attach'd to ACTE, and
 " thence inur'd to the embraces of a slave, he could
 " from a fellowship so wretched and servile, derive no-
 " thing

“ thing but sordidness and servility.” Instantly upon this, OTHO became degraded from his usual intimacy with the Emperor, then debarr’d of all intercourse and even access; and, at last, to prevent all his rival practices in Rome, preferr’d to the government of Lusitania: a government which he administer’d, till the beginning of the civil wars, with eminent uprightness and honour, and wide of all the courses of his former dissolute life: a proof this of his various character, that of an unbridled voluptuary in a private station, and in authority observing gravity and just restraints.

NERO as yet endeavour’d to find disguises for his vilenesses and crimes. He, whom of all others he apprehended most, was CORNELIUS SYLLA; mistaking the heavy spirit of the man for deep artifice and dissimulation. These apprehensions were inflam’d by GRAPTUS; a freed-man of his, an ancient domestick of the court, ever since the reign of TIBERIUS; and being well practis’d in the dark devices of the Emperors, he, upon this occasion, fram’d the following forgery. The Milvian Bridge was then the famous scene of nocturnal revellings; and thither NERO frequently resorted, that there he might more licentiously riot without the city. GRAPTUS therefore feign’d, “ that a plot had been laid for him, as he “ should return from thence by the Flaminian Way; but, “ by the benignity of fate, he had escap’d it in coming “ home through the Gardens of SALLUST; and that of “ this treason SYLLA was the author.” The only foundation of all this was, that as some of the Emperor’s attendants were repairing back to the Palace, certain young companions, indulging a sort of licentiousness then universally practis’d, had fill’d them with causeless fears. But, amongst the offenders not a slave of SYLLA’s was observ’d, nor one of his dependents: and for himself, his courage was so utterly despicable, and so unequal to all enterprize, that his nature was repugnant to every attempt of treason. Nevertheless, as if he had been a traitor fully convicted, he was banish’d his country, and confin’d within the walls of Marseilles.

DURING the same Consuls were heard the deputies from Puzzoli; some dispatch’d by their Senate, others

by the populace; the former inveighing against the violence of the multitude, the latter against the oppression and avarice of the Magistrates and Nobles: and, as the sedition was so violent, that the factious had already combated with stones, threaten'd the firing of houses, and were betaking themselves to arms and massacre; CAIUS CASSIUS was appointed to apply a remedy: but, they could not bear the severity of his proceedings: so that, at his own request, that charge was transferr'd to the two brothers SCRIBONII, assisted by a Pretorian Cohort; by the terror of which and the execution of some few incendiaries, concord was restor'd amongst the inhabitants.

THE decree of Senatē now made, for permitting the Syracusians, in their shews of Gladiators, to exceed the number formerly limited, is a matter so common, that I should not insert it here had not PETUS THRASEA oppos'd it, and thence administer'd to his revilers matter of invective. “ For, if he believed, said they, that the
 “ condition of the Commonwealth call'd upon the Se-
 “ nators to exert themselves in liberty and vigour of speech,
 “ why were his censures and pursuits confin'd to things
 “ of such trivial moment? How came it, that he stood
 “ not forth to advise or controul measures of war and
 “ peace, the administration of the revenue, that of the
 “ laws, and whatever else concern'd the support and go-
 “ vernance of the Roman state? To every Senator, as
 “ soon as he was invested with the privilege of voting,
 “ full freedom was allow'd of propounding whatever he
 “ would, and of claiming that what he propounded might
 “ be put to the vote: now, did nothing else in the state
 “ want check or amendment; but only, that the spectacles
 “ at Syracuse should be exhibited with no enlargements?
 “ Were, in truth, all the other parts of the government
 “ throughout the Empire, so excellently regulated, as if by
 “ THRASEA himself, and not by NERO, they were main-
 “ tain'd? But, if all these other parts were pass'd over
 “ in profound dissimulation, without any animadversion,
 “ how much more reasonably to be forborn were things
 “ utterly void of all use and significancy?” To his friends,
 who ask'd him the meaning of his conduct, THRASEA
 answered,

answered, “ that he had, from no ignorance in the cir-
 “ cumstances and situation of the publick, interpos’d against
 “ a decree of that sort; but in it consulted the honour
 “ of the Senate; by making it appear, that an inspection
 “ into the greatest affairs was not like to be disavow’d by
 “ those, who thus applied their thoughts to the most in-
 “ significant.”

ON the same year, such were the importunate cries
 of the people against the arbitrary exactions of the Tax-
 gatherers, that NERO was deliberating about the intire sup-
 pression of all taxes and duties, as the most illustrious
 bounty he could bestow upon human kind: but the Se-
 nate, after many high praises upon his greatness of soul,
 restrain’d his rashness, by apprizing him, “ that the dif-
 “ solution of the Empire must ensue a reduction of the
 “ revenues which sustain’d it; and were the publick du-
 “ ties once annull’d, it would be a president for labour-
 “ ing the discharge of all the publick tributes: that the
 “ companies for administering the taxes, were for the most
 “ part establish’d by the Consuls and Tribunes, even then
 “ when popular liberty was in its prime at Rome; and
 “ the regulations which follow’d, were so concerted, that
 “ the publick impositions might just ballance the publick
 “ exigencies: but the ravenous extortions of the publicans
 “ did, in truth, require to be stopp’d, that so the rates
 “ borne and paid by the people for so many years with-
 “ out murmuring, might not be embitter’d by new grie-
 “ vances, and thence be esteem’d oppression.”

THE Emperor therefore by an edict ordain’d, “ that
 “ the laws of the revenue, which had till then been
 “ kept secret, should now be committed to the publick
 “ Tables: that the publicans should exact no claims for
 “ above a year backward. That, in all suits against them,
 “ the Pretor at Rome, and in the Provinces, the Propre-
 “ tor or Proconsul for the time being, should proceed to
 “ instant and discretionary judgment: but, to the soldiers
 “ should be reserv’d the usual exemption, in all instances
 “ save those of traffick:” with other the like injunctions,
 which being intirely equitable, were for some short time
 obey’d, but soon grew neglected and obsolete. The sup-
 pression however of the Quadragesima (fortieth penny) and
 of

of the *Quinquagesima* (fiftieth) continues still in force, as also that of other impositions with the like titles invented by the publicans to cover their lawless exactions. Moreover, a regulation was made about importation of grain from the provinces beyond sea: and it was ordain'd that the ships of traders should not be rated with the commodities they carried, nor any duty be paid for the same.

Two men accus'd of male-administration in Africa, where they had both rul'd as Proconsuls, were acquitted by the Emperor: these were *SULPICIUS CAMERINUS*, and *POMPONIUS SILVANUS*: against the former there appear'd only a few private prosecutors, who charg'd him rather with particular acts of rage than those of general rapine. But, *SILVANUS* was beset with a mighty train of impleaders, who required time to procure their witnesses; as did he to be instantly admitted to his defence; and, by being wealthy, ancient, and childless, prevail'd; yet out-liv'd and disappointed those who sav'd his life to merit his estate.

TILL this time Germany had continued in a state of tranquillity, secured by the temper of our commanders there, who, at a time when the honours of the triumph were so miserably prostituted and lightly bestow'd, judg'd that higher glory was to be reap'd by preserving peace. These commanders were *PAULLINUS POMPEIUS*, and *LUCIUS VETUS*: to keep however the soldiers employ'd, the former now perfected the damm which had been begun by *DRUSUS* threescore and three years before, to restrain the overflowing of the Rhine; while *VETUS* was digging a canal of communication between the Arar and Moselle; that the armies from Italy, having sail'd by sea into the Rhone, and thence into the Arar, might fall through this canal into the Moselle, thence through the Rhine into the Ocean: so that, all impediments of the passage being thus remov'd, a naval intercourse might be open'd from West to North, between the two seas. But this great work was marr'd through the envy of *AELIUS GRACILIS* Lieutenant of Belgick Gaul, who warn'd *VETUS* against bringing his Legions into another man's province, courting the affections of the Gauls; for that such conduct would alarm the Emperor: an apprehension which frequently

quently serves to frustrate many worthy enterprizes and designs.

BUT, from the continued inaction of both armies, a report became current, that their Generals were enjoyn'd not to lead them against the enemy. In confidence of this, the Frisians possess'd the forests and morasses with their youth, and carrying over the lakes all such as were weak through sex or age, placed them along the banks of the Rhine, and then proceeded to settle themselves upon those tracts of land which being void of inhabitants, were appropriated to the uses of our soldiers: in this enterprize they were counsell'd and conducted by VERRITUS and MALORIGIS, who were sovereigns over this nation, as far as the Germans are wont to submit to sovereignty. They had already founded their dwellings, sown the fields, and were cultivating the lands, as if the same had been their native soil, when DUBIUS AVITUS, who succeeded PAULINUS in the province, threaten'd them with the vengeance of the Roman sword, unless they retir'd to their ancient territories, or from the Emperor obtain'd a new settlement: by these menaces he forced VERRITUS and MALORIGIS to betake themselves to the ways of supplication. On this negotiation therefore they proceeded to Rome; where, while they waited for access to NERO, who was engag'd in other affairs, amongst the several fights which are usually shewn to Barbarians, they were conducted into POMPEY'S Theatre, that they might there survey the multitude of the Roman people. Here, while they gaz'd round them, no wise interrupted by the diversions of the stage, nor delighted with representations which they understood not; while they were intent upon the arrangement of the audience, and informing themselves about the regular distribution of ranks, " which
 " were the Roman Knights, and where sat the fathers
 " of the Senate?" they spied certain persons in a foreign habit, sitting upon the benches of the Senators, and ask'd who were these? When they had learnt that this was a distinction conferr'd upon the Ambassadors of such nations as signaliz'd themselves by their merit and friendship towards the Romans: " there is not amongst men,
 " they cried, that nation which, in good faith and feats
 " of arms, surpasses the Germans;" and thus, leaving
 4 S their

their seats, placed themselves among the Senators: a proceeding courteously taken by the spectators, as a flight and revival of ancient liberty, and the effect of an honest emulation. NERO bestow'd upon both the privileges of Roman citizens, but order'd that the Frisians should abandon their new possessions: and, as they refus'd to obey, they were forc'd, by a sudden irruption of the auxiliary horse, who put in bonds or to the sword all who obstinately resisted.

THE Ansibarians too took possession of the same lands, a more potent people, not in their own multitudes only, but also from the sympathy of the neighbouring nations: for that they had been exterminated by the Chaucians, were destitute of all settlement, and like exiles besought only a quiet shelter and retreat. They were likewise led by a man of signal renown amongst these nations, and even of approv'd fidelity towards the Romans, his name BOIOCALUS; who, in behalf of himself and his people, upon this occasion alledg'd "that, upon the revolt of
" the Cheruscans, he had been thrown into bonds by or-
" der of ARMINIUS, afterwards carried arms under TI-
" BERIUS, then under GERMANICUS; and, to the merit
" of fifty years service and adherence to the Romans, he
" was still ready to add that of submitting his people to
" their Empire. Was not the territory in dispute large
" and waste? or reserv'd for any other use than that of
" occasional pasture for the soldiers cattle; and how small
" a portion suffic'd for this? yet the Romans might still,
" if they pleas'd, retain wide exclusive tracts, only for
" their beasts to range in; altho' by feeding their beasts
" they even famish'd men; provided still they did not
" wilfully devote all the rest to dismal deserts and soli-
" tude, rather than allow it for an habitation to a people
" dispos'd to their friendship and alliance. The posses-
" sing of this territory was no new thing: formerly it
" was held by the Chamavians; next by the Tubantes;
" afterwards by the Usipians. As the heavens were ap-
" propriated to the Gods, so was the earth to the chil-
" dren of men; and such portions of it as none possess'd,
" were free and common to all." Here, he lifted up his
eyes to the sun, and invoking, as if they had been pre-
sent,

sent, that and the other celestial luminaries; he ask'd them,
 " could they bear to survey a desolate soil? or, would
 " they not more justly let loose the sea to swallow up
 " usurpers, who thus engross'd the earth?

This language warm'd AVITUS; who replied, " that
 " to the orders of the most powerful submission must
 " always be paid: even the Gods to whom they now
 " appeal'd, had so appointed, that to the Romans should
 " appertain the sovereign judgment, what to bestow and
 " what to take away; and other judges than themselves
 " they would suffer none." This was his publick answer
 to the Ansibarians: but, to BOIOCALUS he privately prom-
 is'd, that in acknowledgment of his long attachment
 to the Romans, he should have lands for himself assign'd
 him: an offer which he consider'd as a price propos'd
 for betraying his people, and rejecting it with indigna-
 tion, added, " a place to live in we may want, but a
 " place to die in we cannot." Thus they parted with ani-
 mosity on both sides. The Ansibarians, to prepare for the
 impending war, invited into a confederacy in it the Bruc-
 terans, Tenc̄terans, and even other nations more remote.
 AVITUS too, after he had written to CURTILIUS MANT-
 CA, who commanded the upper army, to pass the Rhine,
 and to appear with his forces upon their rear; march'd
 himself with his Legions into the territories of the Tenc-
 terans, and threaten'd them with desolation and slaughter,
 unless they departed from the league. Hence they were
 forc'd to acquiesce; and, as the like terrors aw'd the Bruc-
 terans, the rest too relinquish'd a hopeless cause, whence
 ruine to themselves was threaten'd from their attachment
 to others: so that the forlorn Ansibarians, deserted by all,
 betook themselves by a solitary retreat to the Usipians and
 Tubantes; but by them also were exterminated. They
 then withdrew for reception first to the Cattans, after-
 wards to the Cheruskans; and, in these long and various
 wanderings from nation to nation, thus vagabond, in-
 digent, and treated as enemies and intruders, the whole
 people perish'd: their youth fell by the sword, and the
 promiscuous multitude were dispers'd according to the va-
 rious lot of captivity.

BETWEEN the Hermandurians and the Cattans, during the same summer, a mighty battle was fought, about the propriety of a river, which divided their territories, and which yielding abundant store of salt, each people was labouring by force to appropriate to themselves. To this quarrel, besides their usual spirit of committing all disputes to the decision of the sword, they were further animated by an inherent superstition and religious belief, “ that these
 “ places were doubtless in the neighbourhood of heaven,
 “ and no where quicker than there did the supplicati-
 “ ons of men reach the ears of the Gods. Hence it pro-
 “ ceeded, through a special indulgence of the Deities, that
 “ in this River, and in these groves, was salt produced,
 “ not, as with other nations, from the foam of the sea
 “ crufted upon the shore; but by pouring the water of
 “ this river upon flaming piles of wood, and thus con-
 “ dens’d by a combination of opposite elements.” The issue of the war was prosperous to the Hermandurians, and to the Cattans the more bloody and destructive, for that, presuming upon victory, they had devoted the adverse host to Mars and Mercury; a vow, by which men and horses, and whatever else appertains to the vanquish’d, is doom’d to be burnt or slain: thus upon their own heads return’d their cruel menaces against their foes.

THE people Juhones, a state in alliance with us, were at this time afflicted with a calamity altogether sudden and alarming, by the eruption of a subterraneous fire, which caught and consum’d, on every side, their towns, farms, and particular dwellings; and was advancing with fury to the late built walls of Cologn: neither could it be extinguish’d even by the falling of rain, nor by the throwing of water, or by any other usual expedient, till certain boors, despairing of remedy, and enrag’d at the devouring conflagration, vented their wrath in attacking it at a distance with vollics of stones: as the flames came thus to abate, they proceeded to a closer approach; and, by the dint of clubs and blows, as in an encounter with fierce and savage beasts, quite repuls’d it: at length, utterly to smother it, they stripp’d themselves of their clothes, which the more soil’d and worn they were, the more effectual they prov’d.

“ her self to a partnership of the perils which furround-
 “ ed him.” These and the like expostulations, enforc’d
 with sighs and tears, and all the soft artifices of that en-
 gaging adulteress, pierc’d the soul of NERO: nor did any
 one check their operation; as all earnestly wish’d to see
 the authority of AGRIPPINA crush’d, and as no mortal
 believ’d, that ever the son would wax so harden’d in his
 hate, as inhumanly to spill the blood of his mother.

IT is recorded by CLUVIUS, that such was the flaming
 passion of AGRIPPINA for retaining her wonted dominion,
 to such extravagant lengths was she transported, that of-
 ten, in the face of the day, at a season when NERO was
 well heated with wine and banquetting, she accosted him,
 gayly attir’d, and, while he was thus drunk, strove to
 prompt him to incest: that their obscene kisses, gestures,
 and other such signals and incitements to that abomina-
 tion, being well observ’d by those who were present; SE-
 NECA, for an antidote against the enticements of one wo-
 man, had recourse to another: and hence ACTE was in-
 troduced, a franchiz’d Damsel; one who being equally
 anxious for her own danger and the infamy of NERO,
 warn’d him, that already the incest was every where pub-
 lish’d, and his mother gloried in the publication; and
 that the soldiery would never bear the rule of a Prince
 contaminated with such unnatural pollution. FABIVS
 RUSTICUS ascribes this strange appetite not to AGRIPPINA,
 but to NERO; and recounts that, by the cunning of the
 same ACTE, he was wean’d and rescued. But, the detail
 given by CLUVIUS is the same with that of the other writers;
 and on this side too is the testimony of popular fame:
 whether it were, that she really nourish’d in her heart an
 impurity so monstrous, or whether the concerting of this
 unheard of prostitution appear’d the more credible in her,
 who almost in her childhood had, from thirst of domi-
 nion, consented to be debauch’d by LEPIDUS; with the
 like spirit of power, abandon’d herself to the lust of PAL-
 LAS; and during her incestuous marriage with her uncle
 CLAUDIUS, had been practis’d in a course of wickedness
 of every kind and degree.

Thenceforth NERO began to avoid all private encounters
 with his mother; and, upon every occasion of her retiring

to any of her gardens out of Rome, or to her seats at Tusculum or Antium, he us'd to applaud her for thus employing her leisure: but, at length, considering her as his dread and torment, wherever she resided, he assum'd a resolution to kill her, and was only in suspense about the means, whether by poison or the sword, or any other effectual violence: that of poison was prefer'd at first; but to administer the same was difficult: if it were done at the Prince's table, its operation could never pass nor be understood as a sudden and accidental death, since in the like manner BRITANNICUS had already perish'd: to apply to her own domesticks, appear'd a great risque; as she was a woman who from her own long intimacy with frauds and blood, was wary and vigilant against all snares and circumvention; and moreover always secur'd herself by counter poisons against the efforts of poison: and, how to dispatch her with the sword, and yet cover the appearances of the execution, no one pretended to devise: it was fear'd too, that the orders would be rejected, to whomsoever they were given, for the perpetration of such hideous iniquity. Here, ANICETUS profer'd his service and dexterity; a franchiz'd slave this, Tutor to NERO in his infancy, but now Commander of the fleet which rode at Misenum; one who was virulently hated by AGRIPPINA, and with equal virulence return'd the hatred: he therefore explain'd, " how a vessel might be so contriv'd, that
 " by the sudden and artificial bursting of one particular
 " quarter in the open sea, she might be overwhelm'd,
 " without the least warning or apprehension: nothing,
 " he said, was so fertile of disasters as the sea; and, if
 " she were thus dispatch'd by shipwreck, who could be
 " so injurious as to ascribe the malignity of wind and
 " waves to the malice and contrivance of men? moreover,
 " the Prince would of course bestow on his deceas'd mother, a temple and altars, and all other honours proper
 " to create an ostentation of filial grief and piety."

NERO was pleas'd with the device, which was also favour'd by the juncture of time, that of the solemn festival of Minerva, call'd *Quinquatrus*, which he was then celebrating at Baia. Thither he inticed his mother: for, he was frequently declaring, " that the hasty humours of
 " parents

“ parents were by all means to be born withal; and, towards her it behov’d him to suppress every irritation of his own spirit;” as by such declarations he meant to raise a general rumour of his own reconciliation to her; a rumour which he hop’d would reach *AGRIPPINA* and find credit with her, from the credulous genius of women, prone to believe whatever feeds their wishes and promises matter of joy. When she approach’d, he met her upon the shore, for she came by sea from Antium, presented her his hand, and embrac’d her; then conducted her to Bauli; so the villa is call’d, which lying between the cape of Misenum and the gulf of Baiæ, is wash’d by the sea which winds round the point. Here, amongst several other vessels, there lay one more gaudy and ornamental than the rest; as if, in this particular too, he meditated fresh honour to his mother: for, she had been always wont to be carried in a galley with three banks of oars, row’d by Mariners from the fleet. Moreover, the banquet to which she was invited, was so tim’d, that under the dark shades of night the horrid execution might be cover’d. It was, however, apparent, that some body had betray’d the design, and that *AGRIPPINA*, upon hearing the perfidious machination, tho’ she was doubtful whether she ought to believe it, had yet chosen to be carried by land to Baiæ in a sedan: but, upon her arrival there, the plausible and frank behaviour of *NERO* asswag’d her fears: for, besides his receiving her graciously, placing her at table above him, regaling her magnificently, treating her with all tenderness and caresses; he entertain’d and amus’d her with great variety of conversation; this minute breaking out into sallies of youthful frankness; the next, with an air compos’d and grave, discoursing of weighty affairs; as if he had, in truth, therein sought her counsel and participation: and after he had with this hollow fondness, drawn out the banquet into a great length, he attended her assiduously to the shore, at parting hung upon her more ardently than before, kiss’d her eyes, kiss’d her bosom, and left it uncertain whether, by such passionate behaviour, he only meant to complete this base scene of dissimulation; or whether the last sad sight of a mother just going to perish, really pierc’d him, and check’d his spirit however fierce and savage.

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THE night prov'd clear, the stars shone in full lustre, the sea was smooth and calm; as if all this had been concerted by the providence of the Gods, for the more incontestable detection of the murder. AGRIPPINA, of all her numerous domesticks, was, when she embark'd, attended only by two, CREPEREIUS GALLUS who stood by the steerage, and ACERONIA, who, as her Lady repos'd, lay at her feet, and was recounting to her, with much joy, the remorse of her son, and the favour which by it he had regain'd from his mother: nor had the vessel yet made much way, when suddenly, upon a signal given, the deck over that quarter was loosen'd, and being purposely loaded with a great quantity of lead, sunk violently down, and instantly crush'd CREPEREIUS to death. AGRIPPINA and ACERONIA were defended by the posts of the bed, which happen'd to be too strong to yield to the descending weight: neither did the structure of the vessel burst; for, the mariners were all embarrassed, and those of them who were not entrusted with the fraud, obstructed the measures of such as were: the next expedient concerted by the latter was to bear her down on one side, and so sink her: but, neither amongst these accomplices was there an instant concurrence in executing a project thus hastily propos'd; and there were others at the same time struggling contrariwise to preserve her; and hence it proceeded that she was not swallow'd up at once in the deep, but descended more leisurely. Now ACERONIA, while she declar'd herself to be AGRIPPINA, and call'd upon them passionately, to succour and save the Prince's mother, was pursu'd with poles, and oars, and whatever other naval weapons came accidentally to hand, and so slain. AGRIPPINA kept silence, and, being therefore the less known, escap'd, with one wound however upon her shoulder. What with swimming, what with the assistance of some fisher-boats, which row'd out to succour her, she reach'd the lake Lucrinus, and was thence conducted to her own villa.

HERE she revolv'd upon her danger, that for this very end she had been inveigled by the fraudulent letters of her son, and for this treated by him with such signal marks of honour: she reflected, that the vessel, even under

der the shelter of the shore, without the agitation of winds, without concussion from rocks, had yielded in its upper part, and tumbled down, like a frail structure of earth: she consider'd the fate of ACERONIA, mistaken for her self and designedly slain: and she beheld her own wound, wilfully inflicted: but from the whole however she inferr'd that her only resource against these black machinations was to act as if she saw them not. With this view, she dispatch'd AGERINUS her freedman, to notify to her son, "that through the benevolence of the Gods, "and the auspicious influence of his imperial fortune, she "had escap'd a grievous casualty; but besought him, that "however terrified she knew he would be with the danger which had threaten'd his mother, he should yet "postpone the trouble of visiting her; for, what she only "needed at present was rest." And, the mean while, counterfeiting perfect security and fearlessness, she had medicines applied to her wound, and her body chaf'd and anointed: she call'd too for the last will of ACERONIA, and ordered all her effects to be register'd and seal'd up: in which proceeding only she acted without counterfeiting.

AS to NERO; while he was hourly expecting express'es to apprise him, that the parricide was executed, tidings arriv'd, "that she had escap'd only with a slight hurt; "having so far felt the danger as to remain in no uncertainty who it was that fought her life." At this he became mortally struck with agonies and dismay, and swore in passionate terms, "that, without peradventure, "she would presently be at hand, bent upon taking hasty "vengeance; whether by arming the slaves, or by stirring "up against him the rage of the soldiery, or by flying "to the Senate and people, with a tragical representation "of the vessel wreck'd, her self wounded, her friends "murder'd, and her son the author of all: and against "this menacing event, what resource, what protection "had he; unless some such could be propos'd by BUR- "RUS and SENECA?" For, the instant he receiv'd the news of the disappointment, he had call'd for them both to consult them: neither is it certain whether, before this, they were unacquainted with the conspiracy: upon this emergency,

emergency, they both kept long silence; as they apprehended that it was in vain to persuade him to drop the design; and perhaps believ'd it to be already push'd so far, that unless AGRIPPINA soon perish'd, NERO certainly must. At length, SENECA prov'd the more forward of the two; but no further than to look at BURRUS, and ask "whether the orders for this execution were not to be trusted to the soldiery?" BURRUS answer'd, that "the Pretorian guards were so zealously attach'd to the whole family of the CESARS, so fond in particular, of the name and memory of GERMANICUS, that, against any descendent of his they could never be animated to ought that were cruel and bloody: it therefore behov'd ANICETUS to acquit himself of his engagement." Neither did ANICETUS pause one moment, but even demanded the office of completing the murder. NERO became reviv'd with these words, and declaring himself to be that day present with the Empire, own'd his franchiz'd slave for the author of the mighty present, and urg'd him to dispatch, leading with him for his assistance such as were most prompt to obey. The freedman however, having heard that AGERINUS was arriv'd from AGRIPPINA, with the news of her disaster and escape, contriv'd a plot to turn the treason upon her; and therefore, as the other was delivering his message, dropp'd a dagger between his legs; and then, as if he had caught him in the terrible fact, call'd for irons to be instantly cast upon him. By this fable, he purpos'd to support another, by feigning that the destruction of the Prince had been concerted by his mother; and that being struck with confusion upon the discovery of her treason, she had desperately put an end to her own life.

DURING these transactions, while the danger which threaten'd AGRIPPINA at sea, flew abroad (for it was understood as the effect of chance) the people flock'd impatiently to the shore, each as soon as he heard it. Some climb'd up the mounds which shoot out into the sea; some crowded into barks and skiffs; others enter'd the floods and waded as deep as their height would permit; nay, there were those who stretch'd out their arms, as it were to catch and receive her: so that, with lamentati-
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ons for her misfortune, with vows for her deliverance, and with the indistinct clamour of a multitude, many asking different questions, or returning uncertain answers; the whole coast resounded. There ran, moreover, to the rest a great crowd with lights in their hands; and, as soon as it was confirm'd, that *AGRIPPINA* was out of danger, they were speeding, with all zeal, to offer her their congratulations, till by the sight and menaces of an arm'd band, they were terrified and dispers'd. *ANICETUS* beset the villa with a guard, and bursting open the gates, seiz'd and secur'd all such of her slaves as appear'd to stop him. He then advanc'd towards her chamber, where he found the door guarded by very few: all the rest were scar'd away by the terror and violence of his entrance. In her chamber was a small light, and only one of her Damfels. *AGRIPPINA* too her self was more and more toss'd with anxious thoughts, that no soul had yet arriv'd from her son, nor had even *AGERINUS* return'd: she perceiv'd from without strange vicissitudes and an unusual scene, the desertion of her own people, and the sudden violence and tumult of strangers, with all the warnings of her last fate: insomuch that, seeing her maid too about to depart, she said, "thou likewise art going to abandon me;" and, that moment, spied *ANICETUS*, accompanied with *HERCULEUS* Captain of a galley, and *OLOARITUS* a Centurion of the navy: she told him, "if he came from the Emperor to be inform'd of her health, he should acquaint him she was well refresh'd and recover'd; if upon any bloody design, she would no wise believe him commission'd by her son: her son could never give unnatural orders for parricide." The assassins, having placed themselves round her bed, the Captain was the first that wounded her, striking her upon the head with a club: for, to the Centurion, as he was drawing his sword to dispatch her; she presented her belly, and with a loud voice, "strike thy sword into my womb," she cried, and was instantly assassinated with a multitude of wounds.

IN these particulars authors are unanimous: but, that *NERO* afterwards survey'd the breathless body of his mangled mother, and magnified its symmetry and loveliness; there are those who have related, and those who deny.

That very night her corps was burn'd with sordid obsequies; and upon no other bed than such as she us'd to recline upon at meals: neither, during the reign of NERO, were her relicks repositèd, or cover'd with common earth; till afterwards from the benevolence of her domesticks, she receiv'd a slight and vulgar grave, upon the road to cape Misenum, adjoyning to a villa of CESAR's the Dictator, which from its elevated situation overlooks the coast and bays below. MNESTER a freedman of hers, as soon as her funeral fire was lighted, run himself through with a sword; whether from grief and affection for his Lady; or from dread of some terrible doom to himself, is altogether uncertain. This violent end of AGRIPPINA was foretold her many years before, and believ'd and yet set at naught, by her: for, as the Chaldeans, whom she consulted concerning the fortune of NERO, answer'd that, "he would certainly reign and kill his mother;" "let him kill me, said she, so he do but reign."

THE scene of this horrible iniquity being over, the Emperor became thoroughly possess'd with its crying greatness and enormity, and passèd the rest of the night in a sad series of sollicitude; now dumb, motionless, and his eyes fixt; then starting up, amaz'd, and trembling; always ghastly and wild, and out of his mind; and thus waitèd, in agonies, the approach of day; a day which, he apprehended, would pour upon him some direful and final doom. From these horrors he was rous'd into hopes and assurance, by the behaviour of the Tribunes and Centurions, who, at the instigation of BURRUS, were the first that paid him their flattery upon this occasion, by catching his hand, and congratulating with him, "that he had thus happily escapèd such sudden and unforeseen peril, and the mortal treason devis'd by his mother." Next, his friends and intimates betook themselves, for thanksgiving, to the several Temples, and the example being thus begun was followed by the adjacent towns and communities of Campania, who gave publick testimonies of their joy, by sacrifices to the Gods, and embassies to the Prince. For himself; his dissimulation took a different turn from theirs: sad and dejected was his mein; he seem'd to hate a life, which, upon such cruel terms, had

been fav'd, and bewail'd with many tears, the woful death of his mother. However, as places cannot change their face and aspect, like the supple countenances of men, and as the continual prospect of that deadly sea and of those tragical shores, was incessantly reproaching him, and grievous to behold, (besides that there were those who believ'd, that from the high cliffs and hills round about, were usually heard the shrill sound of trumpets, and shrieks and wailings from AGRIPPINA's grave) he withdrew to Naples, and there sent letters to the Senate of which these are the heads :

“ That AGERINUS, a freedman of AGRIPPINA's, one
 “ of those whom she trusted most, had been sent by her
 “ to assassinate him, but timely apprehended, just pre-
 “ par'd with his dagger; and she had now undergone
 “ the pains of her own parricide, wit^h the same guilty
 “ conscience that prompted her to contrive it.” To this
 he added a catalogue of her crimes, traced a long way
 backwards; how “ her ambition had aim'd at a co-or-
 “ dinate power with himself in the Empire, aim'd at draw-
 “ ing a preposterous oath from the Pretorian bands, an
 “ oath of submission and fidelity to a woman; nay to
 “ the disgrace and abasement of the Senate and people,
 “ had expected the like mark of subjection from them;
 “ and finding all this her ambition disappointed, hence
 “ she became enrag'd against the soldiery, against the
 “ fathers, and the populace; hence oppos'd a donative
 “ to the guards, and a largess to the people; and hence
 “ plotted ruinous mischief and mortal snares against the
 “ illustrious chiefs of Rome. Nay, it was inexpressible,
 “ the labour it cost him to defeat her design of assum-
 “ ing a seat in the Senate, and of returning answers to
 “ the Ambassadors of foreign nations.” He even obliquely
 lash'd the transactions under CLAUDIUS, and upon his
 mother throw'd all the vile measures and black iniquities
 of that reign; alledging, “ that it was through the au-
 “ spicious fortune of the Roman state, she had fallen:”
 to this also he ascrib'd the shipwreck, of which he re-
 counted the particulars: but, where liv'd there a soul so
 stupid as to believe that event to be the blind work of
 chance? or believe that a forlorn woman, just saved from
 a wreck,

a wreck, should employ a single assassin, to break through an arm'd fleet and the imperial guards, and slay the Emperor? but, on this occasion, it was not now upon NERO that the popular censure fell (for NERO's brutal barbarity surpass'd all censure) but upon SENECA; for that, by such a representation to the Senate, he had in writing avow'd the deed.

WONDERFUL however was the heat and competition of the Grandees in decreeing the following solemnities; "that at all the altars publick devotions should be perform'd; the feast of Minerva, during which the conspiracy was detected, should be celebrated with anniversary plays for ever; in the Senate house should be placed the statue of that Goddess in gold, and close by her, that of the Emperor; and, in the list of unlawful'd days, AGRIPPINA'S anniversary should be inserted." THRASEA PETUS, who was hitherto wont either to pass over the like fallies of flattery and servile decrees in utter silence or with a short word of assent, walk'd now out of the Senate, and thence awaken'd future vengeance against himself, and yet to the rest open'd no source of liberty. There happen'd moreover at the same time frequent prodigies; from which arose many prognosticks but no consequences: one woman brought forth a serpent; another, in the embraces of her husband was struck dead with a thunder-bolt: the sun became suddenly darken'd, and the fourteen quarters of the city felt the effects of lightning: all which events came to pass so apparently without any providential care or design in the Deities, that for many years after this NERO continued safe in his sovereignty and inhuman crimes. Now, in order to heighten the popular hate towards his mother, to blacken her memory, and withal to magnify his own clemency, as if the same were enlarg'd now she was remov'd, he restor'd to their native country and inheritance JUNIA and CALPURNIA, Ladies of illustrious quality, with VALERIUS CAPITTO and LICINIUS GABOLUS, men of Pretorian dignity; all formerly doom'd to exile by AGRIPPINA: he likewise permitted the remains of LOLLIA PAULINA to be brought home, and for them a sepulcher to be built: ITURIUS too and CALVISIUS, men whom

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he had lately banish'd, he now pardon'd and releas'd: for, as to SILANA; she had already yielded to the lot of mortality at Tarentum, whither, from her remote banishment, she had return'd; either because the authority of AGRIPPINA, by whose enmity she fell, was then declining, or her wrath by that time asswag'd.

While NERO linger'd in the towns of Campania, full of anxiety how to conduct himself upon his return to Rome; whether, if he enter'd the Senate, he should find them obsequious; or, if he address'd himself to the people, they would shew themselves affectionate; his doubts were combated by all the profligates of the court (and no court upon earth abounded with more): they argued, "that the very name of AGRIPPINA was detested; inasmuch that by her death, he had stirr'd up, even to a flame, the affections of the people towards him: he should therefore proceed, and in person receive proofs of popular adoration." They demanded at the same time, that, for trial, they might arrive somewhat before him; which they did, and found, in all respects, a more forward and officious zeal than they themselves had promised: the several tribes, in distinct bodies, came forth to meet him; as also the Senate in their robes of state, with mighty droves of women and children, all exactly ranged into separate classes, according to the uniformity of their sex and age; and all along, where he was to pass, a successive variety of plays and shews, and scenes of publick rejoicing, were pompously prepar'd; with all the parade and magnificence that attends the solemnizing of a triumph: elated with pride upon such a reception, and assuming the pride of victory from this general servitude, he repair'd to the Capitol, and there paid his vows and oblations; and thenceforth abandon'd himself to the full bent and dominion of all his extravagant passions: for, tho' he had hitherto but poorly controul'd them; yet his reverence to his mother, however weak it were, had till then check'd their violence.

It was a usual diversion of his, and long allow'd him, to drive a chariot drawn by four horses: nor less scandalous was his passion for singing to the harp, as he was wont when he supp'd, in a theatrical gesture and habit.

“ An employment, which he alledg’d to have been com-
 “ monly practis’d by the Kings and Heroes of old; that the
 “ fame was celebrated in the songs of the poets, and ever
 “ dedicated to the honour of the Gods; for, thus were mu-
 “ fick and finging facred to Apollo; and thus represent-
 “ ed, with the same dress and instrument, not only in the
 “ cities of Greece, but even in the Roman Temples, stood
 “ that sublime and oracular Deity.” Neither was he any
 wife to be restrain’d in his propensity to these extravagant
 pleasures: so that SENECA and BURRUS, lest he should
 have obstinately rioted in both, judg’d it advisable to in-
 dulse him in one. Thus, a piece of ground, in the
 Vatican, was enclos’d with a wall, that he might there exert
 his dexterity in racing and the discipline of steeds, with-
 out being expos’d as in a publick shew, to a promiscu-
 ous crowd of spectators: but, in a short time, he even
 sought to be publickly seen, and to the fight invited the
 Roman populace, who fail’d not to magnify him with
 abundant encomiums and acclamations; suitably to the spirit
 of the vulgar, ever longing after publick gayeties, and
 ever delighted when the same inclination in the Prince
 gratifies theirs. Moreover, this his vulgar prostitution of
 all modesty and shame did not, as these his ministers ex-
 pected, produce in him any satiety or remorse, but con-
 trariwise fresh spirit and eagerness. As he imagined too
 that, by bringing many others under debasement and in-
 famy, he should discharge himself of his own; he intro-
 duced, as actors into the Theatre, several noble Romans,
 such as were descended from illustrious families, but de-
 cay’d, and, through indigence, become venal; men who
 are now themselves in the arms of death, and whose
 names I repeat not with their story, from a consideration
 which I apprehend to be due to the dignity of their
 great ancestors; seeing too, that upon his head the ini-
 quities recoil, who, rather than they should not trans-
 gress, gave them money for transgressing. He likewise
 engag’d several Roman Knights (men well known) to un-
 dertake the acting of parts in publick representations, and
 this he did by excessive rewards; unless it be thought that
 pay from one who has authority to command, carries with
 it the power of compulsion.

NEVERTHELESS, that he might not as yet debase himself in the common Theatre, he instituted a sort of plays call'd *Juvenales*; and, for the filling and celebrating of these, names were given in from all quarters: at them no man's quality and blood, nor his age, nor the publick figure and offices he had borne, prov'd any impediment to their degrading themselves to personate the port and buffoonry of the Greek and Roman mimicks, even in the obscene gesticulation of their bodies and the effeminate cadences of their voice: nay, the contagion even reach'd Ladies of illustrious quality, who came also to devise unseemly rendezvouses and filthy revellings: infomuch that, in the grove which was planted by AUGUSTUS round the lake where the naval combat was exhibited, tabernacles were erected for reception of these dark assemblies; for their entertainment booths were built; and, in them, wine and dainties sold, with whatever incites to sensuality and wantonness: moreover, to promote the debauch, men had money given them, the innocent as well as the voluptuous, to be wasted alike in the promiscuous riot; by the former from awe of NERO, by the latter from ostentation of vice. From this tainted source arose a monstrous increase of pollution, scandalous vices and infamy; and tho' our manners had been long before miserably corrupted, yet whatever progress that corruption made, never was it more heighten'd by any inundation of dissoluteness and depravity, than by that abominable sink of lewdness and debauch. Modesty is a thing hard to be secur'd even by the most virtuous management and restraints; much less is modesty, or chastity, or any honest endowment, to be guarded and preserv'd amidst avowed scenes of impurity, where rampant vices are engag'd in a contention to outvie each other.

AT length, NERO could forbear no longer, but mounted the Stage and took the harp, trying the strings with much attention and care, and studying his part. About him stood his companions; a Cohort too of the guards were arriv'd, with many Tribunes and Centurions and BURRUS the Prefect; sad as he was on this infamous occasion, and praising NERO but grieving for him. At this time also was first enroll'd the body of Roman Knights

entitled *Augustani*, young men distinguish'd by the bloom of their years, and their vigour and strength of body; but all profess'd profligates, some from the inherent bent of nature, the rest in hopes of preferment and power: and, as the Emperor spent whole days and nights at the harp and song, so did these in clapping the Emperor and sounding his applauses: they utter'd marvellous praises upon his person and voice, and extoll'd the beauty of both by names and epithets peculiar to the Gods; as if to all this incense they were prompted by their zeal for eminent virtue, and thence only deriv'd all their splendour and honour.

THE Emperor however, that he might not be only renown'd for the science and accomplishments of a player, was also possess'd with an ardent ambition to excel in Poetry; having, for that purpose, drawn about him several such as had a genius for poesy, tho' not yet noted for their poems: all these were wont to sit down in concert with the Prince, and connect together such lines as they had severally brought, or such as they found already compos'd; thus contributing their different wits, and piecing out with supplements of their own all the effusions, however lame and crude, which at these poetical meetings were utter'd by him. This medley is apparent from the very composition of these poems, which flow with no uniformity of stile or genius, nor retain the marks of native flame and impulse. He us'd, besides, to bestow sometime after-meals upon hearing the reasonings of different Philosophers; and while each maintain'd his own sect, and every one expressly contradicted another, they all conspir'd to expose their endless variance and broils, as well to display their peculiar and favorite opinions: nay there were some of those solemn masters of wisdom highly fond of being seen, with their gloomy aspect and rigid accent, amongst the Royal excesses and recreations of NERO.

ABOUT the same time; from a contest altogether trivial there arose a horrid slaughter between two of our Italian Colonies, that of NUCERIA and that of POMPEIUM, at the celebration of a combat of Gladiators exhibited by LIVINEIUS REGULUS, whose expulsion from the Senate
I have

I have before recounted. Now, as they teas'd and rallied each other with the usual gibes and petulance of citizens, they became so heated that they proceeded to bitterness and invectives, then to rage and volleys of stones, and at length to a general encounter at arms: but to the Pompeian populace, who were the more powerful, the victory remain'd, as in their territory too the revel was exhibited: hence, numbers of those of Nuceria were borne to Rome, with mangled and mutilated bodies; and many arriv'd with complaints and wailings, some for the tragical death of their sons, some for that of their fathers. The cognizance and decision of this affair was by the Prince left to the Senate, and by them to the Consuls; but return'd again before the fathers, who by a decree disabled the Pompeians from meeting in any such popular concourse for ten years, and dissolv'd for ever the fraternities which against the Law they had instituted: LIVINEIUS and the other incendiaries of the riot were doom'd to exile.

PEDIUS BLESUS was also punish'd with expulsion from the Senate, at the suit of the Cyrenians, who urg'd that he profanely violated the treasure of ESCULAPIUS; and that, in the enrolling of soldiers, he had been govern'd by price and popularity, and other selfish and ambitious views, and thence subjected that trust to all the efforts of corruption. The same Cyrenians brought a charge against ACILIUS STRABO, one who had been invested with the Pretorian power, and sent as an arbitrator from the Emperor CLAUDIUS to adjust and discriminate the territories formerly held by King APION, and by him bequeathed, together with his whole Kingdom, to the Roman people; for that the same had been usurp'd on every side by the borderers; who having thus enjoy'd them a long while, deriv'd a claim of right from direct encroachment and iniquity, and were for founding a title upon usurpation. STRABO therefore, having adjudg'd the lands to the Romans and expuls'd the invaders; hence much matter of popular hate against the arbitrator was administer'd to the Cyrenians; the ground this of the prosecution. In answer to the charge the Senate said, " that to them the tenour of his commission " from CLAUDIUS was unknown, and in this affair they " must

“ must consult the Prince.” NERO approv’d the arbitration of STRABO, but wrote back, “ that he would never-
 “ theless relieve and support our confederates the Cyre-
 “ nians, and yield them up the usurp’d possessions.”

THEREAFTER follow’d the deaths of these illustrious Romans, DOMITIUS AFER and MARCUS SERVILIUS; men, who for the sublime dignities of the state, which they had sway’d, and for their own abounding eloquence, had flourish’d in signal credit: the first was renown’d for a powerful Pleader; SERVILIUS too for his long success at the bar, and afterwards for the History by him compil’d of the Roman affairs, as also for the elegance and probity of his life; which receiv’d fresh lustre from the opposite behaviour of AFER, who in parts and genius was in truth his equal, but far different in life and manners.

DURING the fourth Consulship of NERO with CORNELIUS COSSUS for his colleague, Quinquennial Games were instituted at Rome, after the fashion of the prize matches amongst the Greeks; and, like almost all new institutions, were variously represented. There were some who alledg’d, “ that POMPEY too was censur’d by our
 “ ancestors, for having founded a permanent Theatre: till
 “ then, the publick sports were wont to be exhibited
 “ from scenes occasionally erected for the solemnity, to
 “ last no longer, and to be seen from seats suddenly rear’d:
 “ or, if times more remote were consulted, the people
 “ would be found to have then beheld such representa-
 “ tions standing; left, had they been indulg’d with seats,
 “ they might have consum’d whole days in the idleness
 “ and amusements of the theatre. In truth, the primi-
 “ tive rule in representing popular shews would be justly
 “ preserv’d, were the same still exhibited by the Pretors,
 “ and no Roman citizen whatever compell’d to enter the
 “ publick lists: but, now, the ancient and venerable usages
 “ of our country, which had been long decaying piece-
 “ meal, were utterly sunk and obliterated for ever, by a
 “ deluge of foreign gratifications, by imported voluptuous-
 “ ness. Insomuch that at Rome might be seen, from all
 “ quarters, whatever was capable of being corrupted or
 “ of propagating corruption: the Roman youth must de-
 “ generate from the virtue and education of their ances-
 “ tors,

“tors, and become abandon’d to the habits and pursuits
 “of foreigners, to common wrestling-schools, to a life
 “of sloth and effeminate pleasures, to the contamination
 “of filthy and unnatural amours; guided, as they were,
 “in all these scenes of infamy, by the supreme directi-
 “on and controulment of the Prince and Senate; who
 “not only granted full licence and impunity to a general
 “torrent of vice, but were active to promote them by
 “ways of authority and coercion: already had men of
 “the first figure amongst the Romans, under colour of
 “rehearsing to the audience their poems and harangues;
 “defil’d themselves with the baseness of the stage. After
 “such prostitution, what remain’d to be added; unless
 “they stripp’d themselves naked, commenced fencers,
 “wielded the whirle-bat; and, in the place of military
 “glory and the exercise of arms, substituted the study
 “and discipline of these theatrical skirmishes, for pay?
 “would the bands of Roman Knights, would those lately
 “preferr’d to that order with the pompous title of *Aug-*
 “*ustani*, more worthily fulfil their noble trust and office
 “of judicature, by virtue of a nice and skilful ear, or
 “by listning assiduously to the enchanting modulations
 “of musick, and by applauding, like able artists in song,
 “the effeminate shakes and thrills of NERO’s throat? nay,
 “nights as well as days were bestow’d upon the infamous
 “revel, that no portion of time might remain, for skreen-
 “ing modesty and shame; but, in that huge assembly,
 “where those of every sex and age were blended at random
 “together, every libertine might dare to gratify by night
 “whatever his concupiscence prompted him to by day.”

THIS was the reasoning of some. Many others were
 well pleas’d with this dissolute pastime, but disguis’d it
 however under venerable authorities and virtuous names:
 “even our rigid ancestors, they alledg’d, had not ab-
 “stain’d from the pleasure and divertisement of publick
 “representations and festivities, which were exhibited in
 “a manner suitable to the fortune of that time, and the
 “revenue of the state: for this end, at the request of
 “Rome, Tuscany furnish’d them with players; Thurium
 “with the diversion of racing: after the conquest of
 “Greece and Asia, the Roman sports were improv’d, and
 “solemniz’d

“ solemniz’d with greater elegance and accuracy: yet, in
 “ a course of two hundred years, ever since the triumph
 “ of LUCIUS MUMMIUS, the first that presented the Ro-
 “ mans with these foreign shews; no Roman of ingeni-
 “ ous birth had ever debas’d himself to the arts and disci-
 “ pline of the stage: nay, publick frugality too had been
 “ consulted and promoted by rearing a standing and per-
 “ petual Theatre, much more than by erecting a great oc-
 “ casional edifice, at an immense expence, every year:
 “ neither had the Magistrates occasion, henceforth, to
 “ exhaust their private fortune, nor the people to impor-
 “ tune the Magistrates, for the exhibition of the com-
 “ petitory games and prize-combats of Greece; since by
 “ the Commonwealth all the expence was defray’d. More-
 “ over, the victorious prizes then gain’d by Poets and
 “ Orators, would prove incentives to the universal culti-
 “ vation of wit and genius: nor to any one of those
 “ who satè judges there, could it prove at all irksome to
 “ lend his ear to the rehearsal of generous productions and
 “ studies, and to recreations altogether innocent and law-
 “ ful. In fine, the nights spent upon this solemnity (a
 “ few nights once in the long course of five years) were
 “ rather appropriated to mirth and diversion, than to wan-
 “ tonnes and lubricity; illuminated, as they were, with
 “ such a copious blaze of lights, that no sally of iniquity
 “ could possibly be conceal’d.” It is very true, that this
 revel escap’d free from any signal act of dishonour: nor,
 during it, were the affections of the people inflam’d, or
 severally rent into partialities and zeal for several Actors:
 for, tho’ the Pantomimes, who had often caus’d such ani-
 mosities; were again restor’d to the stage; they were re-
 strain’d from entering the lists in games which, like these,
 were held sacred. The prize of eloquence was borne away
 by none; but the victory adjudg’d to NERO. The Gre-
 cian garb, worn at this solemnity by many, and general-
 ly rail’d at, waxed now into disuse.

DURING these transactions, a Comet blaz’d; a pheno-
 menon which, according to the persuasion of the vulgar,
 always portends a change of Kings: hence, as if NERO
 had been already depriv’d, it became the topick of gene-
 ral inquiry, who should be chosen to succeed him: and,
 by

by the universal voice on this occasion, the name of RUBELLIUS PLAUTUS was founded, one who by his mother inherited the nobility of the Julian race: in his own person too he observ'd the reverend institutions and manners of our ancestors; was himself severe in his dress; his house virtuous and undefil'd, and devoted to retirement: but, the more closely he buried himself in recess, shunning and dreading power, the more popularity he acquir'd and obnoxious renown. This rumour and these prognosticks were heighten'd by the falling of a flash of lightning; upon which accident an interpretation was put just like the former, credulous and vain: for, as NERO sat at meat in a villa call'd Sublaqueum, upon the banks of the Simbruine Lakes, lightning darted upon the repast, scatter'd the dishes, and overthrew the table. As this casualty happen'd in the neighbourhood of Tivoli, from whence PLAUTUS by his father's side originally sprang, the people believ'd that this was the man mark'd out for Empire by the designation of the Deities. He was likewise favour'd by many from views of policy; men who are early in cultivating the approaches of a change, and from an ambition which always hurries them, and for the most part deceives them, foster hopes full of novelty and alteration, and engage in pursuits fraught with ambiguity and danger. All this alarm'd NERO, who therefore signified to PLAUTUS by a letter, "that he would do well to consult the peace and tranquillity of Rome, and withdraw himself from the reach of those who malignantly defam'd him: that in Asia he had ancient possessions, where he might enjoy the bloom of his life, free from all peril and the embroilments of faction." Upon this warning, he retir'd thither, with ANTISTIA his wife and a few friends. In the course of these days, the inordinate propensity of NERO to variety of voluptuousness, involv'd him in much danger and infamy: for, as he would needs swim in the source of the aqueduct which supplies the city, and derives its name from (ANCUS) MARCIUS, the founder; it was construed, that by this action, he had polluted, with a body all over impure, the sacred stream, and profan'd the establish'd sanctity of the place: a dangerous malady too of his, which ensued, ascertain'd the wrath and resentment of the Deities.

Now, CORBULO judg'd it proper, after the demolition of Artaxata, to improve the reigning terror, and, while it lasted, to seize Tigranocerta; for that, having once taken it, whether he were to raze it or save it, he should either infuse fresh dread into the foe, or fill them with the fame of his clemency. Thus he march'd towards it, but in his march committed no hostilities; lest he should banish all hopes of pardon; nor yet receded from his usual exactness and discipline; appriz'd, as he was, that it was a nation addicted to sudden changes; and, as in encountering dangers, they were dull and spiritless; so, in feats of perfidiousness, they were dextrous and catch'd at all occasions. Various at his approach were the measures and conduct of the Barbarians; and each follow'd the native impulse of his own heart. Some met him with the stile and abasement of supplicants; others abandon'd their dwellings, and betook themselves to the recesses of the desert: several crept into caves, accompanied with whatever was dearest to them. The methods therefore taken by the Roman General were various as the occasion: to the supplicants he extended mercy; after the fugitives he order'd quick pursuits; but towards those who had hid themselves in dens, he was rigorously severe; for, with faggots and brushes he fill'd the mouths and issues of the caverns, and set the same on fire: then continuing his march along the confines of the Mardians, he was insulted by the predatory bands of that people, who are exercised in continual robberies, and protected by their wild mountains against reprisals and invasions: but CORBULO, by pouring in the Hiberians upon them, subjected them to the spoil of fire and sword, and took vengeance of their hostile insolence, at the expence of the blood of foreigners.

BUT, tho' neither he, nor his army, was any wise impair'd by fighting; they were yet both spent with continued travel and want, and reduced to combat hunger with the use of flesh alone. Add to these distresses a scorching summer, extreme scarcity of water, mighty marches; evils which were extenuated only by the exemplary patience of the General, who, in truth, underwent more hardships than any common soldier. Thence they arriv'd in places that were cultivated, where the ripen'd harvest

refresh'd them with bread; and, as here stood two castles whither the Armenians had flock'd for sanctuary, one was taken at once by storm; the other, having repuls'd the first onset, was by a siege compell'd to surrender. CORBULO pass'd next to the country of the Taurantes, where he escap'd a threatening and unexpected danger; for hard by his pavilion a Barbarian arm'd with a dagger was apprehended; one of no mean degree, who, upon the rack, unfolded the order of the conspiracy, own'd himself the contriver, and discover'd his associates, who, being all convicted, suffer'd the just doom of traitors; such as, under the sacred name and profession of peace and friendship, were meditating guile and iniquity. Not long after, the Ambassadors by him sent forward to Tigranocerta, return'd with tidings, that the inhabitants were bent upon submitting to the Roman authority, and their gates stood open to receive the Roman army. At the same time, they presented him from the city with a golden crown, as a token of hospitality and friendly reception: an acknowledgment which he accepted with all marks of honour; and in no one instance infring'd the property or privileges of the town; that from this encouragement they might persevere in their allegiance, being left as they were in the full enjoyment of their former estate.

BUT the Royal citadel, which was shut and defended by a garrison of young men of resolute valour, was not conquer'd without blows: nay, they even ventur'd upon a sally, and join'd battle without the walls, but were beaten back into their fortification, and our men forc'd an entrance after them; so that at last they were oblig'd to yield to the cover'd approaches and arms of the assailants. These enterprizes were the more easily accomplish'd, for that the Parthians were engag'd the while in a war with the Hyrcanians; a people who had already sent an embassy to the Roman Emperor, to entreat his alliance; representing it as a signal pledge of their friendship to Rome, that they had thus diverted the power and arms of VOLOGESES. As these Ambassadors were returning, that they might not, by crossing the Euphrates, be intercepted by the stationary guards of the enemy, CORBULO furnish'd them with a convoy of soldiers, who conducted them as far

far as the coast of the Persian gulf; from whence, without touching the bounds or precincts of Parthia, they return'd in safety to their native homes.

MOREOVER, as TIRIDATES had passed through Media, and thence invaded the extreme parts of Armenia; CORBULO, having sent forward VERULANUS his Lieutenant General, with the auxiliary troops, advanc'd himself at the head of the Legions lightly equipped and disincumber'd of their baggage; and constraining the invader to retire quite away from that Kingdom, depriv'd him of all hopes from pursuing the war: having likewise laid utterly waste, with fire and slaughter, all those quarters which he had learnt were zealous for that King, and therefore disaffected to us, he had already assum'd the complete possession and government of all Armenia, when TIGRANES arriv'd, a Prince preferr'd by NERO to that crown. He was a Cappadocian, nobly descended, and grandson to King ARCHELAUS; but from the former lot of his life, having passed many years at Rome in the quality of a hostage, his spirit was miserably debas'd, even to a degree of abjectness and servility: neither was he now receiv'd into the sovereignty with general unanimity; as amongst several there still remain'd a lasting affection for the family of the Arsacides: however, as there were many who abominated the fierce pride of the Parthians, they preferr'd the accepting of a King from the hands of the Romans. Upon the new Monarch too were bestow'd a body of guards, namely, a thousand Legionary soldiers, three Cohorts detach'd from our confederates, and two wings of horse, to support him in maintaining his new realm. Several portions, besides, of Armenia were subjected to the neighbouring Kings, to PHARASMANES, to POLEMON, ARISTOBULUS and ANTIOCHUS; according to the contiguity of the same to their respective dominions. CORBULO having completed this settlement, withdrew into Syria; a province assign'd to him, upon the death of VINIDIUS, the late Governor.

THE same year, Laodicea, one of the capital cities of Asia, having been overthrown by an earthquake, rose again by the means of her own peculiar treasure, into her former lustre; unassisted by any aid or contribution from us.

But, in Italy, the ancient city of Puzzoli obtain'd from NERO the prerogative and title of a Colony. All the Veterans then dismiss'd were ingrafted amongst the inhabitants of Tarentum and Antium, yet cur'd not the defect and thinness of people there: for, many of these newcomers stragled away from their present settlement to their old haunts in the provinces, where, during their term of service, they had quarter'd: being, besides, never accustomed to engage in wedlock, or to rear children, they liv'd without families, and died without posterity. For, Colonies were not now establish'd as of old, when intire Legions were transplanted thither, with their officers, Tribunes and Centurions, and all the soldiers in their distinct classes; so as they might from ancient acquaintance, unanimity, and habitual friendship, fall naturally into the form and duties of a Commonweal: but, upon this occasion, a medly of men, not known to each other, and yet thrown together, without any ruler to manage them, without mutual affection to unite them, and all detach'd from different companies, appear'd like so many individuals, suddenly amass'd from so many different races of men, and were rather a crowd than a Colony.

THE election of Pretors follow'd; a transaction wont to be subject to the pleasure of the Senate; but, as this proceeded with unusual vehemence, and all the flaming efforts of caballing; the Prince interpos'd, and settled the contention, by preferring to the command of a Legion each of the three candidates who exceeded the stated number. He also exalted the credit and dignity of the fathers, by ordaining, that, " whoever should appeal from the
 " stated judges to the Senate, should be expos'd to the
 " hazard of forfeiting the same sum of money as did
 " those who appeal'd to the Emperor." For, hitherto this was left at large and free from all penalty. At the close of the year VIBIUS SECUNDUS, a Roman Knight, was, upon the accusation of the Moors, condemn'd for publick extortion, and expell'd Italy; for he escap'd a severer doom by the prevailing credit and opulence of VIBIUS CRISPUS, his brother.

DURING the Consulship of CASONIUS PETUS and PETRONIUS TURPILIANUS, we suffer'd a cruel slaughter
 I in

in Britain: in truth, as the Governor AVITUS, had done no more there than just maintain'd our former conquests; so his successor VERANIUS, having only in some light incursions ravag'd the territories of the Silures, was intercepted by death from any further prosecution of the war: a man this of high reputation during his life, for severe virtue and manners; but by the stile of his last will, his fervile ambition and court to power, became notorious: for, after manifold expressions of flattery bestow'd upon NERO, he added, "that to his obedience he should have " completely subjected that province, had his own life " been prolong'd for two years." After him, SÜETONIUS PAULLINUS obtain'd the government of Britain; one who was a competitor with CORBULO in the science of war, and in the voice and estimation of the populace, who to every man of renown are sure to create a rival: he hop'd too, by utterly subduing that fierce enemy, to reap a glory equal to that which the other deriv'd from the recovery and settlement of Armenia: he therefore prepar'd to fall upon the Isle of Anglesey, a country powerful in inhabitants, and a common place of refuge to the revolvers and fugitives: he built, for that end, boats with broad flat bottoms, the easier to approach a shore full of shallows and uncertain landings: upon these the foot were embark'd: the horse follow'd partly by fording, partly by swimming.

ON the opposite shore stood the enemy's army, in thick array compact with men and arms: amongst them were Women running frantically every where, to and fro, representing the wild manner and transports of furies; dismally clad in funeral apparel, with their hair dishevel'd, and torches in their hands: round the host also appear'd their Priests the Druids, with their hands lifted up to heaven, uttering direful imprecations, and invoking celestial vengeance: insomuch, that at the amazing novelty of the spectacle, the spirit of the Roman soldiers was struck with dismay; and, as if all their limbs had been benumb'd, they stood motionless, their bodies expos'd, like fixt marks, to wounds and darts; till, by the repeated exhortations of the General, as well as by mutual incitements from one another, they were at last rous'd to shake off the scandalous terror inspir'd by a band

of raving women, and fanatick priests; and thus advancing their ensigns, they discomfited all that resisted, and involv'd them in their own fires. A garrison was thereafter establish'd over the vanquish'd, and the groves cut down by them dedicated to sanguinary and detestable superstitions: for, there they sacrificed captives, and upon their altars, as an oblation, spill'd human blood. There, in order to discover the will of the Gods, they consulted the entrails of men: practices of cruelty these by them accounted holy. While SÜETONIUS was thus employ'd, tydings were brought him of the sudden revolt of the Province.

PRASUTAGUS, the late King of the Icenians, a Prince long renown'd, for his opulence and grandeur, had by will left the Emperor joint heir with his own two daughters: by such a signal instance of loyalty, he judg'd he should purchase a sure protection to his Kingdom and family, against all injury and violence. A scheme which produced an effect so intirely contrary, that his realm was ravag'd by the Centurions, and his house by slaves; as if both his house and realm had been the just spoils of war. First of all BOUDICEA his wife underwent the ignominious violence of stripes, and his daughters that of constupration: and, as though the entire region had been as a donation, bequeath'd to the plunderers, all the principal Icenians were spoil'd of their ancient hereditary possessions, and the Royal-relations of the late King, were kept and deem'd amongst the slaves. Enrag'd by all this contumelious tyranny, and dreading oppressions still more severe, since they were already reduced into the precarious lot of a province: they flew unanimously to arms; having animated the Trinobantes to join in the revolt; as well as all others who were not yet broken by the yoke of servitude, and had secretly conspir'd to recover their original liberty. They were incens'd with implacable enmity towards the Veterans, lately translated to the Colony of Camalodunum: for, these new guests had thrust them out of their houses, exterminated them from their native lands, and, adding scorn to oppression, treated them with the vile titles of captives and slaves: these outrages too of the Veterans, were abetted by the common soldiers, from their similitude of life and inclination,

inclination, and in hopes of arriving themselves at the same licentious situation. Another alarming grievance was the Temple built and dedicated to the deified *CLAUDIUS*, by them regarded as the bulwark of a domination establish'd over them without end: besides that they were miserably drain'd by the Priests who had been cull'd out for ministring in the Temple, and, under the cloak and demands of Religion, devour'd their whole substance. Neither did it appear to the revolvers an arduous undertaking to extirpate a Colony no wise secur'd by fortifications: a provision little minded by our Commanders, who had consulted accommodation and pleasure antecedently to advantage and security.

DURING these transactions, the Statue of Victory at Camalodunum, without any visible violence, tumbled down with her face turn'd round! as if by it she betoken'd her yielding to the enemy: there were women too who, transported with oracular fury, chanted prophetick denunciations, that bloody destruction was at hand: in the place where they assembled for the business of the publick, the accent and tumultuous murmurs of strangers were heard: their Theatre eccho'd with dismal howlings; and, in the lakes form'd by the tides resisting the Thames, a representation was seen of a Colony overthrown: the sea too appear'd all dyed with blood; and, at the departure of the tide, phantoms of human bodies appear'd left behind upon the strand. From which extraordinary omens, as the Britons deriv'd matter of hope and joy, so did the Veterans matter of heaviness and fear. But, because *SUETONIUS* was at a great distance, they sought succours from *CATUS DECIANUS*, Procurator of the province, who yet sent them no more than two hundred men, nor these completely arm'd; and, in the Colony it self, was but a small handful of soldiers. The Veterans not only relied upon the shelter and strength of the Temple, but were frustrated in their measures by such as were secret accomplices in the revolt: hence they had neither secur'd themselves by a ditch or pallisade, nor remov'd their women and old men, and reserv'd, as they ought, only those of youth and vigour for their defence. So that, utterly unprepar'd, and as void of circumspection as if full peace had reign'd, they

they were, by a vast host of Barbarians, environ'd and oppress'd. In truth, every thing in the Colony yielded to instant violence, and was raz'd or burnt; only the Temple, whither the soldiers were retired in a body, stood a two days siege, and was then taken by storm. Moreover, PETILIUS CERIALIS, Commander of the ninth Legion, as he advanc'd to relieve his friends, was met and encounter'd by the victorious Britons: his Legion routed, and all his infantry slain. CERIALIS, with the horse, escap'd to the camp, and there defended himself in his entrenchments: CATUS the Procurator, terrified with this ruin and slaughter, and with the universal hate of the province, which by his rapacious avarice he had driven into despair and hostility, fled over into Gaul.

But SÜETONIUS, with marvellous and undaunted bravery, march'd through the heart of the enemy quite to London, a city in truth not signal for bearing the title of a Colony, but highly fam'd for the vast conflux of traders, and her abundant commerce and plenty. Here he was deliberating about settling his head quarters in this place, and chusing it for the seat and centre of the war: but, having well reflected upon the thin number of his soldiers, and being well warn'd by the temerity of PETILIUS so signally chastiz'd, he resolv'd to abandon it, and, with the loss of one town, to save the whole province. Nor could the tears and wailings of numbers imploring his guard and protection, divert him from ordering the signal for departure to be sounded: into part of his forces he assum'd all those who would accompany him: whoever staid behind, whether detain'd by the weakness of their sex, by the unweildiness of old age, or by the charms of the place, fell, without exception, by the rage of the enemy. The like slaughter befell the municipal city of Verulamium. For, the Barbarians, who were charm'd with plunder, but cold and dastardly in other exploits of war, omitted to attack forts and garrisons: but, wherever there was abundant booty, easy to be seiz'd by the spoiler, dangerous to be defended by the owner; thither they carried their animosity and arms. In the several places which I have mentioned, it appear'd that seventy thousand souls had perish'd, all Romans, or the confederates of Rome.

For, the enemy gave no quarter, and neither made, nor fold, nor exchang'd prisoners; nor observ'd any other law of war; but upon all exercis'd mortal fury, by present killing, gibbetting, burning and crucifying; with the desperate eagerness and precipitation of men, who were sure of undergoing a terrible doom, and resolv'd, by anticipated vengeance, to spill the blood of others before their own were spilt.

SUETONIUS had already an army of nigh ten thousand men; namely, the fourteenth Legion, with the Veterans of the twentieth, and auxiliaries from the quarters next adjoining: so that, relinquishing all further delay, he prepar'd for encountring the enemy in open battle, and chose a place which stretch'd out before into a hollow and narrow vale, with steep sides, and was behind girt in with a wood. He was thoroughly appriz'd, that in the front only the whole forces of the enemy were to be expected, and that the space between was a plain bottom, where no stratagems nor ambushes were to be dreaded: he, therefore, drew up the Legionary soldiers into thick and condens'd ranks, environ'd them with the soldiery lightly arm'd, and on each wing placed the cavalry. The British army were every where exulting and bounding in great separate bands, some of horse, some of foot, and exhibited in all a multitude so vast as hitherto was not parallel'd: they were animated by a spirit so resolute and fierce, that with them they had also brought their wives, to be spectators of their victory, and stow'd them in their waggons, which they had plac'd round the extremity of the camp.

BOUDICEA was carried about in a chariot, where before her sat her two daughters: traversing the field, from nation to nation, she to all declar'd, “ that it was, in
 “ truth, usual to the Britons to war under the conduct
 “ of women: yet, upon this occasion, she assum'd not
 “ the port and authority of one descended from such
 “ mighty ancestors; nor aim'd to revenge the loss of her
 “ Kingdom wickedly usurp'd, the loss of her Royal opu-
 “ lence basely plunder'd: but, she then appear'd upon the
 “ same foot with one of the vulgar, and fought ven-
 “ geance for the extirpation of publick liberty, for the
 “ stripes inflicted upon her person, for the brutish defile-
 “ ment

“ ment of her virgin daughters. To such a pitch of un-
 “ bridled violence were the Romans arriv’d, that nothing
 “ could escape their fury and contamination, neither the
 “ persons of any, nor old age, nor the virginity of ten-
 “ der maidens: but, still the incens’d Deities were ready
 “ to aid the just sword of vengeance; by it a Legion,
 “ which dared to tempt an engagement, had already fal-
 “ len; the rest skulk’d behind the entrenchments of their
 “ camp, or were devising on every side which way to
 “ fly: nor would they be ever able to bear the uproar
 “ and shouts of so many thousand men; how much less
 “ bear their impetuous onset and vengeful arms? To con-
 “ clude; if the Britons would survey the number of men
 “ under arms; if they would well weigh the affecting
 “ causes of the war; they would find, that in that bat-
 “ tle they must remain utterly victorious, or utterly perish:
 “ to do one of these was the firm purpose of her who
 “ was a woman: for the men; they might, if they pleas’d,
 “ still enjoy life and bondage.”

NEITHER WAS SÜETONIUS silent at a juncture so
 awakening and perillous: tho’ he confided in the bravery
 of his men, yet he fail’d not to join to it the force of ex-
 hortations mixt with entreaties, “ that they would be sure
 “ to despise the savage din and clamour of the Barba-
 “ rians, with all their impotent menaces. In that great
 “ host were to be seen more weak women than vigorous
 “ men; an unwarlike host, destitute of arms, and dis-
 “ pos’d to instant flight, as soon as they came to expe-
 “ rience, anew, the same victorious bravery and steel which
 “ by too many defeats they had prov’d. Even, in an army
 “ compos’d of many Legions, the glory of discomfiting
 “ the foe remain’d always to a few: hence it would re-
 “ dound to their peculiar glory, that tho’ but a small
 “ band, they should reap all the renown which could ac-
 “ crue to a great and complete army. They were only
 “ to keep condens’d in their ranks, and having first dis-
 “ charg’d their darts, close in, and with the navels of
 “ their shields and edge of their swords, pursue the de-
 “ feat and slaughter: of the spoil they must have no
 “ thought: after victory, to their share would spontanc-
 “ ously fall spoil, and honour, and all things.”

EVERY part of the General's speech was follow'd by such signal ardour in his men; with such promptness had the old soldiers, men long inur'd to all the arts and events of battle, already assum'd a proper posture for weilding and darting their javelins, that SÜETONIUS, as certain of the issue, gave the signal for onset.

FIRST of all, the Legion kept their ground immovable, and still shelter'd themselves, as with a bulwark, within the natural streights of the place, till the enemy had advanced within arrow shot, and exhausted all their darts: upon this advantage, they rush'd out tempestuously upon them, as it were with the force and keenness of a wedge: equal was the vigour and impetuosity of the auxiliaries: the horse too, advancing with a moving battlement of pikes, utterly broke and overthrew whatever quarters of the foe exerted any resistance and strength; for, all the rest turn'd their backs, but found it difficult to escape: the inclosure made by their own carriages had obstructed their flight: such too was the fury of the soldiers, that they spar'd not even the lives of women; nay the very beasts escap'd not: they were pierced with darts, and serv'd to swell the mighty heaps of the dead. Signal was the glory that day gain'd; and equal to the fam'd victories of the ancient Romans: for, there are authors who record that of the Britons were slain almost eighty thousand; of our men about four hundred, with not many more wounded: BOUDICEA ended her life by poison: POENIUS POSTUMUS too, he who was Camp-Marshal to the second Legion, upon tidings of the exploits and success of the fourteenth and twentieth, became struck with remorse, that he had defrauded his own of equal honour; and, contrary to the laws of military duty, had disobey'd the orders of his General: so that he ran himself through with his sword.

THE whole army was thereafter drawn together, and kept the field under tents, in order to finish the remains of the war. Their forces were moreover augmented by NERO, who from Germany sent them two thousand Legionary soldiers, eight Cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thousand horse. By their arrival the ninth Legion was supplied with a Legionary recruit; the auxiliary Cohorts and
wings

wings of the cavalry were posted in new winter quarters; and thus, which ever of the several nations appear'd hostile or suspicious, were subjected to the devastations of fire and sword. But famine, above all other calamities, afflicted the foe, who had utterly neglected to cultivate and sow the ground; and, as those of every age amongst them were wholly bent upon the war, they had design'd, instead of providing for themselves, to appropriate our stores and provisions to their own use: besides, that this people by nature wonderfully resolute and stubborn, were become more cold and backward in their inclinations to peace, from the behaviour of JULIUS GLASSICIANUS; who was come as successor to CATUS, and, being at variance with SÜETONIUS, obstructed the publick good to gratify private pique: thus he had every where publish'd, "that another Governor
 " was by all means to be desired and expected, such a
 " one as being free from the settled wrath of an enemy,
 " free from the vanity and arrogance of a conqueror,
 " would by merciful measures recover and ensure the sub-
 " mission of the province." At the same time, he transmitted advice to Rome, "that unless a successor were
 " sent to SÜETONIUS, there never would be an end
 " of war and blood:" and, while he charg'd all the crosses and disasters of that General upon baseness of conduct; to the auspicious fortune of the Republick he ascrib'd all his conquests and success.

Hence POLYCLETUS, one of the Imperial freedmen, was dispatch'd to inspect the condition of Britain: a project from which NERO conceiv'd mighty hopes, that by the authority of his domestick, private amity between the Governor and Procurator would not only be effected, but the hostile spirits of the revolted Barbarians reconcil'd to peace: nor was POLYCLETUS backward to assume the employment; thus far at least, that having travell'd through Italy and Gaul, and oppress'd both with his enormous train, thence crossing the channel, he march'd with such awful state and attendance, that even to our own soldiers he became a terror. But, to the enemy he prov'd a pompous object of derision; for, as amongst them popular liberty even then reign'd, they were yet utter strangers to the power and grandeur of manumiz'd bondmen: they

were, besides, amaz'd, that a victorious General and army, who had finish'd so formidable a war, should themselves be subservient to slaves. After all, the administration and transactions there were reported to the Emperor in a favourable light; so that SÜETONIUS was continued in the government: but, after having stranded a few galleys, and lost the men who row'd them, as if this accident had been a proof that the war still subsisted, he was ordered to resign his army to PETRONIUS TURPILIANUS, who had just ended his Consulship: a Commander this, who, as he neither offer'd the foe any act of hostility, nor from them receiv'd any insult, bestow'd upon this stupid and dastardly inaction the worthy appellation of Peace.

THIS same year were committed at Rome two glaring iniquities; one by a Senator, the other by the desperate hand of a slave. DOMITIUS BALBUS had sustain'd the dignity of Pretor; and his wealth and childlessness, added to his exceeding age, expos'd him to the plots and machinations of villany. Hence a will forg'd in his name by VALERIUS FABIANUS his kinsman, one nominated to publick offices; who took into the combination VINCIUS RUFINUS, and TERENTIUS LENTINUS, both Roman Knights: with them were associated in the same cause ANTONIUS PRIMUS, and ASINIUS MARCELLUS; ANTONIUS a man of a daring spirit, prompt and enterprizing; MARCELLUS was signal in his descent, as on him devolv'd the lustre of his great grand-father ASINIUS POLLIO: nor pass'd he himself for a despicable person in his own conduct and manners, save that he believ'd poverty to be of all evils the heaviest and most severe. FABIANUS therefore, in confederacy with those whom I have mentioned, and others of less note, seal'd and witness'd the testament. A fraud of which they were amply convicted before the Senate: thus FABIANUS and ANTONIUS, with RUFINUS and TERENTIUS, were all doom'd to the penalties of the Cornelian law. In behalf of MARCELLUS the illustrious memory of his ancestors, with the entreaties of NERO prevail'd, and procur'd him an exemption rather from punishment than infamy. The same day involv'd POMPEIUS ELIANUS too in his doom; a young man once invested with the dignity of Questor, but now charg'd with being

§ D privy

privity to the detestable practices of FABIANUS: thus he was interdicted Italy, as also the place of his nativity Spain. Upon VALERIUS PONTICUS was inflicted the like ignominious sentence; for that, he had arraign'd the delinquents at the tribunal of the Pretor, on purpose to save them from being impleaded before the Governor of Rome, and would have eluded the punishment through the false glosses of law; nay at last had meditated their escape by manifest collusion and double dealing. To the decree of penalties therefore the Senate added, "that whoever
 " should take a price for such vile employment, or who-
 " soever should procure it at a price, should be involv'd in
 " the same penalty with one publickly condemn'd for ca-
 " lumny."

NOT long after PEDANIUS SECUNDUS, Governor of Rome, was murder'd by a slave of his own; either upon refusing him his liberty, for which he had bargain'd at a certain price, or that he was enrag'd by a jealous passion for a pathick, and could not bear his Lord for a rival. Now, since according to the strict institutions of antiquity, the whole family of slaves, who upon such occasion abode under the same roof, must inevitably be adjudg'd to the pains of death; such at this juncture was the uproar and conflux of the populace, zealous to save so many innocent lives, that it proceeded even to sedition: in the Senate it self, were some who were partial to the popular side, and for rejecting such excessive rigour; while many, on the contrary, voted against admitting any innovation or abatement: of these last was CAIUS CASSIUS, who, instead of delivering barely his vote, reasoned in this manner:

" Many times have I assisted, Conscript Fathers, in this
 " august assembly, when new decrees of Senate have been
 " demanded, contrary to the laws and establishments of our
 " fore-fathers; without setting my self to oppose such de-
 " mands: not that I forbore from any doubt I had, that,
 " in transactions of every kind, the provisions made of
 " old were not better and more upright, and in whatever
 " instances they were chang'd, for the worse they were
 " chang'd; but I forbore lest I should seem, out of an
 " immoderate fondness for primitive rules, to magnify any
 " zeal

“ zeal of mine. Another reason I likewise had: what-
 “ ever weight or credit I may have, I judg’d the same
 “ ought not to be forfeited, by engaging in frequent op-
 “ positions, but proper to be reserv’d in full vigour against
 “ any emergent conjuncture, when the Commonwealth
 “ might stand in need of instant council; a conjuncture
 “ which this very day has produced: one of our body,
 “ a Senator of Consular rank, is murder’d in his own house
 “ by the bloody fraud of one of his own slaves; a fraud
 “ which was by none of the rest prevented, by none of
 “ them disclos’d; although over their heads was hanging
 “ still in full force the decree of Senate, which to the whole
 “ domestick tribe denounced the pains of death. Ascer-
 “ tain in the name of the Gods, ascertain by a decree
 “ the desir’d impunity: but then, what security, what de-
 “ fence, will any man derive from his dignity; when even
 “ the Government of Rome avail’d not to secure him who
 “ possess’d it? who will be protected by the number of
 “ his slaves; when a band of four hundred afforded no
 “ protection to PEDANIUS SECUNDUS? To which of us
 “ will such domesticks, upon any occasion, administer
 “ aid, when we see they no wise regard our lives and
 “ dangers, even where for this their neglect capital terrors
 “ surrounded them? or has it in truth happen’d, what
 “ some without blushing feign, that the murderer only
 “ took vengeance for injuries by himself receiv’d? what
 “ injuries? had this slave any dispute about his paternal
 “ patrimony? or had he inherited from his progenitors
 “ a right to the bondman his pathick, now wrongfully
 “ ravish’d from him by his Lord? Let us even give up the
 “ debate, and declare that his Lord was rightfully kill’d:
 “ tho’ it is strange we should be hunting after arguments
 “ in an affair long since weigh’d and determin’d by our
 “ wiser ancestors! but suppose however the question still un-
 “ decided: I would reason with you, and ask; do you be-
 “ lieve that a vindictive slave could assume the bold design
 “ to kill his Lord, and smother it under such invincible se-
 “ crecy that not a menacing word, not a note of vengeance,
 “ should fall from him? did he perpetually guard his lips,
 “ so that nothing was rashly utter’d by them? be it so, that
 “ he effectually hid his bloody purpose; be it so, that he
 “ procur’d

“ procur’d and prepar’d the instrument of blood, in the
 “ midst of his fellows, who were yet all utterly ignorant
 “ of his ends: but still, could he pass through the guard
 “ of slaves at the chamber door, open those doors, bring
 “ in a light, perpetrate the slaughter, unknown to them
 “ all? Many murderous designs are discover’d and pre-
 “ vented by our slaves; and while they make such ho-
 “ nest discoveries, tho’ we are but individuals in the midst
 “ of many, we can live safely amongst them, and owe
 “ our safety to their sollicitude: if at last we must perish
 “ by them, we have this consolation, we shall not fall
 “ unreveng’d, but the blood of many traitors shall atone
 “ for ours. By our ancestors the spirit of their slaves was
 “ always suspected, even of such slaves as were born in
 “ their private territories, nay born in their own houses,
 “ and had with their milk suck’d in a tenderness and ve-
 “ neration for their Lords. We stand upon a more dan-
 “ gerous foot; in our families we now entertain nations
 “ of slaves, inur’d to their own national rites widely dif-
 “ ferent from ours, and addicted to strange Religions, or
 “ observing none: hence it is impossible to curb such a
 “ promiscuous rabble, without the intervention of lasting
 “ and exemplary terrors. But with the guilty some in-
 “ nocents must perish: yes; and so it is in an army; which,
 “ after a shameful rout, are punish’d with decimation;
 “ where to be bastinated to death, is often the blind lot
 “ of the faultless and brave. Somewhat there is grievous
 “ and unjust in every great instance of exemplary justice;
 “ where for the sake of publick utility, private sufferings
 “ are sustain’d, and by it compensated.”

THIS was the judgment of CASSIUS; which as no
 particular Senator durst venture to combat; so it was op-
 pos’d by the dissenting murmurs of such as thus utter’d
 their compassion for those who without distinction were
 involv’d in it; compassion for their number, for the age
 of some, for the sex of others, for the undoubted inno-
 cence of most: it was however carried by the party who
 adjudg’d all without exception to pains of death. A judg-
 ment which yet it was impossible to execute; such was
 the fury of the populace, who were flock’d tumultuously
 together, and breathing terrible menaces, that they would

betake themselves to the outrages of stones and fire. NERO therefore reprimanded the people by an edict, and with lines of soldiers secur'd all the way through which the condemn'd were led to execution. CINGONIUS VARRO had mov'd that the freedmen too, who abode under the same roof, should be for ever expell'd Italy: but this was prohibited by the Prince; who urg'd, "that since the rigorous usage of antiquity had not been mollified by mercy, it ought not to be heighten'd by cruelty."

DURING the same Consuls, TARQUITIUS PRISCUS was, at the suit of the Bithynians, condemn'd for publick rapine; to the infinite gratification of the fathers, who well remember'd, that by him had been accus'd STATILIUS TAURUS, his own Proconsul in Africa. Moreover, a general poll was taken, and a general rate impos'd, throughout both the Gauls: an employment executed by QUINTUS VOLUSIUS, SEXTIUS AFRICANUS, and TREBELLIVS MAXIMUS; and, in it, much contention arose between VOLUSIUS and AFRICANUS, two men who were competitors in nobility and rank: for TREBELLIVS; while, in this their mutual strife, he was overlook'd and neglected by both, they jointly contributed to render him superior to either.

THE same year, MEMMIUS REGVLVS finish'd his days; a man for his eminent authority and constancy of mind, in signal estimation; and, as far as the lustre of a citizen is not darken'd by the shade and exorbitant height of an Emperor, the distinction he bore was splendid and sublime: insomuch that, when NERO was once under the pressure of sickness, and the flatterers about him were lamenting, "that, if the illness prov'd fatal, there must be an instant end of the Empire with that of his life;" he replied, "that to the Republick there would still remain a certain resource." And, as they then ask'd, from whom chiefly was the same to be expected," he added, "from the person of MEMMIUS REGVLVS." But notwithstanding such a dangerous declaration and character, REGVLVS preserv'd his life after this, under the protection of his own quiet spirit: besides that he deriv'd his quality from a recent stock, and was no wife obnoxious for his wealth. This year too NERO instituted

stituted an Athletick school, and to the Knights and Senators, for their exercises there, presented anointing oil, according to the wanton usages of the revelling Greeks.

IN the Consulship of PUBLIUS MARIUS and LUCIUS ASINIUS, the Pretor ANTISTIUS, the same whose arbitrary administration in the Tribuneship of the people I have remember'd, fram'd a Poem full of contumelious invectives against the Prince, and expos'd it to a numerous assembly, then banqueting in the house of OSTORIUS SCAPULA. Hence he was arraign'd upon the Law of violated Majesty, by COSSUTIANUS CAPITO, who, at the request of FIGELLINUS his father-in-law, had acquired the dignity of Senator: a law this, which after long disuse was upon this occasion first reviv'd: though it was believ'd, that by its present revival, the doom of ANTISTIUS was not so much intended, as an opportunity sought of purchasing renown to the Emperor; for, that, after the criminal were by the Senate capitally condemn'd, CESAR meant to interpose his Tribunitial power, and save him from the pains of death. Now, as the evidence deliver'd at the trial by OSTORIUS was, that he had heard nothing at all of the imputed crime; the contrary testimony of other witnesses was credited; and JUNIUS MARULLUS Consul elect, voted that "the accus'd should be divested of his Pretorship
" and executed, according to the form and rigour of
" antiquity:" the rest too were concurring with the same severe vote; when PETUS THRASEA, after much honourable commendation of NERO, and many bitter reproaches upon ANTISTIUS, argued, "that whatever severity the
" flagrant guilt of the person accus'd might merit; yet
" the subjecting of that guilt to an adequate measure of
" punishment, was not what they were now to adjudge,
" under a Prince so excellent; and, while the Senate was
" in its decisions influenced by no biases or compulsion:
" halters and executioners were terrors long since abolish'd:
" there were moreover penal sentences already prescrib'd
" by the laws, and in conformity to them, punishment
" might be pronounced without bringing the judges un-
" der the imputation of cruelty, or the times under that
" of infamy. Hence, what remain'd, but to sentence his
" estate to confiscation and him to solitary exile in an
" island?

“ island? a sentence which would only leave him a guilty
 “ life; and the longer he protracted the same, the greater
 “ was the private misery he must endure: but, by escap-
 “ ing with life, he would still prove a singular example
 “ of publick clemency.”

THE generous freedom of THRASEA broke the bondage which hung upon the minds of others: so that after the Consul had given leave to divide by discession (namely, to go over to him whose vote they approv'd) all but a few went readily into the motion of THRASEA: of these few was VITELLIUS, the most abandon'd of all men in strains of servile flattery, one whose custom it was to be always thwarting and annoying every upright man, and always to be aw'd into silence by every reply; a conduct usual to slavish spirits, to be insolent and cowardly. The Consuls however not daring to give the last sanction to the decree of Senate, wrote the Emperor an account of their unanimity: and the account affected him; inasmuch that he hesitated a while, struggling between the different impulses of shame and resentment: at last he return'd an answer, “ that ANTISTIVS, altogether unpro-
 “ vok'd by any sort of injury, had utter'd many black
 “ and grievous aspersions upon the Prince; and, for these
 “ aspersions proper vengeance had been required from the
 “ Senate: neither would it have been more than the re-
 “ tribution of just judgment, to have ordain'd a punish-
 “ ment suitable to the enormous measure of the iniquity.
 “ However, for himself; as he would have certainly op-
 “ pos'd any rigorous doom, if such they had decreed,
 “ so he would now in no wise frustrate their mercy and
 “ moderation: determine therefore they might, as to them
 “ seem'd best: nay, from him they had full leave to pro-
 “ nounce a sentence of acquittal.” By the recital of these expressions, with others in the like strain, his displeasure appear'd notorious: but notwithstanding his displeasure, neither did the Consuls vary the state of the question, nor THRASEA depart from his motion, nor any of the rest desert the measures which by their assent they had approv'd. To this adherence in all there were different incitements: some would not, by a severer sentence, seem to expose the Prince to popular malignity and hate: many

there were who placed their safety in their numbers: for THRASEA; he was govern'd by his wonted firmness of soul, and scorn'd to forfeit his illustrious credit and renown.

FOR an offence much like the former FABRICIUS VEIENTO was involv'd in a heavy prosecution; "for that he had compil'd a long train of opprobrious invectives against Senators and Pontiffs, and inserted the same in the rolls to which he had given the title of *Codicils*, or his last will." To this charge it was added by TALIVS GEMINUS his accuser, "that he had made constant traffick of the Prince's bounty and favours, and turn'd into purchase and sale the right of occupying the great offices of the state:" an argument this that determin'd NERO to adjudge his cause in person. VEIENTO being convicted, the Emperor banish'd him from Italy; and doom'd to the flames these his writings, which were universally sought and read, while it was difficult to find them, and dangerous to keep them: afterwards, from the freedom and impunity of possessing them, they sunk into neglect and oblivion.

BUT while the publick evils wax'd every day more poignant and grievous, the friends and supports of the publick became lessen'd and withdrawn; and BURRUS yielded to his last fate; nor is it certainly known whether by poison or a disease: the latter was imagin'd from hence, that the fatal swelling in his throat increas'd inwardly by degrees, till by a total stoppage of respiration he died suffocated. Many asserted that by the order of NERO, under appearance of applying a remedy, his palate and glands were fomented with some venomous medicine, and that BURRUS having perceiv'd the deadly fraud, when the Prince came to visit him, turn'd his face and eyes another way, and to all his repeated inquiries about his health, return'd no other answer but this; *I am well*. Great and sorrowful at Rome was the sense of his loss, and continued to be sadly felt, as well through the memory of his own virtue, as from the different character of both his joint successors, the one noted only for innocence and heaviness, the other black with all the most flagrant iniquities, defilements, and adulteries. For, NERO had

had created two captains of the Pretorian guards; namely FENIUS RUFUS, in complement to the populace, who lov'd him for his disinterested administration in the superintendency of the publick stores; an office from which he had drawn no gain or advantage; and to him join'd sofONIUS TIGELLINUS, purely from partiality to the inveterate lewdness and notorious infamy of the man; for, pollution and infamy were the noted characteristics of TIGELLINUS. Hence much the more potent of the two was his sway over the spirit of NERO; as one assum'd into power from an intimate confederacy in all the secret follies of his lust: all the credit of RUFUS subsisted in the city and soldiery, and by them he was distinguish'd with popular estimation: a character which with NERO brought him under prejudice and distaste.

THE death of BURRUS quite overthrew the authority of SENECA; as righteous measures had no longer the same succours now the other champion of virtue was remov'd; and the heart of NERO was attach'd to the persons and counsels of men altogether wicked and deprav'd. These combin'd to assail SENECA with criminal imputations manifold; as, “ that he had already accumulated
 “ wealth incredible, far surpassing the measure of a citizen, and was still insatiably accumulating more: that
 “ from the Emperor he was labouring to withdraw, and
 “ attaching to his own person, the dependence and veneration of the Roman people: nay such were the charms
 “ and luxury of his gardens, such the splendor and magnificence of his seat, as if in these instances of grandeur,
 “ he aim'd even to excel the Emperor: to himself alone
 “ he arrogated the praise and perfection of eloquence;
 “ and, ever since NERO became inspir'd with a passion
 “ for versifying, SENECA had employ'd himself, with unusual assiduity, in the same study: for, to the bodily recreations of the Prince, he had declar'd an open enmity; and hence disparag'd his vigour and skill in the
 “ managing horses; hence turn'd his voice into mockery, whenever he sung; and all with this ambitious view,
 “ that in the whole Republick there should nothing occur signal or sublime, which was not by his own wit
 “ introduced and devis'd. Surely NERO was pass'd the
 5 F “ weakness

“weakness of childhood, and arriv’d at his prime of
 “youth: he ought now to begin to reign, to depose his
 “pedagogue, and trust only to the documents convey’d
 “to him by tutors sufficiently famous, his own mighty
 “ancestors.”

SENECA was not unappriz’d of the efforts of his calumniators; the same being disclos’d to him by such as still retain’d some sympathy and concern for the honest interest of sincerity and honour; but, as the Emperor manifested daily more shyness and distaste, and had withdrawn his wonted affability; he besought an hour of audience, and having obtain’d it, began thus: “this is the
 “fourteenth year since I was first assign’d to cultivate thy
 “promising and princely spirit, CESAR; and the eighth
 “since thy advancement to the Empire. During this
 “whole series of time, so mighty and so many are the
 “honours and riches which thou hast shower’d down
 “upon me, that to my abundant felicity nought is wanting but some bounds and moderation. To corroborate
 “the address I now make, I shall quote great examples
 “and illustrious names; such as are adapted, not to my
 “station and fortune, but to thine. AUGUSTUS, from
 “whom thou art the fourth in descent, granted to MARCUS AGRIPPA leave to retreat to Mitylene, and to
 “CAIUS MECENAS he allow’d, even in Rome it self, a
 “recess as complete as in any remote country he could
 “have enjoy’d: the former his companion in the wars;
 “the other long harass’d at Rome with manifold occupations and publick cares: hence both were by him
 “distinguish’d with such remunerations as were glorious
 “in truth, yet signally due to their transcendent worth
 “and services: for my self; by what merit of mine could I
 “pretend to incite that boundless munificence of thine,
 “other than mine own solitary studies, form’d, if I may
 “so speak, and nourish’d in obscurity? and even from
 “them this glory is devolv’d upon me, that in the selections of literature I am thought to have initiated
 “thy youth: a sublime reward this alone for such slender service! but thou hast encompass’d me about with
 “an accumulation of Imperial benignity and grace, beyond all expression or limits, and with wealth with-
 “out

“ out measure or end: infomuch that with my felf I
 “ often reafon; am I, (one that is by rank no higher than
 “ a Knight, by birth no other than a foreigner) am I num-
 “ ber’d with the Grandees of the Imperial city? Is it fo
 “ indeed, that my new name, my modern quality, has
 “ thus blaz’d forth amongft the illuftrious Lords of Rome;
 “ men who juftly boaft a long train of honours, deriv’d from
 “ numerous and venerable anceftors? where then is that
 “ Philofophick fpirit, which profefles to be fatisfied with
 “ a fcanty lot and humble neceffaries? is SENECA that
 “ man? he who thus enclofes and adorns fuch fpacious
 “ gardens; he who thus travels in pomp through a va-
 “ riety of feats in the neighbourhood of Rome, all con-
 “ triv’d for magnificence and luxury? is it he who wal-
 “ lows in wealth, in ample poffeffions, in copious and
 “ extenfive ufury? One plea only there is that occurs to
 “ my thoughts; that againft thy donations it became not
 “ me to ftrove: but both of us have now difcharg’d to
 “ the utmoft measure this commerce of liberality and duty:
 “ whatever the bounty of a Prince could confer upon his
 “ friend; whatever a friend could accept from the bounty
 “ of his Prince; thou haft already conferr’d, I have al-
 “ ready accepted. Every further addition can only prove
 “ fresh fuel to the bitterness of envy; an enemy which,
 “ like all other earthly things, lies, in truth, subdued and
 “ impotent under the awe and weight of thy mighty
 “ grandeur, but faftens upon me with all its rage, and I
 “ ftand in eminent need of fuccour. Thus, in the fame
 “ manner, as were I weary and faint through the toil of
 “ journeying or of warfare, I fhould fupplicate for re-
 “ freshment and reft; fo in this long journey of life, old
 “ as I am, and no longer equal to the eafieft truft and
 “ lighteft cares, and utterly unable to fustain the load and
 “ envy of my own over-grown riches; I feek affiftance and
 “ fupport. Order the auditors of thy revenue to under-
 “ take the direction of my fortune, and to annex it to
 “ thy own: nor fhall I by this plunge my felf into in-
 “ digence and poverty; but having only furrender’d that
 “ invidious opulence, which expofes me to the offensive
 “ blaze of fo much fplendor, I fhall redeem all the time
 “ which is at prefent fequefter’d to the care of pompous
 “ feats

“ seats and gardens, and apply it to the repose and cultivation of my mind. To thee remains abundant strength and support, and thy rule is, by a long course of reigning, thoroughly establish’d; thou mayst now spare thy ancient friends and counsellors, and vouchsafe them a retreat to quiet and ease. To thy glory this also will redound, that to the highest estate thou hadst advanced such men as knew how to dispense with the lowest.”

To this speech, NERO replied much in this manner: “ That I am able, thus instantly to combat these studied reasonings of thine, is a faculty which from thy benignity and care I first deriv’d; for thou hast taught me, not only the art of acquitting my self promptly, where matters are prepar’d and a speech is already premeditated; but even a facility of elocution in emergencies intirely unforeseen: it is true, my ancestor AUGUSTUS granted liberty to AGRIPPA and MECENAS to retreat, after a life of many labours, to a life of ease; but at such a time of his age and establishment he granted it, that his authority was sufficient to sustain any concession he could have made them, of what kind or importance soever. But tho’ he suffer’d both to retire, he divested neither of the bounties and recompenses which upon them he had conferr’d. In the perils of war and of civil distraction, they had meritoriously serv’d him; for in such were the younger years of AUGUSTUS employ’d: neither wouldst thou, SENECA, have fail’d to have assisted me with thy person and arms, if in arms I had been engag’d: my different circumstances required other aid; and whatever they requir’d thou hast done with wise rules, wholesome counsel, useful precepts; thou hast cherish’d my infancy, and since my youth: in truth, the gifts and acquirements which from thee I hold, are permanent, and while my life remains can never forsake me: whereas the acknowledgments which thou reapest from me, thy gardens, seats and rents, are all expos’d to uncertainty and disasters; and however copious and manifold they may appear, there are many instances of favourites, in worthy accomplishments, no wise equal to thee, distinguish’d with larger possessions. I blush to quote freedmen that
 2 “ are

“ are beheld more wealthy than thou: hence too I am
 “ asham’d that thou, who in dearness to me art beyond
 “ all others, dost not yet in fortune surpass all; thy age
 “ moreover still retains soundness and vigour; is still ca-
 “ pable of managing thy revenues with sufficiency, of en-
 “ joying them with pleasure: and for my self; I am but
 “ yet in the dawn of Empire: unless perhaps thou dost
 “ account that my munificence to thee has already exceed-
 “ ed that of CLAUDIUS to his favourite VITELLIUS, a
 “ man distinguish’d with three Consulships: when, in
 “ truth, all the articles of my bounty towards thee, can-
 “ not, tho’ I am Emperor, equal the opulence which
 “ VOLUSIUS, by a long course of parsimony only, has
 “ acquir’d. To all this I add, that, if in any particular,
 “ I deviate, through the giddiness and frailty of my years;
 “ it is thou who dost check and recover me: and, as
 “ thou hast with good education embellish’d my youth;
 “ thou dost still with thy aid and capacity manage and
 “ controul it. It is not with any moderation of thine,
 “ if thou returnest thy wealth, nor with thy recess, if thou
 “ forsakest thy Prince, that the tongues of all men will
 “ be employ’d: no, the treasure return’d will by the uni-
 “ versal cry be ascrib’d to my rapaciousness, and to the
 “ dread of my cruelty, thy retirement. But suppose this
 “ disinterestedness of thine, this heroick temperance, be
 “ really treated with the highest strain of popular praise:
 “ yet surely upon a wise man it will reflect no honour,
 “ that to himself he meditates a harvest of glory from a
 “ proceeding which upon his friend must bring infallible
 “ infamy.” To these hollow words he added kisses and
 embracing; fram’d as he was by nature, and by habit
 nurtur’d, to smother his hate and rancour under subdolous
 courtesy and blandishments. SENECA presented his thanks;
 which is ever the certain issue of every argument with
 one who possesses sovereignty: he chang’d however the
 methods and symptoms of his former power, stopp’d the
 usual conflux of such as attended to pay their court;
 avoided any train of attendance abroad; and his appear-
 ance there was exceeding rare; as if by ill health, or the
 study of philosophy, he were confin’d at home.

AFTER the disgrace of SENECA; to depress the authority of FENIUS RUFUS, became a short task; when the crime charg'd upon him by his enemies, was that of his adherence to AGRIPPINA. TIGELLINUS too wax'd daily more mighty; and as he was perswaded that his mischievous devices, in which alone his whole sufficiency lay, would prove still more agreeable and meritorious, if he could engage the Prince under the ties of a cruel confederacy in acts of blood, he div'd curiously into his secret fears; and having discover'd that PLAUTUS and SYLLA, were the men principally dreaded, and thence both lately remov'd from Italy, the former into Asia, the other into Narbon Gaul, he display'd to NERO, “ the
 “ signal descent and quality of the men, the nearness
 “ of their abode to great armies; PLAUTUS in the neigh-
 “ bourhood of that in the East; SYLLA of that in Ger-
 “ many. For himself; he harbour'd not, like BURRUS,
 “ different hopes and views, but consulted purely the de-
 “ fence and security of the Prince: but tho' his safety at
 “ Rome might be ensur'd, and all conspiracies there obviat-
 “ ed by prompt and temporary measures; yet, by what
 “ measures could remote insurrections be suppress'd, and
 “ revolts in the confines of the Empire? The nations of
 “ Gaul, animated by the dictatorial name of SYLLA, were
 “ already upon the wing for rebellion; nor were the se-
 “ veral people of Asia less suspected of an attachment to
 “ the other, for the illustrious memory and renown of his
 “ grandfather DRUSUS: SYLLA was likewise indigent:
 “ hence an especial incitement to resoluteness and enter-
 “ prize. He feign'd sloth too and indolence; till he spied
 “ an opportunity for some desperate attempt. PLAUTUS
 “ was master of mighty wealth, nor so much as pretended
 “ a fondness for quiet; he even profess'd to admire the
 “ lives and examples of the ancient Romans: nay he had
 “ adopted the sect of the Stoicks, with all their supercili-
 “ ousness and pride; a sect which prompts men to be tur-
 “ bulent, and to chuse a life full of action.” Without
 further deliberation or delay, the murder of both was
 doom'd: SYLLA was by assassins, who in six days ar-
 riv'd express at Marseilles, dispatch'd as he sat down to
 meat, without previous apprehension or tidings. When

his head was presented to NERO, the sight mov'd him to jest and derision, " that from its unseasonable hoariness, " it look'd uncomely."

THE bloody sentence awarded against PLAUTUS was not so successfully conceal'd; for his life was of sensible concernment to many; moreover, from the length of the way and the passing of the sea, so much time interven'd, that publick fame became alarm'd; and amongst the people an imagination prevail'd, that he had fled for sanctuary to CORBULO, who then commanded mighty armies; a man who, if men signal in name and innocence were to be mark'd out for slaughter, stood in the first degree of fear and jeopardy. Nay it was divulg'd with the same credulity, " that all Asia had taken arms to espouse the " defence of the young noblemen; and that, as the sol- " diers dispatch'd to perpetrate the murder, were neither " powerful in their number, nor prompt in their incli- " nations; when they could not execute their orders, " they also had of themselves join'd in the revolt and " espous'd the new cause." These rumours, publish'd by the wild genius of common fame, were readily credited by all the disaffected, and, through hate and disaffection, enlarg'd. For the rest, PLAUTUS had brought to him the counsel and admonitions of LUCIUS ANTISTIVS, his father-in-law, by a freedman of his own, who, speeded by a brisk wind, had out-sail'd the fatal Centurion. The advice imported, " that he should be sure to shun a da- " stardly death; he had yet leisure to escape, and could " not fail of finding from the worthy and generous, com- " passion for a name so noble and distinguish'd: with " himself he must associate the resolute and brave: nor " ought he the while to flight any means of aid. If he " had once repuls'd the sixty soldiers (for so many were " coming to the execution) he might then, while the " tidings were transmitting to NERO; while another band " of men were advancing so vast a way; prosecute a world " of schemes, enough to lay the terrible foundations of a " war: at worst he would either, by such measures, pur- " chase honourable security; at least, after a brave resis- " tance, he had nought more dreadful to suffer, than " suffer he must under a stupid acquiescence."

BUT

BUT these considerations mov'd not PLAUTUS; whether it were that being a persecuted exile and destitute of arms, he foresaw no certain resource; or whether he were weary of perplexity and wavering hopes; or perhaps chiefly influenced by tenderness for his wife and children, to whom he imagin'd the Prince would prove the more reconcilable, when he found himself no wise incens'd by any insurrection or alarms. There are those who relate, that the advices he receiv'd from his father-in-law were of a different strain, importing as if nothing sanguinary or capital threaten'd him. They add, "that two Philosophers, CERANUS a Greek, and MUSONIUS a Tuscan, had exhorted him to wait his death with unshaken intrepidity, as by it he would be disburden'd of a life fraught with uncertainty and fears." Certain it is, the assassins found him in the middle of the day, naked and applying himself to the usual exercises of his body. In this situation the Centurion butcher'd him, in the sight of PELAGO the Eunuch, who was by NERO set over the Centurion and his band, like the Royal minister of some tyrant, trusted with the command of his body-guards, and instruments of blood. The head of the slain was carried to Rome and shew'd to the Emperor: what he said when he saw it, I shall repeat in his very words, "what is it, cried he, that withstands NERO, that he may not now discard all fear and instantly set about solemnizing his nuptials with POPPEA; a solemnity hitherto deferr'd because of the terrors arising from such men as this? what withstands him, that he may not instantly divorce OCTAVIA his wife, one easy, in truth, and modest in her conduct, but still, from the awful name of her Imperial father, from the ardent zeal of the people towards her, an insupportable burden and eye-fore." To the Senate he sent letters; but in them own'd nothing of the assassination of SYLLA and PLAUTUS; yet alledg'd, that both were turbulent and seditious spirits, and what vehement sollicitude and vigilance it cost him to preserve the peace and stability of the Commonwealth. Hence publick processions and devotions were decreed to the Deities, and SYLLA and PLAUTUS degraded from the dignity of Senators. Strange mockery and insult;

fult; more keen and provoking to the publick, than its more substantial calamities.

NERO therefore having receiv'd the decree of Senate, and once perceiving that all his bloody wickedness and cruelties, pass'd for so many laudable feats of renown, thrust OCTAVIA forthwith from his bed, alledging, "that she was barren," and then espous'd POPPEA. This woman who had been long the concubine of NERO, and both as her adulterer and her husband, ever rul'd him implicitly, suborn'd a domestick of OCTAVIA's, to accuse her of criminal amours with a slave: for this end EUCERUS the musician, a native of ALEXANDRIA, and one who excell'd upon the flute, was impleaded as her gallant: hence her maids were examin'd upon the rack; and, tho' some of them, overcome by the exquisite fury of the torture, favour'd the perfidious forgery, the major part persever'd to vindicate the unspotted sanctimony of their Lady: amongst these was one, who, while TIGELLINUS was vehemently urging a confession, return'd him for answer, "that the parts of OCTAVIA, which denoted her a woman, were purer than his mouth." The result however was her removal from the palace and her husband, under the mock-judgment of a legal divorcement: for her appenage, she was presented with the house of BURRUS, and with the possessions of PLAUTUS; both black and ill-boding donations: she was thereafter banish'd into Campania, and over her a guard of soldiers placed. From this cruel treatment of hers, there arose amongst the populace many mournful and incessant complaints, and by them no wise smother'd or disguis'd, as they are govern'd by a lower measure of prudence and circumspection; and, from the mediocrity of their lot, expos'd to fewer perils. Whether, by these daring resentments of the people, NERO was alarm'd, or chiefly moved by the inward confusion he felt for such black iniquity, he recall'd OCTAVIA his wife.

AN event this which fill'd the people with joy: in exultations they ascended the Capitol, and now at last found occasion to accost the Deities with adoration and thanksgiving: the statues of POPPEA they wrathfully overthrew; but upon their shoulders fondly bore the images of oc-

TAVIA, bedeck'd them with fresh flowers, placed them in the great Forum and in the several Temples. Into a sudden strain they also burst, of echoing the praises of the Prince, and became zealous to offer him in person their veneration and vows: already they were filling the palace with their multitude and acclamations, when suddenly some bands of the guards issu'd out upon them, and assailing them with blows, and threatening them with slaughter, repuls'd and utterly dispers'd them: the disorders too committed during the tumult, were repair'd; to POPPEA her violated honour publicly restor'd, and her statues replaced: but she, who had been ever implacable in her hate, was now become yet more implacable through fear; lest either the fury of the populace should wax into outrages still more terrible, or NERO be brought to change with the bent and inclination of the people: she therefore fell prostrate at his knees, and said, " her affairs were
 " no longer in a situation to encourage her competition
 " for the glory of his marriage, tho' dearer to her than
 " life was that glory: her life it self was involv'd in ex-
 " tremity of danger by the followers and slaves of oc-
 " TAVIA; a desperate rabble who had assum'd the name
 " of the people, and, in the midst of peace, committed
 " such violences as were scarce produced by war. But
 " against the Prince it was that these arms were wielded;
 " nor was ought wanting but a leader; a want which,
 " when commotions were once rais'd, was ever easy to
 " be supplied. OCTAVIA had no more to do, but to
 " relinquish Campania and advance to Rome it self; she
 " at whose nod even in her absence faction could be in-
 " flam'd, insurrections excited: for her own particular;
 " with what guilt, with what transgression was she charge-
 " able? in what instance had she hurt or offended any
 " individual? was she from hence obnoxious, that to the
 " house of the CESARS she would yield a genuine issue;
 " when perhaps the Roman people rather affected to see
 " a supposititious offspring, that of an Egyptian minstrel,
 " adopted into the sublime heirship of the Imperial dig-
 " nity? in a word; if this were the expedient best suit-
 " ing with the exigency of things, he ought to call home
 " his Lady rather through choice than compulsion; or
 " else

“ else to consult the security of himself and the state
 “ by a different method, that of just vengeance. It was
 “ true the first tumult was already dissipated by small
 “ force and moderate remedies: but, if once the people
 “ came utterly to lose all hopes that OCTAVIA was ever
 “ again to be the wife of NERO, they themselves would
 “ not fail of giving a proper husband to OCTAVIA the
 “ heirs of the Empire.”

THIS discourse, thus artfully mixt and fram'd to produce both terror and wrath, had its effect upon NERO; and while he listen'd to it, at once frighten'd and enrag'd him: but little had avail'd the fiction of OCTAVIA's intrigue with her slaves; a fiction which was quite defeated by the testimony of her maids upon the rack. It was therefore agreed to procure some one who should own himself guilty with her, one against whom might be also feign'd a plausible charge of meditating a revolution in the state; and a proper man was ANICETUS judg'd for this vile purpose; the same who had accomplish'd the murder of his mother, and, as I have related, commanded the fleet at Misenum; a man held by the Emperor, just after that bloody service, in some slight favour, and thenceforth in heavier detestation: for Princes ever behold the ministers of their cruelties and iniquity, as men whose looks wound their guilty souls with incessant stings and reproaches. Him therefore NERO summon'd; and reminding him of his former meritorious exploit, “ thou
 “ alone, said he, didst protect and relieve me from the
 “ black conspiracies of a mother: an opportunity of doing me service of no less merit at present invites thee;
 “ if thou canst but discharge me effectually of an irksome and disaffected wife: nor in this task needest thou
 “ either strength or weapon: thou art only to acknowledge that with OCTAVIA thou hast been engag'd in
 “ adultery.” For this service NERO promis'd him “ rewards of mighty value, tho' at first it was necessary,
 “ he said, they should continue private and unknown;
 “ as also, upon his mock condemnation, lovely and delectable places of retirement; but, in case of refusal,
 “ threaten'd him with death.” ANICETUS prompted by the native bent of his own frantick spirit, and by the protection

tection and impunity which had follow'd all his crying enormities past; carried his fictions even beyond orders, and communicated, as secrets, all his fictions to his friends: a set of men whom the Prince had placed about him, as it were to aid him by their counsels in his designs. Then, as one convicted by his own confession, he was exil'd into Sardinia, where he underwent a sort of banishment in truth, but one far from necessitous or miserable, and died at last by the lot of nature.

NOW NERO issued an edict and in it publish'd, "that OCTAVIA in hopes of engaging the fleet in her conspiracy; had thence corrupted ANICETUS the admiral:" and forgetting that he had but just before accus'd her of barrenness, he added, "that in guilt and consciousness of her secret lusts, she had always defeated her pregnancy and forced abortion: and that all these her crimes were by him fully detected." Thus he commanded her to be shut up in an island, that of Pandateria.

NEVER was there any exile who fill'd the hearts of the beholders with more affecting compassion: some there were who still remember'd to have seen AGRIPPINA doom'd to the like fate: the more recent sufferings of JULIA were likewise recall'd to mind; two illustrious exiles, the first banish'd by TIBERIUS, the other by CLAUDIUS: but these Ladies had arriv'd at strength and maturity of years: they had gone through some seasons of felicity, tasted some share of delight; and, by reviewing a happier fortune by them once enjoy'd, their pangs, from instant cruelty, were abated. To OCTAVIA the first day of her nuptials serv'd for a funeral day: she was brought under a roof where she had nothing to encounter but what must prove dismal and sad; a roof under which she had seen her unhappy father snatch'd away by poison, and instantly afterwards her little innocent brother by the same cruel means: next, tho' a wife, she was subjected to the ascendancy of a slave: then her husband espous'd POPPEA, a marriage which could threaten nothing less than capital destruction to his legitimate wife: lastly she suffer'd the imputation of a crime more barbarous and piercing than any the most inhuman destruction whatsoever. Add to all this, a tender girl, in the twentieth year of her age,

terribly

terribly encompass'd with an arm'd host of soldiers and Centurions, and already bereft of life, through the apprehension and sad presages of impending evils, and yet not hitherto surrender'd to the quiet rest of death.

AND now after the interval of a few days, she was formally doom'd to die; tho' to prevent it, she descended to alledge, "that she own'd her self in a state of widowhood, and claim'd no other prerogative than of being only the Emperor's sister. She pleaded their common ties of blood, their common ancestors; the Princes of their house, who bore the dear and favourite name of *Germanicus*:" at length she even invoc'd the name of AGRIPPINA; she said, "that had AGRIPPINA liv'd, she should, in truth, with such a mother-in-law, have endur'd a lot of wedlock sufficiently unhappy, but still such a one as would never have ended in a bloody doom." Forthwith she was tied down with bonds, and the veins over all her limbs were open'd: but, as her blood was chill'd through fear and issued slowly, the execution was completed by stifling her in the steam of a boiling bath. This cruelty was follow'd by another yet more crying and brutal: her head being cut off and carried to Rome, POPPEA chose to entertain her self with the tragical spectacle. For this execution, as for some notable deliverance, the Senate pompously decreed gifts and oblations to the Temples: a circumstance which I insert with design that whoever shall, from me or any other Writer, learn the story and events of those calamitous times, may hold it for granted, that as often as ever sentences of cruelty were pronounc'd by the Prince, as often as murders and banishments were by him commanded; so often, for certain, were acknowledgments and thanksgivings, by authority of the fathers, paid to the Deities: and the very same ordinances and festivals, which of old were monuments of publick prosperity and glorious exploits, serv'd now for monuments of publick havock and ruin. And yet, I shall not fail to recount every decree of Senate, which either prov'd a new flight of flattery, or only the dregs of excessive tameness and servitude.

THIS year was fatal to DORYPHORUS and PALLAS, two Imperial freedmen of most conspicuous note; both
 5 I believ'd

believ'd to have perish'd by poison administer'd by order of NERO; the former, as if he were guilty of thwarting the marriage with POPPEA; and PALLAS, for that he protracted his old age too long, and thence detain'd from the Emperor's possession his inestimable wealth. Upon SENECA too an attempt had been made; and against him ROMANUS had secretly labour'd a charge of being a close associate with CAIUS PISO; but was himself encounter'd by SENECA with more vigour for the same crime. Hence a source of much dread to PISO; and against NERO there arose a conspiracy, mighty, in truth, and menacing, but altogether abortive and unprosperous.

FIFTEENTH ANNAL.

DURING these domestick transactions, VOLOGESES King of the Parthians, having learnt the exploits done and regulations made by CORBULO; that TIGRANES, an alien born, was by him establish'd King of Armenia, a throne too from which his own brother TRIDATES had been ignominiously expuls'd; became earnest to revenge the affront and despite thrown upon the Monarchy of the Arsacides: but revolving again upon the mighty power of the Romans, and aw'd with reverence for the continued league subsisting between the two Empires; he was perplex'd and divided between different and interfering passions: for, he was a Prince by nature addicted to procrastination and wavering, and then particularly, retarded by the revolt of the Hyrcanians, (a potent and brave nation) and by the long series of wars that follow'd it. In this suspense and irresolution, he was rous'd by the tidings of a fresh contumely and insult, for that TIGRANES having pass'd the limits of Armenia, had wast-ed the territories of the Adiabeniens, a bordering people, with more lasting and extensive spoil than by robbers was wont to be committed: an outrage this which the chiefs of these nations underwent with painful regret, “ that they were sunk into such abject scorn, as to be “ invaded and over-run, not in truth by the prowess of “ any Roman leader, but by the insolent arms of one “ who

“ who had been an hostage to Rome, and there kept
 “ for so many years amongst his fellow slaves.” The an-
 guish of VOLOGESES was inflam’d by the discourse of
 MONOBAZUS, in whose hands lay the government of the
 Adiabeni-ans, and who us’d to ask him, “ what military
 “ succours were there to secure them, and from what
 “ quarter to be fought? The fate of Armenia was already
 “ determin’d, nay the adjacent regions were about to be
 “ swallow’d up; and unless they were defended by the
 “ Parthians, they themselves would soon confider, that
 “ bondage from the Romans prov’d always much lighter
 “ to such as submitted to mercy, than to those who staid
 “ to be subdu’d.” TIRIDATES too, who was a fugitive
 from his Kingdom, affected VOLOGESES yet more grie-
 vously, whether he beheld the silent distress of his bro-
 ther, or heard his respectful complainings. For, the de-
 priv’d Prince was wont to alledge, “ that mighty Empires
 “ were not to be sustain’d by sloth and inaction; but
 “ the vigour and efforts of men and arms were frequent-
 “ ly to be exerted: in sovereign fortune, those measures
 “ were ever most righteous, which prov’d most potent
 “ and successful. To those only in a private station be-
 “ long’d the narrow domestick ambition of preserving
 “ their own: but a bold struggle to master the possessions
 “ of others, was matter of renown truly monarchical.”

VOLOGESES, therefore, stimulated by all these confi-
 derations, assembled a council, and placing TIRIDATES
 next to himself, began thus: “ this Prince, begotten by
 “ the same father with my self, I invested with the pos-
 “ session of Armenia; since to me, in regard of primo-
 “ geniture, it was his lot to yield the sovereignty of Par-
 “ thia; and by wearing the Armenian diadem, he be-
 “ came what we account the third sovereign of our blood:
 “ for PACORUS already occupied the realm of Media:
 “ by this means, I seem’d to have happily settled our fa-
 “ mily, and provided against the ancient hate and com-
 “ petition of brothers. This is what the Romans impe-
 “ riously thwart; and tho’ they never infring’d the peace
 “ between them and us with any measure of felicity to
 “ themselves, they now again openly break it, doubtless
 “ to their own bane and confusion. I am far from de-
 “ nying

“ nying that much rather by the voice of justice than
 “ the effusion of blood, much rather by arguments than
 “ arms, would I chuse to preserve the acquisition of my
 “ ancestors. If, in my past procrastination I have been
 “ blameable, by my future prowess I will make ample
 “ atonement. For your part your glory is perfectly un-
 “ fullied, your vigour undiminished; and to this praise
 “ you have added another, that of moderation so long
 “ tried; a virtue which ought never to be slighted even
 “ by the most elevated amongst men, and is in truth by
 “ the Gods themselves held in high estimation.” As soon
 as he had thus spoke, upon the head of TIRIDATES
 he set the Royal diadem, to MONESES a noble Parthian,
 he deliver’d a complete band of stout horse, which ac-
 cording to the custom of Monarchy, always attended the
 person of the King; to these he added a body of auxi-
 liary Adiabeniens: and commanded that General, “ to
 “ exterminate TIGRANES from Armenia.” He purpos’d
 himself the while to drop his contest with the Hyrcani-
 ans, to amass all his forces in the heart of PARTHIA, and
 reserving to his own conduct the main bulk and stress of
 the war, to advance with a terrible host, and threaten
 a descent into the Roman provinces.

CORBULO, as soon as by certain intelligence he had
 learnt all these proceedings, sent two Legions to succour
 TIGRANES, under the command of VERULANUS SEVE-
 RUS and VETTIUS BOLANUS, with secret injunctions,
 “ that they should act rather with studied deliberation,
 “ than with eagerness and dispatch.” The truth was,
 CORBULO aim’d more at keeping a war on foot, than
 pushing it to a conclusion: besides, he had written to
 NERO, “ that, in order to defend Armenia, another and
 “ distinct General was necessary; for that Syria, now
 “ threaten’d with a terrible tempest from VOLOGESES,
 “ was thence expos’d to more vehement danger.” In the
 mean while he dispos’d the remaining Legions along the
 banks of the Euphrates; he suddenly rais’d a body of
 militia out of the natives of the province; at all the pas-
 ses he posted guards, to obstruct the inroads of the enemy:
 and, because that region is scanty of water, over the sever-
 al fountains forts were erected; and some springs he shut
 up with hills of sand.

While CORBULO was thus busied in measures for the securing of Syria; MONESSES advanc'd towards Armenia, with rapid marches, as by them he meant to out-run the report of his coming: but with all his rapidity, he found TIGRANES neither void of intelligence, nor in a negligent situation; for that Prince had possess'd himself of Tigranocerta, a city of great strength in the multitude of its defenders, and from the mightiness of its walls: to these advantages add, that the Nicephorus, a river of no small breadth, environ'd great part of the wall, and round the rest, where the defence of the river was not trusted, a vast trench was drawn: within it too was a garrison of soldiers, and stores of provision before laid up. In bringing in these provisions some few of the soldiers, having out of greediness straggled too far, fell into the hands of the swift and unexpected foe; but by this mishap of theirs, the minds of all the rest became fill'd with resentment and animosity, rather than with dismay or fear. Neither have the Parthians any bravery to venture a close attack upon a place besieg'd: it was but a few scattering arrows that they shot, nor thence at all dismay'd or repuls'd the besieg'd, but only baffled themselves. The Adiabeniensians indeed, with ladders and engines of battery, began to approach the walls; but were easily driven back, and by an immediate sally of our men, put to the slaughter.

CORBULO however, tho' all his proceedings prosper'd, judging it wisdom to moderate the career of his good fortune, dispatch'd Embassadors to VOLOGESES to expostulate with him upon his hostile conduct, "that, with violence and war, he had fallen upon a Roman Province; that his forces besieg'd a King who was a friend and confederate of Rome, nay besieg'd the Roman Cohorts themselves;" and to warn him, "that either he must abandon the siege, or CORBULO too would instantly march and encamp upon the territories of the enemy." CASPERIUS the Centurion, who was delegated to execute this embassy, reach'd the King at the city of Nisibis, thirty seven miles distant from Tigranocerta, and there deliver'd his message with great sternness and defiance. It was in truth long since the politick drift of VOLO-

GESES and thoroughly riveted in his heart, to avoid by all means engaging with the arms of Rome: neither did his present enterprizes advance with any measure of success: fruitless and vain had been the siege of Tigranocerta: TIGRANES sat secure and strong in men and provisions: they who had undertaken to storm the walls, were utterly routed: two Legions were sent to the relief of Armenia: the remaining Legions cover'd Syria, nay stood ready for an offensive war, and to invade the dominions of Parthia: his whole cavalry, through scarcity of forage, were miserably enfeebled; for such an infinite flight of locusts had fallen as utterly devour'd the whole crop of earth and every green thing. These considerations humbled VOLOGESES; he however smother'd all symptoms of dread, and assuming a guise of tenderness and moderation, return'd for answer, "that he would send Embassadors to Rome, to sue to CESAR for a concession of the Kingdom of Armenia; and to corroborate the peace between them." Instantly he commanded MONESES to relinquish the siege of Tigranocerta; and departed himself homewards again.

THESE quick changes were by many extoll'd, as "events altogether honourable, purely achiev'd by the menaces of CORBULO and the dismay of the King." Others explain'd the whole "into a secret compact between them; in order that the war being dropp'd on both sides, and VOLOGESES withdrawing from Armenia, TIGRANES too should depart that Kingdom: upon what motives else was the Roman army led out of Tigranocerta? Why, in a time of inaction, were those places abandon'd, which during war were strenuously defended? Had the troops found, in the remotest parts of Cappadocia, more commodious winter quarters, under poor huts suddenly rais'd, than in the capital of a Kingdom just before carefully kept and protected? Without all doubt, the war was therefore suspended, that upon some other Commander than CORBULO the lot might fall of meeting VOLOGESES in the field: nor to any new risks would CORBULO expose that renown and glory which for so many long years he had been acquiring." For, as I have already observ'd, he had demanded that a
distinct

distinct General should be sent for the particular defence of Armenia, and heard that CESENNIUS PETUS was approaching with that character: CESENNIUS was, in truth, already arriv'd, and between the two Generals the forces were so divided, that under the command of PETUS were to remain the fourth Legion and the twelfth, to which was added the fifth, lately call'd thither from Media, as also the auxiliaries from Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia: with CORBULO were to continue the third, sixth, and tenth Legions, and what forces formerly belong'd to Syria: all other particulars they were to possess in common, or to share, just as exigencies occur'd, and the publick service required. But, as CORBULO could not bear the thoughts of a competitor; so PETUS, to whom it was doubtless abundant glory, if in merit he were reckon'd the second, disparag'd all the achievements of CORBULO: he affirm'd, " that, in all his exploits, nothing of hostile blood was spill'd, nothing of spoil was taken; and all the boasted praise of mastering and assaulding cities, was merely nominal and assum'd. For himself, he would upon the vanquish'd impose tribute and laws; and, instead of the present shadow of a King, subject them at once to the jurisdiction of Rome."

At this very juncture, the Embassadors of VOLOGESES, the same, whom I have mentioned to have been sent to the Prince, return'd unsuccessful: hence the Parthians proceeded to open war; nor did PETUS decline it; but, with two Legions, the fourth and twelfth, the former then commanded by FAMISULANUS VECTONIANUS, the other by CALVISIUS SABINUS, he enter'd Armenia, and a sad presage accompanied his entrance; for, in passing over the Euphrates, which he cross'd upon a bridge, the horse which carried the Consular ornaments, became frighten'd without any apparent cause, and starting back again, got clear away: moreover, as they were fortifying their quarters against winter, a victim which stood by the works, before the same were above half finish'd, broke violently through, leap'd quite over the pale, and fled. The javelins too of our men blaz'd with spontaneous fire; a prodigy which appear'd the more signal, for that, with javelins and such weapons mislike their enemies the Parthians always fight.

BUT

BUT all these omens were contemn'd by PETUS; who, e'er his winter encampment was yet sufficiently fortified, without preparing any the least magazin of grain, hurried the army over the mountain Taurus, "to recover, as he said, the city of Tigranocerta; and lay waste the several regions which CORBULO had wholly spar'd." And it is true that he took certain castles; somewhat of glory too he won, and somewhat of plunder, if he had either possess'd his glory with moderation, or his plunder with care. But while he spent long travel and tedious marches, in over-running countries which could not possibly be held; what provisions he had pillag'd, became corrupted and spoil'd, and the winter was just overtaking him; so that he led back the army to their quarters. There he compos'd letters to NERO, in big and pompous words, as if the war had been already concluded; but as to prowess and available performances, his letters were empty and vain.

CORBULO the while sat down himself upon the banks of the Euphrates; a station which he had never neglected: he now particularly multiply'd the guards which defended it. And, that the enemy's troops, who with great ostentation and numbers were prancing over the opposite plains, might create no obstruction to his laying a bridge over the river, he fasten'd together with great beams, certain vessels of vast bulk: upon them he rear'd large towers; and steering this arm'd float to and fro upon the stream, did thence with engines of battery annoy and dissipate the Barbarians; upon whom by this means were pour'd volleys of stones and darts, at a greater distance than could be equall'd by the flight of arrows by them return'd. Thereafter, the bridge was extended quite over; the opposite hills were immediately possess'd by our social Cohorts, and upon them next the Legions pitch'd their camp: all which was executed with such celerity, and such a formidable display of forces, that the Parthians intirely abandon'd the dispositions they had made for invading Syria, and turn'd all their hopes and efforts towards Armenia.

THERE abode PETUS in such utter ignorance of the impending tempest, that he still kept the fifth Legion at

so great a distance as Pontus; and had weaken'd the rest, by allowing the soldiers, in large and unstinted numbers, leave to be absent. In this situation he receiv'd the news, that VOLOGESES advanc'd with an host mighty in number, and breathing terror and vengeance. Forthwith he call'd to him the twelfth Legion: but this very thing, from whence he hop'd the reputation of having augmented his army, betray'd their diminution and thinness: yet thin as they were, they might have maintain'd their camp, and by protracting the war, have baffled all the efforts of the Parthians; if in the spirit of PETUS there had been any firmness, either in adhering to his own counsel, or to the counsels of others. But whenever by the able advice of officers experienc'd in war, he was at times confirm'd in measures of security against his pressing dangers, he was sure to fall off; and that he might not seem to want the judgment and decision of any man, laps'd into courses which were different and always worse. At this very juncture he willfully departed out of the entrenchments which enclos'd their winter quarters, and uttering brave words, "that, in order to repulse the foe, to him
 " was committed neither ditch nor pale, but the bodies
 " and arms of men;" he led forth the Legions, like one who would needs encounter the Parthians in battle. But having, as he march'd, lost a Centurion and a few private men, whom he had sent forward to view the enemy's forces, he return'd to his camp in great haste and affright: yet seeing VOLOGESES had pursu'd his advantage with no remarkable ardour, PETUS became once more infatuated with vain confidence, and upon the next summit of mount Taurus placed three thousand select infantry, to repulse the King from passing it: he likewise committed a particular part of the plain to the troops of Pannonia, which were the strength of his cavalry. His wife and son he shut up in a castle named Arsamosata, and for garrisoning the castle, gave them a band of five hundred men. With such temerity did he separate and disperse his army; who, had they been in a body, might with more spirit and vigour have sustain'd the shock of a roving and inconstant enemy: nay, it is said, that he was with great difficulty induced to transmit to CORBULO

any account of the enemy's terrible approach, and of his own distress. Neither did CORBULO, upon the news, make much dispatch, that the more the danger encreas'd, the greater praise he might reap from bringing relief. He gave orders however to make ready a body of succours consisting of three thousand Legionary soldiers (one from each of the three Legions) of eight hundred horse, and an equal number of foot detach'd from the Cohorts.

For VOLOGESES; tho' he was advis'd, that PETUS beset the roads on every hand, here with his infantry, there with his horse; yet he no wise varied his design or his march, but, with a violent onset and ostentation of terrors, quite dismay'd and drove away the Pannonian troops; the Legionary foot posted upon Taurus he utterly overthrew; and found resistance from one Centurion only; namely, TARQUITIUS CRESCENS, who had the singular bravery to defend a tower, in which he kept garrison: he even made frequent sallies, and such of the Barbarians who ventured to approach he slew, till at last he was assaulted and overwhelm'd by volleys of flaming matter: such of the infantry as escap'd unhurt, betook themselves to wild and remote deserts; and the wounded recover'd the camp: there they publish'd "the signal bravery
" of the Parthian King, the multitudes and barbarity of
" the several nations his followers;" and, through the impulse and persuasion of their own fears, magnified excessively whatever inspir'd them: all which was swallow'd with ready credulity by the rest, who were themselves possess'd with the same terrors. Nor in truth did the General make any efforts to repel this torrent of adversity: he had already deserted all the duties of a Captain and every function of war, and again dispatch'd more entreaties to CORBULO, "to come with speed and save the
" Roman Ensigns, and Eagles; to save the name and re-
" mains of an unhappy army, who with himself their
" leader, would while their lives remain'd, honour their
" deliverer with perfect faith and gratitude."

CORBULO was no wise daunted; but, leaving part of his forces in Syria to maintain the posts which he had fortified upon the Euphrates; began the shortest rout, where no hazard was incurr'd of lacking provisions; first through

Comagena, then through Cappadocia, and thence into Armenia. There accompanied his army, besides other implements usual in war, a huge train of camels loaded with grain, that he might be able to relieve the distress'd camp effectually, and repel famine as well as the foe. The first that he met of those who were routed, was PACTIUS a Centurion of principal rank: after him came several common soldiers, who, while they strove to cover the shame of their flight, each by a different excuse, were by CORBULO admonish'd, "to return to their colours, and try the mercy of PETUS: for his particular, he own'd himself implacable to all who in battle came not off victorious." At the same time he address'd himself to his own Legions, from rank to rank, persuading, exhorting and admonishing: he reminded them of their exploits and victories past, and to their present view exhibited a fresh harvest of glory: since "it was not the villages and cities of the Armenians that they were now in pursuit of, as the recompence of their meritorious labours: they were pursuing a prize more noble, even the saving of the Roman Camp, and in it two Roman Legions: if every private soldier was, for saving in battle the single life of a citizen, to be distinguish'd with the lustre of a Civick Crown publicly presented by the hand of his General; how much more signal and extensive must be the renown, when the lives preserv'd, and they who preserve them, were thus equally numerous?" By these and the like stimulations, they became fir'd with alacrity for the common cause; besides, that there were those who were prompted by personal incitements, by the distresses and dangers in which their brothers, or their companions and kinsmen, were involv'd: so that from this warm zeal they sped their march night and day, without intermission.

HENCE the more vehemently did VOLOGESES press the besieg'd; now assailing the entrenchment of the Legions, then the castle in which were guarded those who from the tenderness of their sex and years were unfit for the roughness and toils of war; and push'd these his assaults much more closely than was usual to the Parthians; in hopes by such design'd temerity to tempt out the enemy to

to a battle. But they, with all these insults, could scarce be dragg'd out of their tents: at most, they only endeavour'd to maintain their works; part of them in this, submitting to the orders and restrictions of their General, and others resign'd to their own cowardice; as men who stupidly waited for deliverance from CORBULO: or if the power of the assailants in the mean while prevail'd, they had already provided themselves with examples to follow, namely, the behaviour of two old Roman armies overthrown, one at Caudium in Italy, the other at Numantium in Spain: "for that, neither were the Samnites (a single
 " Italian state) nor were the Spaniards, either of them
 " masters of forces comparable to those of the Parthians,
 " a mighty Empire, rival with that of Rome! nay those
 " same venerable ancients, so very brave and stubborn,
 " and so much extoll'd, as often as fortune forsook them,
 " were ever supple enough to consult self preservation." By the temper of the army, thus abandon'd to despair, the General was constrain'd to write to VOLOGESES: yet, the first letter he sent contain'd nothing of supplicancy or abasement, but was conceiv'd in a strain of expostulation and complaint, "that for the Kingdom of Armenia he
 " should thus exercise the violences of enmity and war,
 " a country ever subject to the Roman jurisdiction, or to
 " a King appointed by the Emperor of Rome. Peace
 " was in truth alike advantageous to the Parthians and
 " to the Romans: neither ought he to view only the
 " present situation of things; but remember that against
 " two Legions he was come at the head of the whole
 " power of his Kingdom, while to the Romans remain'd,
 " for the support of the war, all the rest of the globe."

VOLOGESES, without entering at all into the merit of the war; in answer to the representation, wrote back, "that he must wait the coming of his brothers, PARCORUS and TIRIDATES: to them was reserv'd the appointment of a place and time for adjusting such measures concerning Armenia, as became their own high
 " character, and the grandeur of the Arsacides; at the same
 " time too, they would determine how to deal with the
 " Roman Legions." PETUS again dispatch'd a message, and desir'd a conference with the King; who, in his own

stead,

stead, deputed VASACES, his General of horse. At this interview PETUS urg'd examples, and represented "such
 " Roman Captains as LUCULLUS and POMPEY, and since
 " some of the Cæsars, acquiring and bestowing the Realm
 " of Armenia." VASACES alledg'd, "that indeed the
 " name and shadow of holding and conferring it, rested
 " in us Romans; but in the Parthians the essential power."
 After much mutual contestation, MONOBAZUS the Adia-
 benian was the next day join'd with them, as a witness to
 their stipulations: and it was between them agreed, "that
 " the Legions should be releas'd from the leguer; all the
 " Roman troops utterly depart the territories of Armenia;
 " all their fortresses and stores be deliver'd up to the
 " Parthians; and after complete performance of these
 " concessions, VOLOGESES should have free privilege to
 " send Embassadors to NERO."

IN the mean time, PETUS laid a bridge over the river
 Arsanias, which flow'd along his camp; under pretext of
 his preparing to march off that way: but it was, in reality,
 a work enjoin'd him by the Parthians, as a monument
 and confession of their victory; for to them only it was
 of use: our men took a different rout. All this disgrace
 was heighten'd by publick rumour, which added, that
 "the Legions had pass'd like captives under a yoke in
 "form of a gallows;" with many other disastrous circum-
 stances, such as are wont to accompany distress. And it
 is true, that of such ignominious treatment some semblance
 was administer'd by the insulting behaviour of the Arme-
 nians; who, before the Roman army was yet discamp'd,
 enter'd their works, beset all the avenues and thorough-
 fares, singled out their own captive slaves, distinguish'd
 their lost beasts, and rescu'd both: they even stripp'd the
 Romans of their clothes, even seiz'd their arms; while
 the poor soldiers only trembled and deliver'd, to cut
 off all provocation and excuse of involving them in a
 battle. VOLOGESES rais'd a pompous heap of all the
 arms and bodies of the slain, by it to manifest our over-
 throw; but forbore beholding the scandalous flight of the
 Legions: from hence he aim'd at acquiring the applause
 of moderation, when he had just before glutted his pride.
 He pass'd the river Arsanias mounted upon an elephant;

as did all that were near the King in blood or favour, by the vigour of their horses. For, a report had spread that the bridge, by the fraud of the builders, would certainly sink under any considerable pressure: tho' they who ventur'd over it, experienced it to be a strong and faithful fabrick.

FOR the rest; it was notorious that the beleguer'd army were to the last provided with such abundant supplies of grain, that they even set fire to their store-houses. And it was by CORBULO recounted, " that the Parthians, " on the contrary, were so destitute of provisions, and " their forage so entirely consum'd, that they were about to " have forsaken the leguer; neither was he himself above " three days march distant with his forces." He even added, " that PETUS covenanted, under the tie of an oath " solemnly taken under the sacred Eagles, in the pre- " sence of those whom the King had sent to witness it; " that no Roman should enter Armenia till by the arrival " of letters from NERO, it were known whether he consent- " ed to the peace." But tho' such imputations as these were to pass only for infamy aggravated, yet the subsequent conduct of PETUS and his army is liable to no ambiguity; that in one day they travell'd the space of forty miles; that the wounded were every where dropp'd and forsaken, and that no less infamous was the flight and dismay of those fugitives, than if they had turn'd their backs and run in the day of battle. Upon the banks of the Euphrates CORBULO with his forces met them; but without such a display of flying colours and glittering arms as might seem to upbraid their different and melancholy plight. Sorrowful were his several bands, and in tender commiseration for the heavy lot of their fellow soldiers, could not refrain a flood of tears: scarce were they able to exchange their salutations for weeping: all competition about superiour bravery and exploits was vanish'd, as well as all unfociable ambition of glory; the passions these of happy and prosperous men! compassion only prevail'd, and the lower the men the stronger their compassion.

BETWEEN the two leaders there follow'd a brief conference, CORBULO lamenting, " that so much travel had " been

“ been fruitlessly bestow’d, and defeated; when the war
 “ might have been finish’d with the utter flight of the
 “ Parthians.” The other replied, “ that the affairs of
 “ Armenia remain’d perfectly as they were. Let us, said
 “ he, turn about our Eagles and invade it in concert;
 “ enfeebled as it is by the departure of VOLOGESES.”
 CORBULO alledg’d, “ that from the Emperor he had no
 “ such orders: he had already pass’d out of his Province,
 “ from no other inducement than to deliver the distress’d
 “ Legions; and as it was altogether uncertain where the
 “ next efforts of the Parthians would fall, he would
 “ retire back into Syria: and even thus they had cause
 “ to invoke the Deity of happy fortune, that the foot
 “ which were so miserably spent with great marches, might
 “ be able to come up with the Parthians horse, which
 “ were altogether fresh and untir’d, and in travelling easily
 “ over those smooth plains, were sure to out-march them.”

PETUS therefore withdrew to Cappadocia, and there winter’d. But to CORBULO a message arriv’d from VOLOGESES, “ to withdraw his several garrisons from beyond
 “ the Euphrates, and let the river remain as formerly the
 “ common boundary.” CORBULO too insisted, “ that
 “ all the Parthian garrisons should evacuate Armenia.”
 And at last the King complied. Moreover, all the fortifications rais’d by CORBULO on the other side Euphrates, were demolish’d; and by both the King and CORBULO the Armenians were left to their own disposal and controulment.

BUT, at Rome the while, they were erecting trophies of victory over the Parthians, and raising triumphal arches upon the mount of the Capitol: solemnities decreed by the Senate while the war was yet in its height, nor even now discontinued, as popular shew and empty appearances were only studied, in defiance of conviction and fact. Nay NERO, in order to disguise effectually all sollicitude from affairs abroad, order’d the stores of grain, which from time to time was distributed amongst the populace, but now corrupted with staleness and keeping, to be thrown into the Tiber; in ostentation of the publick security and plenty of provisions: it is certain their price became nothing rais’d, notwithstanding that almost two hundred
 vessels

vessels thus loaded, were by a violent storm sunk in the very harbour; and a hundred more already arriv'd in the Tiber, were consum'd by an accidental fire. Thereafter he committed the direction of the publick revenue to three Senators of Consular dignity, LUCIUS PISO, DUCENNIUS GEMINUS, and POMPEIUS PAULLINUS; inveighing against the Princes his ancestors, "for that, through
 " the profuseness of their expence and disbursements, they
 " had exceeded their annual receipts: whereas by himself
 " the Commonwealth was yearly presented with more than
 " a million of crowns."

THERE prevail'd in those days a pestilent abuse, practis'd by men ambitious and childless; who, whenever the election of Magistrates, or the allotment of Provinces, was at hand, provided themselves with sons by fraudulent adoptions: then when in common with real fathers they had obtain'd Pretorships and provincial Governments, they instantly dismiss'd such as they had occasionally adopted. Hence those who were genuine fathers, betook themselves with mighty indignation to the Senate: there they represented their own "inherent right from nature; their many toils
 " and paternal cares bestow'd in education and rearing,
 " in opposition to the fraud, selfish devices, and facility
 " of these adoptions hastily made and suddenly dissolv'd:
 " to such as were childless, it was abundant compensation, that with much security, and exempt from all
 " anxiety and charge, they could arrive at publick distinction, and honours, and find every advantage in the
 " state easy and open to their wishes. For themselves; the
 " preference and advantages ensur'd to them by the law,
 " and by them tediously expected, vanish'd in disappointment and mockery, while every man had it in his option to become a parent without parental tenderness
 " and sollicitude, and fatherless again without the lamentation and anguish of a parent; and thus by the collusive ceremony of a moment, arriv'd at equal emoluments with natural fathers, by themselves so long pursu'd." This produc'd a decree of Senate, "that in
 " the pursuit of any publick employment whatsoever, no
 " feign'd adoptions should have influence, nor yet avail
 " in claiming estates by will."

WHAT follow'd was the accusation and trial of CLAUDIUS TIMARCHUS of Crete, who, besides other excesses common to the Grandees of all provinces, elated with over-grown wealth, and thence wantonly prompted to domineer over their inferiors, had utter'd an expression, which imported great scandal and contumely to the Senate: he had often declar'd, that in his power it lay, whether the "Proconsuls who had obtain'd the government of Crete, "should for their administration receive the publick "thanks." An occasion this which PETUS THRASEA sought to improve to the benefit of the publick; so that, after he had deliver'd his vote, namely, "that the accus'd "should be exterminated Crete," he added the following speech: "it is a truth confirm'd by constant experience, Conscrip't Fathers, that renown'd laws and "wholsome precedents are by upright patriots deriv'd "from the transgressions and delinquency of others: thus "was the Cincian law produced by the licentious behaviour of the Orators; the Julian ordinances by the ambitious caballings and efforts of the candidates for publick preferments: and the institutions of CALPURNIUS "the Tribune, by the avarice and rapine of the Magistrates. For guilt is ever antecedent to punishment; and "later than the offence comes the correction. In order "therefore to quell this fresh insolence of the Provincials, "let us take measures at once worthy of the good faith, "and of the magnanimity of the Romans, such as may "no wise enfringe the protection due to our confederates, "nor yet leave room for any Roman to depend for his estimation upon other judgment than that of his fellow "citizens. Of old indeed, not Pretors and Consuls only, and "men in office, were sent into the Provinces; but private persons invested with no magistracy, were also "sent, to inspect the state of those Provinces in general, "and to report what they judg'd meet concerning the "civil conformity and observance of every particular; and "by the judgment of single inspectors nations were aw'd. "But now we court foreigners, and flatter them; and "as at the beck of some one of them thanks are decreed "to our Magistrates; so from the same motive, but with "more facility, is their accusation decreed: nay let such

“ accusations be still decreed ; to the Provincials let there
 “ always continue a privilege of making, in such instances,
 “ an ostentation of their power: but for their false and
 “ groundless applause, their commendations extorted by
 “ importunity and prayers; let these be discourag’d and
 “ restrain’d with the same rigour as the efforts of malice,
 “ as the ravages of cruelty. Into heavier defaults we of-
 “ ten fall, while we labour to oblige, than when we are
 “ not afraid to offend. Nay there are even certain vir-
 “ tues which are subject to popular hate; such as a strict
 “ severity never to be shaken, and a soul impregnable
 “ against all the efforts of insinuation and courtship.
 “ Hence it is that the administration of our Magistrates
 “ abroad, is generally best at the beginning, but relaxes
 “ in the close; while in the submissive manner of can-
 “ didates for honours at home, we solicit favourable suf-
 “ frages from the Provincials. Now if this deprav’d cus-
 “ tom be effectually suppress’d, the Provinces will be
 “ rul’d with more impartiality, with greater firmness and
 “ resolution: for, as by the terror of the law against ex-
 “ tortion and rapine, the force of avarice in the gover-
 “ nors is broken; so by abolishing the usage of giving
 “ them publick thanks, is to be restrain’d the court and
 “ condescension by them paid to the Provinces.”

GREAT was the applause and universal the assent, that
 accompanied this proposition from THRASEA, which yet
 could not be reduced into a decree, since the Consuls
 insisted that the same was a matter foreign from the ques-
 tion first mov’d. But afterwards, at the motion of the
 Prince, it was ordain’d, “ that to the general council of
 “ the Provinces no man should have leave to propose a
 “ deputation to the Senate for publick thanks to any Pre-
 “ torian or Proconsular Governor whatsoever; and that
 “ no man should be allow’d to execute such a deputati-
 “ on.” During the same Consuls, the Athletick Aca-
 demy was by a blast of lightning burnt to ruins; and in
 it the brazen statue of NERO melted to a shapeless mass.
 In Campania too, the noble city which from POMPEY
 takes its name, was in a great measure overturn’d by an
 earthquake; and this year died LELIA the Vestal virgin,
 into whose place was assum’d CORNELIA, of the Cossian
 family.

IN the Consulship of MEMMIUS REGULUS and VERGINIUS RUFUS, a daughter was by POPPEA born to NERO, and fill'd him with more than mortal joy: infomuch, that he nam'd her *Augusta*, and upon POPPEA conferr'd the same title. The place of her birth was the Colony of Antium; a place where he himself was born: the Senate had before to the Gods solemnly recommended the pregnant womb of POPPEA, and for her delivery, undertaken publick vows: now many more were added, and the whole amply fulfilled: days of devotion and processions were also subjoin'd; a Temple was decreed to "Fecundity, " and Athletick sports in imitation of those which were " peculiar to Antium; that in the throne of Jupiter " Capitolinus should be placed golden images of the " Fortunes; and that at Antium, in honour to the Clau- " dian and Domitian families, Circensian games should " be celebrated; as at the suburbs Bovillæ they were in " distinction to the Julian race." But all these prov'd short and fleeting memorials; for within four months the infant expir'd: from whence arose fresh sallies of flattery; since to her, deification was voted with " divine " worship, a tabernacle, chapel, and priest." For the Emperor's particular; as he had rejoiced, so he sorrowed, beyond all measure. It was a particular universally observ'd, that when just upon the delivery of POPPEA, the Senate in a body flock'd with congratulations to Antium, THRASEA was by NERO restrain'd from accompanying them; a contumely which, tho' it foreboded his impending destruction, he yet receiv'd with a spirit perfectly calm and undismay'd. It was reported that NERO afterwards vaunted to SENECA his own clemency and reconciliation to THRASEA; and that to NERO in return SENECA express'd his gladness and thanks. Hence fresh glory accrued to these illustrious patriots; and by their additional renown was increas'd their obnoxiousness and danger.

DURING these transactions, there arriv'd in the beginning of spring, Embassadors from the Parthians, charg'd with overtures from VOLOGESES their King, and with letters of the like import; that he now voluntarily relinquish'd " all his former measures so long pursued and " so much contested, about the enjoyment of Armenia,

“ since the Gods, tho’ they were the sovereign arbitra-
 “ tor between potent states, and had yielded the posses-
 “ sion of that Kingdom to the Parthians, yet had so
 “ yielded it, that from this acquisition of theirs, ignominy
 “ devolv’d upon the Romans: he had lately held TI-
 “ GRANES block’d up in a siege, and next PETUS and
 “ the Legions; and when it was in his power to have
 “ subjected them all to captivity and the sword, it was
 “ his choice to dismiss them free and unhurt: sufficiently
 “ had he display’d the irresistibleness of his forces, and ex-
 “ hibited too a glaring proof of his meekness and mode-
 “ ration: neither would his brother TIRIDATES refuse
 “ coming to Rome, there to receive the Armenian dia-
 “ dem; but that as he was a Magian, the religious laws
 “ of his Priesthood with-held him: he was ready how-
 “ ever to address himself to the Roman Ensigns, and to
 “ the Images of CESAR, and there in presence of the
 “ Legions, receive the solemn investiture of the King-
 “ dom.”

WHEN these letters of VOLOGESES were read, so op-
 posite to the account transmitted by PETUS, as if things
 remain’d entirely in the same situation; the Centurion,
 who had arriv’d with the Embassadors, was ask’d, “ in
 “ what condition stood the Kingdom of Armenia?” he
 answer’d that, “ out of it all the Romans were to a man
 “ withdrawn;” and as hence was understood the scorn
 offer’d by the Barbarians, who by a mock embassy were
 suing for a country, which they had already seiz’d, NERO
 held a consultation with the principal Grandees, whether
 to engage in a perilous and uncertain war, or prefer an
 infamous peace: nor was there any hesitation in resolving
 upon war; and to CORBULO, who by the experience of
 so many years, knew both the soldiery and the enemy,
 the supreme command was committed, lest through the
 temerity and unskillfulness of any other, more faults and
 disgrace might be incurr’d: for, of PETUS and his conduct
 they were sorely ashamed. The Embassadors were there-
 fore dismiss’d unsuccessful, but distinguish’d with presents;
 thence to raise hopes that, were TIRIDATES in person to
 bring his own supplications, he would not supplicate in
 vain. To SESTIUS was given the administration of Syria;

and

and to CORBULO were granted all the military forces; which were also increased by the addition of the fifteenth Legion, led by MARIUS CELSUS from Pannonia: directions were likewise written to the Kings and Tetrarchs in the East; to the Deputies and Superintendents, and to the several Propretors who rul'd the neighbouring Provinces; “to
 “pay entire obedience to the orders of CORBULO;” who was thus trusted with much the same extensive and unlimited authority, which the Roman people had conferr'd upon POMPEY in his expedition against the Pirates. Upon the return of PETUS to Rome, while he was dreading a more rigorous treatment, NERO deem'd it sufficient to lash him with sarcastical raileries, in such language as this: “I pardon you, said he, and I do it instantly; lest,
 “possess'd as you are with that strange propensity to be
 “frighten'd, you might sicken and pine away were your
 “anxiety ever so little protracted.”

Now when CORBULO had remov'd into Syria the fourth and twelfth Legions, which from the loss of all their bravest men, and the abject consternation of the rest, were judg'd little qualified for feats of war; he drew from that Province the sixth Legion and the third, a body of men fresh and undiminish'd, harden'd by variety of military toils, and accustom'd to prosperous exploits; and led them to Armenia. To them he likewise added the fifth, which being quarter'd in Pontus had wholly escap'd the late defeat. Moreover the soldiers of the fifteenth Legion lately arriv'd, and some chosen bands from Illyrium and Egypt, with all the auxiliary troops of horse and companies of foot, as also the succours from the confederate Kings, were drawn together at Melitene, as from thence he had concerted their passing the Euphrates. He then purified the army by the usual solemnity of Lustration, and in a stated assembly animated them with a speech: in it he made a glorious display “of the
 “auspicious sway of Imperial Rome, the invincible fortune of CESAR; of the signal victories and exploits by
 “himself achiev'd;” and upon the insufficiency and simple conduct of PETUS he cast “whatever contumelies or
 “disasters had been sustain'd.” These things he deliver'd with great spirit and authority; which in a military
 5 O man

man like him carried all the purposes and force of eloquence.

HE took next the same rout which of old was pass'd by LUCULLUS, having remov'd whatever impediments, in so long a course of years, had clos'd up the way: neither did he discountenance the Embassadors, who were approaching from TIRIDATES and VOLOGESES, with overtures of peace; but to confer with them, appointed certain Centurions, whom he furnish'd with instructions no wise harsh nor shocking; namely, "that as yet the contest was
 " not risen to such violent height as that nothing could
 " determine it, but the ultimate decision of the sword.
 " The Roman arms had in many instances been prosperous,
 " in some the Parthian: and from such mutability
 " in the fortune of both, might be drawn a cession against
 " arrogance and presumption in either. It moreover concern'd
 " the particular interest of TIRIDATES to possess a
 " Kingdom untouch'd by devastation and the ravages of
 " war, as he might, would he accept the same as the
 " gift of the Romans: more substantially too would VOLOGESES
 " study the advantage of the people of Parthia by an alliance
 " with the Romans, than by involving them both in mutual
 " damages and mischief: it was well known what terrible
 " dissention and revolts were even then rending the bowels
 " of his Monarchy; how exceeding fierce and unruly were the
 " several nations which he govern'd. To the Roman Emperor,
 " on the contrary, there continued in all his dominions a
 " steady and inviolable peace, and only the weight of
 " that single war." To enforce this his pacifick reasoning
 " and counsel, he immediately subjoin'd the terrors of
 " the sword; drove from their seats the Grandees of Armenia,
 " who were the first revolted from us, raz'd their castles;
 " and fill'd with equal dismay the inhabitants of the steep
 " mountains and those of the vales, the warriors, and the
 " unwarlike.

THE name of CORBULO was held in no distaste or aversion, much less in hostile hate and horror, even amongst the Barbarians: hence they believ'd his counsel sincere, and worthy to be trusted: VOLOGESES therefore, who was never violent for a general war with the Romans,
 now

now fought a truce and neutrality for certain of his Governments. TIRIDATES demanded a day and place for a conference; and a time near at hand was appointed: for the place, as the Barbarians chose that where they had lately besieged PETUS and the Legions, from a fond remembrance of their more propitious achievements there; the same was not declined by CORBULO, that from the different face of his own fortune, his glory might be augmented: yet neither suffered he the disgrace of PETUS there to be blackened with any fresh acrimony; a tenderness which was chiefly manifest from hence, that he ordered the son of PETUS, who was his own Tribune, to march at the head of some companies and commit to sepulchres the ghostly remains of that unfortunate field. Upon the day stipulated, TIBERIUS ALEXANDER an illustrious Roman Knight, one sent with CORBULO as an assistant and inspector, in the measures of the war; and with him, VIVIANUS ANNIUS son-in-law to CORBULO, one under the age of a Senator, but set over the fifth Legion in the room of its own Commander; entered together into the camp of TIRIDATES, as a complement of honour, and that possessed of such hostages, he might fear no guile. Then the King and the General took each twenty horse and proceeded to the interview; at the sight of CORBULO, the King leaped first from his horse, nor was CORBULO slow to return the courtesy; and both on foot interchanged their right hand.

THENCE the Roman Captain proceeded to applaud the young Prince, “that renouncing all wilful and desperate measures, he had wisely adopted such as were wholsome and secure.” TIRIDATES, after a long previous display “of the nobleness and splendor of his race,” pursued the rest of his discourse with sufficient modesty and condescension; “that he would travel to Rome and present a new subject of glory to CESAR; a Prince of the Arsacides his supplicant, at a season when no circumstance of distress impaired or perplexed the affairs of Parthia.” It was then agreed that before the image of CESAR he should resign the Royal Diadem, never to resume it more except from the hand of NERO; and so ended the conference with a mutual kiss. Then after an interval

interval of a few days, the two armies met with mighty pomp and ostentation on both sides: there stood the Parthian horse, rang'd into troops, and distinguish'd by the standards of their several nations; here were posted the battalions of the Legions, their Eagles glittering, their Ensigns display'd, with the figures of the deified Emperors exhibited like Deities in a Temple. In the center was placed a tribunal, which supported a chair of state, as did the chair a statue of NERO: to this TIRIDATES approach'd, and having, according to form, slain certain victims, pull'd the Diadem from his head and laid it at the feet of the Statue. Great upon this occasion were the emotions in the minds of all men; and the greater as they had still before their eyes the late overthrow, at least the late siege of the Roman armies: "but now, intirely inverted were the blind operations of fortune: TIRIDATES was departing for Rome, expos'd in ostentation as a spectacle to the nations, under a character how little below that of a captive?"

CORBULO to all his glory added actions of complaisance and a sumptuous banquet; during which the King, as often as any usage of ours occur'd, which was new to him, was frequent in his enquiries what the same might mean; why a Centurion advertis'd the General, when the watch was first set? why, when meals were ended the trumpet sounded? why the fuel upon the altar rear'd before the Augural port, was kindled with a torch? all which CORBULO explain'd, and magnifying the same beyond just bounds, struck him with admiration of the venerable old institutions of the Romans. The next day, TIRIDATES besought "so much time, before he undertook so long a journey, as might suffice to visit his brothers and his mother;" and, for an hostage, deliver'd up his daughter, and writ a suppliant letter to NERO.

THUS he departed, and found PACORUS in Media, and at Ecbatana VOLOGESES, who in truth was far from neglecting the concerns of this his brother: for, by a special embassy he had desired of CORBULO, "that TIRIDATES might bear no mark or visible semblance of slavery; nor be oblig'd to surrender his sword, nor be
I debarr'd

“ debarr’d from the distinction of embracing the Govern-
 “ nors of Provinces; nor stand waiting at their gates
 “ for admittance; and; that in Rome, the same honour
 “ should be paid him as to the Consuls was paid.” In
 truth, that Prince, inur’d to the pride and loftiness which
 prevails among foreigners, was a stranger to the temper
 and maxims of us Romans, who value only the essence
 and sinews of Empire, and easily overlook the shadows
 and empty forms.

THE same year, CESAR conferr’d upon those nations
 of the Alps who inhabit the sea coast, the rights and im-
 munities of Latium: to the Roman Knights he assign’d
 places in the Circus before the seats of the populace: for,
 till that time they sat there without discrimination; since the
 sanctions of the Roscian law were only confin’d to the
 fourteen rows in the Theatre. On this year too was ex-
 hibited a combat of Gladiators equally magnificent with
 the former; but many Ladies of illustrious quality, and
 many Senators enter’d the lists, and infamously contami-
 nated themselves.

IN the Consulship of CAIUS LECANIUS and MARCUS
 LICINIUS, NERO became every day more vehemently
 transported with a passion for mounting the publick stage,
 and entertaining the promiscuous multitude: hitherto he
 had only sung in the assemblies entituled *Juvenalia*, which
 were restrain’d to particular houses and gardens; places
 which he despis’d, as not sufficiently celebrated, and too
 confin’d for a voice so noble and august as his. At Rome
 however, he dar’d not to begin; he therefore chose Na-
 ples, as a properer scene, the same being a Greek city,
 “ where it was eligible, he thought, to make his first
 “ essay and appearance; that passing thence over to
 “ Greece, and there having, by victory in song, gain’d
 “ the prize-crowns, ever so highly renown’d and held sa-
 “ cred of old, he could not fail of attracting, with height-
 “ en’d applause, the hearts of the Roman citizens.” To
 this entertainment crowded all the rabble of Neapolitans;
 with numbers from the neighbouring cities and colonies,
 excited by the rumour and curiosity of the spectacle; be-
 sides such as follow’d the Emperor, either in complement
 to him or about private affairs of their own: nay with
 5 P these

these enter'd several bands of soldiers, and all together throng'd the Theatre; where an accident befel, which, in the opinion of many, was sad and presaging: but with NERO it pass'd for a providential event, and betoken'd the immediate tutelage of his guardian Deities: the Theatre, when the audience who fill'd it were retired, tumbled to the ground; but as not a soul was in it, none were hurt by its ruins. For this deliverance NERO celebrated the benignity of the Gods in songs of thanksgiving purposely compos'd; as also the story and description of the recent contingency: then in his rout to pass the Adriatick, he rested a while at Beneventum, where by VATINIUS was presented a splendid shew of Gladiators. This VATINIUS was one of the many baleful monsters that haunted the court, and one of the formost; originally bred in a shoemaker's stall; in his person hideous and distorted; addicted to sneering and drollery, and at first admitted merely as a buffoon: thence by calumny, and lying accusations against every worthy man, he had arriv'd to such high consideration, that in favour, in opulence, and in power to injure and destroy, he even surpass'd the other implements of mischief.

NERO, during the course of this solemnity, tho' he attended it assiduously, forbore not however, even in the midst of his diversion and pleasures, he forbore not to pursue feats of tyranny and blood: since, in those very days of festivity, was TORQUATUS SILANUS forc'd to die; for that, besides the ancient obnoxious splendor of the Junian family, he was great grandson to the deified AUGUSTUS. Against him the accusers had orders to object, "his great prodigality, his extravagant bounties; and
 "that other resource and views he had none, save only
 "in a publick revolution. Nay, such already was his
 "affectation of state, that about him he kept men with
 "the stile of principal Secretaries, of Chancellors, of Treasurers; names and offices of Imperial grandeur, which
 "he thus aspir'd to, and even personated." Immediately, all his freedmen, in any degree of intimacy with their master, were cast into bonds, and hurried to the dungeon. TORQUATUS, seeing his impending condemnation, open'd the veins of both his arms, and expir'd:

an event which was follow'd, according to custom, with a speech from NERO; "that however guilty the criminal had been; how justly soever he had despair'd of acquitting himself by any defence; his life had still been spar'd, had he staid for the clemency of his Judge."

NERO, having deferr'd his voyage to Greece, for reasons which were not known, soon after re-visited Rome, his head boiling with secret imaginations about shewing himself to the Provinces in the East, especially to Egypt: at last this project became the subject of a publick edict: in it he declar'd, that "his absence would not be of long continuance; and the Commonwealth, in all its parts, would continue the while in the same perfect quiet and prosperity;" and then for the success of that journey, betook himself in devotion to the Capitol. While he was there, paying his oblations to the several Deities, as he enter'd amongst others, into the Temple of Vesta, he became seiz'd with a sudden and prevailing horror, which shook him in every joint: whether it were that the aspect and awe of the Goddess struck him with dismay; or whether, from being eternally haunted by the hideous remembrance of his foulness and crimes, he was thence never a moment destitute of the pangs and impressions of fear: it is certain such was his consternation, that he dropp'd his project; making many asseverations, "that lighter with him were all his gratifications and pursuits than his passion for his Country: he had seen the sorrowful looks of the Roman citizens; he still heard their secret sighs and complainings, that he would venture upon such mighty travels, when in truth they could never bear with patience even his shortest excursions from Rome; accusom'd as they were to be hearten'd and reviv'd under all disasters, by the joyful sight of the Prince. Hence it was that, as in the instance of private consanguinities and friendship, dearest in affection were the nearest in blood; so over himself above all considerations avail'd that of the Roman people; and when they would thus retain him, it behov'd him to obey." These and the like declarations of his were well pleasing to the populace; from their propensity to the revels and diversions,

diversions, which, by his residence at Rome, they enjoy'd; and from another motive ever the most prevalent of all, the scarcity of provisions apprehended in his absence. The Senate and Grandees were in suspense whether he were to be esteem'd a more raging tyrant at Rome, or remote from Rome; and thence, according to the genius of all great and affecting fears, they believ'd that which happen'd, to be the worst that could happen.

NERO himself, in order to beget a popular reputation of delighting, above all places, in Rome, banquetted frequently in the publick places and great squares, and us'd the whole city as his own house. But, as particularly signal for pomp, and luxury, and observation, was the feast prepar'd by TIGELLINUS; I shall here, for an example, recount its order and state, that henceforth I may not be oblig'd to a frequent recital of the like enormous prodigalities. For this purpose, he built, in the lake of AGRIPPA, a large vessel which contain'd the banquet, and was it self drawn by other vessels with oars: the vessels were embellish'd with diversified ornaments of gold and ivory, and row'd by bands of Pathicks, who were rang'd according to their seniority, and different accomplishments in the science and variety of monstrous prostitutions: from divers regions he had procured variety of wild fowl and wild beasts for venison, with sea fish as far as the Ocean: upon the borders and angles of the lake stood brothels fill'd with Ladies of illustrious rank: over against them profess'd harlots were expos'd, completely naked: now every where, were beheld obscene postures and agitations, with all the preludes and representations of lasciviousness; and as soon as darkness spread, all the neighbouring groves and circumjacent dwellings, resounded to each other with the joyful symphony of musick and songs, and appear'd all illuminated with a blaze of lights. For NERO's part, he wallow'd in all sorts of defilements, natural and unnatural: he in truth had then left no kind of abomination untried, which could serve to finish his vileness, had he not, in a few days after, personated a woman, and as such been given in marriage, with all the forms and solemnity of genuine nuptials, to one of this contaminated herd, a Pathick nam'd

PYTHAGORAS: over the Roman Emperor, as over a bride, was cast the sacred nuptial veil; the Augurs were seen in form solemnizing the espousals, the portion of the bride was openly paid, the bridal bed display'd, the nuptial torches kindled, and, in fine, to view was expos'd all the rest, which even in natural commerce with women, is ever buried under the secret shades of night.

THERE follow'd a dreadful calamity; but whether merely fortuitous, or by the execrable contrivance of the Prince, is not determin'd; for both are by authors asserted: but of all the evils which ever befel this city by the rage and devastations of fire, this was the most destructive and severe. It arose in that part of the Circus, which is contiguous to mount Palatine and mount Cœlius; where beginning amongst shops, in which were kept such goods as are proper to feed the fury of fire, it grew instantly outrageous; and being also aided by fresh force from the wind, it devour'd the whole extent of the Circus: for, neither were particular houses secured by any defences or enclosures, nor the Temples environ'd with walls, and it had nothing to encounter capable of obstructing its violence; but the flame spreading every way, with terrible impetuosity, invaded first the flat regions of the city, then mounted to the higher; and again ravaging the lower, such was its amazing velocity as to frustrate all relief, and its havock was felt before any measures to oppose it could be tried: besides, the city was obnoxious to conflagrations from the plan and disposition of its building, with long narrow allies, winding like labyrinths to and fro, and streets void of all regularity: such was the structure of old Rome. Add to all this, the shrieks and lamentable wailings of women under the agitations of woe and dismay; the helpless condition of the young and tender; that of the aged and infirm, with the confusion of such as strove only to provide for themselves, interfering with those who labour'd to assist others; these dragging the weak and unweildy, those waiting for the like help; some running, others lingering: from all which various efforts there arose only mutual interruption, and universal embarrassment: and while they chiefly regarded the danger that pursu'd them behind, they often found them-

selves suddenly beset before, and on every side: or if they had first escap'd into the quarters adjoyning, these too were already seiz'd by the devouring flames; even the parts which they believ'd quite remote and exempt, were discover'd to be under the same affecting calamity. At last, utterly perplex'd what they had best shun, or where to seek sanctuary, they fill'd with their multitude the streets and ways, and lay along in the open fields. Some there were who, in despair for the loss of their whole substance, and even bereft of daily sustenance; others who through sorrowful tenderness for their relations, whom they had not been able to snatch from the flames; suffer'd themselves to perish in them, tho' they had full scope and opportunity to escape. Neither durst any man offer to marr the progress of the fire: such were the repeated menaces of many who openly forbid all attempts to extinguish it; and, as a greater terror, there were others who, in the face of the publick, heighten'd it by volleys of lighted fire-brands; with loud declarations, "that they had one to authorize them;" whether they only meant it as a device for the more licentious exercise of plunder; or, whether in reality they had such orders.

NERO was at that juncture sojourning at Antium; but never offer'd to return to the city, till he heard that the fire was advancing to that quarter of his house which fill'd the space between the Palace and the Gardens of Mecenas: nor, even upon his arrival, could its rage be staid: in spite of opposition, it devour'd house and palace and every thing round about. For the relief however and consolation of the forlorn people, thus vagabond and bereft of their dwellings, he laid open the field of Mars and all the great edifices erected by AGRIPPA, and call'd his monuments; he even presented them the use of his own Gardens. He likewise rear'd hasty tabernacles, for the reception of the destitute multitude: from Ostia too and the neighbouring cities, by his orders, were brought all sorts of household implements and necessaries; and the price of grain reduced to three sesterces the measure. All which provisions and bounties of his, however popular and beneficent, were bestow'd in vain and frustrate of any gratitude: because a rumour had flown abroad, "that, dur-
 " ing

“ ing the very time when Rome was under the fury of
 “ consuming flames, he enter’d his domestick Theatre, and
 “ chanted the destruction of Troy; likening the present
 “ desolation to the tragical calamities of antiquity.”

A T length, on the sixth day, the conflagration was stay’d at the foot of mount Esquiline, by levelling with the ground an infinite number of buildings, and making a mighty void; so that the raging devastation hitherto uninterrupted, might find nothing to encounter but open fields and empty air. Scarce had the late consternation ceas’d, when a new and no trivial alarm recurr’d: the fire broke out with fresh outrage, but in places more wide and spacious; hence fewer lives were destroyed: but, more Temples were here overthrown, and more sumptuous Porticos, such as were appropriated to publick diversion and festivity. This conflagration too was subject to the greater measure of infamy, for that it rose in the possessions of TIGELLINUS, in the Amylian fields: whence it was conjectur’d that NERO was thus aiming at the glory of building a new city, and calling it by his name: for, of the fourteen quarters into which Rome is divided, four were still standing entire, three lay in utter ruins; and, in the seven others, there remain’d only here and there a few shadows of houses, miserably shatter’d and half consum’d.

E A S Y it were not to recount the number of the houses, squares, palaces, and temples which were lost: but formost in antiquity and primitive rites, were the following edifices; that dedicated by SERVIUS TULLIUS to the Moon; the Temple and great Altar consecrated by EVANDER the Arcadian to HERCULES then a living Deity, and present in person; the Chapel vow’d by ROMULUS to Jupiter the Stayer; the Court of Numa, with the Temple of Vesta, and in it the tutelar Gods peculiar to the Romans; all now consum’d to ruins. In the same fate were involv’d the treasures acquir’d and accumulated by so many victories; the beautiful productions of Greek artists, ancient writings of Authors celebrated for genius, and till then preserv’d perfectly entire; which, tho’ many of them were still remember’d by aged men, yet even upon the restoration of the city with such mighty lustre and embellishments, could never be retriev’d nor supplied. There were those who observ’d,
 2 that

that on the eighteenth of July the fire began, the same day on which the Gauls, call'd Senones, having taken and spoil'd the city, burnt it to the ground: others were so exact and curious in this calculation, as to reckon the just number of years, months and days between the two conflagrations.

FOR the rest; NERO appropriated to himself the ruins of his native country, and upon them founded a palace; one where profusion of gold and precious stones, rais'd not the chief admiration: these were stale and usual ornaments, such as from diffusive luxury were become long since common: but the principal surprize and gratification arose from beauties purely exterior; such as spacious glades, large artificial lakes: and, in imitation of vast wildernesses, here stood thick woods and shades; there lay ample lawns, avenues, and open views. The projectors and comptrollers of this plan, were SEVERUS and CELER, two men of such temerity and enterprizing talents, as to attempt to remove by art the everlasting obstacles of nature, wantonly to mispend the treasures of the Prince, and to baffle, in vain experiments, all his power: they had even undertaken to sink a navigable canal from the lake Avernus to the mouth of the Tiber, over a dry and desert shore, or through steep intervening mountains: nor all that way, could they have encounter'd any source of moisture for supplying water, save only the marsh Pomptina: the rest was every where a succession of rocks, or a soil perch'd and untractable: or, had it even been possible to have broke through all obstruction; intolerable had been the toil, and the end incompetent. NERO however, zealous for atchieving feats which were deem'd incredible, exerted all his might to perforate the mountains adjoining to Avernus: and to this day remain the traces of his romantick and abortive ambition.

THE remainder of the old foundations, which his own court cover'd not, was assign'd for houses: nor were these placed, as after 'twas burnt by the Gauls, at random and stragling; but the streets were delineated regularly, spacious and streight; the height of the buildings was restrain'd to a certain standard; the courts were widen'd;

and

and, to all the great houses which stood by themselves, for securing their fronts, large Porticos were added: these Porticos NERO engag'd to rear at his own expence, and then to deliver to each proprietor the squares about them, discharg'd of all rubbish. He moreover assign'd donatives proportion'd to every man's rank and substance; and set a day for payment, on condition that against that day their several houses or palaces were finish'd: he appointed the marshes of Ostia for a receptacle of the ruins, and that with these the vessels, which had convey'd grain up the Tiber, should return laden back; that the new buildings should be rais'd to a certain height from the foundation without rafters or boards: that they should be arch'd and partition'd with stone from the quarries of Gabi or Alba, the same being proof against the violence of fire: that over the common springs, which were licentiously diverted and wasted by private hands, overseers should be placed, to provide for their flowing in greater abundance into the publick cisterns, and for supplying a greater number of places: that every house-keeper should furnish his yard with some machine proper to extinguish fire; neither should there be any more a common intermediate wall between house and house, but within its own independent walls every house should be enclos'd. These regulations, which importing the general benefit of the citizens, were popularly receiv'd, deriv'd also much beauty and decoration upon the new city: yet, some there were who believ'd, that the ancient form and structure were more conducing to health; as from the narrowness of the streets, and the height of the building, the rays of the sun were hardly felt or admitted; whereas now, so spacious was the breadth of the streets, and so utterly destitute of all shade, that the heat scorch'd with unabated rage.

THUS far the provisions made, were the result of counsels purely human. The Gods are next accosted with expiations; and recourse had to the Sibyll's Books. By admonition from them, to Vulcan, Ceres and Proserpina, supplicatory sacrifices were made, and Juno aton'd by the devotion of Matrons, first solemniz'd in the Capitol, then upon the next shore, where by water drawn from the sea the Temple and Image of the Goddess were be-

and her feast and wake were celebrated by Ladies who had husbands. But not all the relief that could come from man, not all the bounties that the Prince could bestow, nor all the atonements which could be presented to the Gods, avail'd to acquit NERO from the infamous charge, which was still universally believ'd, that by him the conflagration was authoriz'd. Hence to suppress the prevailing rumour, he transferr'd the guilt upon fictitious criminals: he subjected to most exquisite torture, and doom'd to executions singularly cruel those people who, for their detestable crimes were already in truth universally abhorr'd, and known to the vulgar by the name of *Christians*. The founder of this name was CHRIST, one who in the reign of TIBERIUS suffer'd death as a criminal, under PONTIUS PILATE Imperial Procurator of Judea, and, for a while, the pestilent superstition was quell'd: but it reviv'd again and spread, not only over Judea, where this evil was first broach'd, but even through Rome, the great gulph into which, from every quarter of the earth, there are torrents for ever flowing of all that is hideous and abominable amongst men: nay, in it the filthy glut of iniquity never fails to find popular reverence and distinction: first therefore were seiz'd such as freely own'd their sect; then, a vast multitude by them discover'd; and all were convicted, not so much for the imputed crime of burning Rome, as for their hate and enmity to humankind. To their death and torture were added the aggravations of cruel derision and sport: for, either they were disguis'd in the skins of savage beasts, and expos'd to expire under the teeth and rage of devouring dogs; or they were hoisted up alive, and nail'd to crosses; or wrapt in combustible vestments, and set up as torches; that, when the day set, they might be kindled to illuminate the night. For presenting this tragical spectacle, NERO had lent his own Gardens, and exhibited at the same time the publick diversion of the Circus; sometimes driving a chariot in person; and, at intervals, standing as a spectator amongst the vulgar, in the habit of a Charioteer. Hence it proceeded, that towards the miserable sufferers, however guilty and justly deserving the most exemplary death, popular commiseration arose;

as for people who, with no view to the utility of the state, but only to gratify the bloody spirit of one man, were doom'd, without exception to perish.

IN the mean time, in order to supply his prodigality with money, all Italy was pillag'd, the Provinces were squeez'd and desolated: so were the several nations our confederates, and all those cities which have the title of free. In this general spoil, even the Gods were involv'd, their Temples in the city plunder'd; and from thence all the treasures of gold convey'd, which the Roman people, in every age of their state, either as monuments of triumphs celebrated, or of vows fulfill'd, had solemnly consecrated, both in their times of prosperity, and in seasons of publick peril and dismay. Through Greece and Asia the same sacred ravages were committed, and the Deities not only despoil'd of their gifts and oblations, but even of their Statues and Images: for, into these Provinces, and with this commission, had been sent ACRATUS his freedman, and SECUNDUS CARINAS; the former a prompt instrument to execute any iniquity, however black and flagrant; the other a man practis'd in the Greek learning, which however sunk no deeper than his lips, and with virtuous acquirements he had never form'd his soul. Of SENECA it was reported, "that to avert from himself the odium and imputation of this sacrilege, he had besought NERO for leave to retire to a seat of his own remote from Rome, but was refus'd, and thence feigning an indisposition in his nerves, confin'd himself to his chamber." It is by some authors recorded, "that a freedman of his, named CLEONICUS, had by the command of NERO, prepar'd poison for his master, who escap'd it, either from the discovery made by the freedman, or from the caution inspir'd by his own incessant apprehensions; while with a diet exceeding simple he supported an abstemious life, satisfying the call of hunger by wild fruit from the woods, and of thirst by a draught from the brook."

ABOUT the same time a body of Gladiators, who were kept at the city of Preneste, labour'd an escape and revolt; and tho' by the diligence of the soldiers who guarded them they were master'd and suppress'd, the people were already in busy murmurs reviving the terror of SPAR-

TACUS

TACUS and the publick miseries of old; fond as they ever are of agitations and novelty, and yet ever frighten'd by them. Nor was it long after this that a fatal disaster befel the fleet; from no encounter in war; for scarce ever was known a time of such profound peace: but NERO had order'd the gallies to return to the coast of Campania at a limited day, without any allowance made for the sudden changes and casualties of the deep: so that the Pilots, even while the sea raged, steer'd from the port of Formia; and by a violent tempest from the South, while they struggled to double the Cape of Misenum, were driven upon the shore of Cuma, where many gallies of three banks of oars, and a number of smaller vessels, were wreck'd.

IN the close of the year, the heads and mouths of the people were fill'd with a long rote of prodigies; as so many heralds of impending calamities: at no time had thunder roar'd, or lightning shot with such fierceness and frequency, besides the appearance of a Comet; an omen ever expiated by NERO with the effusion of illustrious blood. In the streets and roads were found expos'd several monstrous births with double heads, some of the human species, some of brutes; as also from the bellies of victims some such were taken, when for the sacrifice custom requir'd beasts that are pregnant: and in the territory of Placentia, by the side of the publick way, was brought forth a calf with its head growing upon its leg: a prodigy which, according to the interpretation return'd by the Soothsayers, boded "that for human kind
" another head was preparing, but one which would never
" arrive at strength, or remain conceal'd; for that this
" which presag'd it, had lain repress'd in the womb, and
" then issu'd into the world close by the publick road."

SILIUS NERVA and ATTICUS VESTINUS commenc'd Consuls, during the progress of a conspiracy so vigorous that to the same moment it ow'd its beginning and advancement. In it Senators, Knights, soldiers, and even women, had engag'd with a spirit of eagerness and competition: such was their detestation of NERO, and equally strong their zeal for CAIUS PISO. This Patrician, a descendant of the Calpurnian house, and by the nobleness
of

of his paternal blood, allied to many illustrious families; was for his own virtue, or for qualities that resembled virtues, held amongst the populace in signal applause: for, he was a master of eloquence and employ'd it popularly, in the patronage and defence of his fellow citizens; generous to his friends and acquaintance; and even toward such as were unknown to him, complaisant in his language and address; he possess'd, with these advantages, others that were fortuitous, tallness of person and a graceful countenance: but strictness of life and manners he never practis'd, nor observ'd restraints in his pleasures; the ways of delicacy he ever indulg'd, as also those of magnificence; sometimes the excesses of luxury. Many too there were who approv'd this his conduct; such as are they who, in a general prevalence of sensuality and debauchery, would not have the supreme head confin'd in his morals, nor strictly severe.

It was from no ambition or pursuit of his that the birth of the conspiracy sprung; and yet I could not easily recount who he was that first concerted it, nor who animated a design which was by such a number espous'd: that SUBRIUS FLAVIUS Tribune of a Pretorian Cohort, and SULPICIUS ASPER the Centurion, were the keenest champions in it, the spirit and constancy with which they encounter'd death, do abundantly evince. LUCAN the Poet, and PLAUTIUS LATERANUS, Consul elect, concurr'd from the instigations of ardent animosity and hate; the former stimulated by personal provocations, for that NERO had obstructed the fame of his Poems, and from a ridiculous emulation, forbid their publication: LATERANUS was piqued by no injury done to himself; but, from sincere affection to the Republick, became an accomplice. But there were two men, FLAVIUS SCEVINUS and AFRAANIUS QUINCTIANUS, both Senators, who by engaging in an interprize so great and daring, and even claiming to be formost in the execution, departed from the constant character which they had ever maintain'd amongst all men; for, SCEVINUS had a soul drown'd in sensuality, and thence led a stupid life devoted to sleep and sloth: QUINCTIANUS was infamous for having in his person suffer'd constuprations; and having been by NERO expos'd

in a virulent Satyr; to revenge the indignity he conspir'd.

Now as all these, as well in conferences with one another, as amongst their friends, were ever displaying “ the end-
 “ less tyranny and inhuman cruelties of the Prince; the
 “ desperate condition of the Empire, threaten'd with in-
 “ stant dissolution; and the necessity of substituting in
 “ his place some one capable of relieving the afflicted
 “ state;” they drew into the combination TULLIUS SENE-
 CIO, CERVARIUS PROCULUS, VULCATUS ARARI-
 CUS, JULIUS TUGURINUS, MUNATIUS GRATUS, AN-
 TONIUS NATALIS, and MARTIUS FESTUS; all Roman
 Knights. Of these SENEIO, who had liv'd in singular
 intimacy with NERO, and preserv'd even then the face of
 favour, was thence the more encompass'd with dread and
 danger. To NATALIS all the secret purposes in the heart
 of PISO were open without reserve: secret views govern'd
 the rest, and they sought their own interest in a change.
 Of the men of the sword, besides SUBRIUS and SULPI-
 CIUS, the officers already mention'd, there were assum'd
 as accomplices, GRANIUS SILVANUS and STATIUS
 PROXIMUS, Tribunes of the Pretorian bands, with the
 Centurions, MAXIMUS SCAURUS, and VENETUS PAUL-
 LUS. But, as their main strength and dependence, they con-
 sidered FENIUS RUFUS, Captain of the Imperial Guards,
 a man for life and estimation, in signal credit and popula-
 rity; one who expos'd himself to daily perils from the hate
 and persecution of TIGELLINUS, his colleague, who, by
 the recommendations of a cruel spirit, and manners alto-
 gether impure, had gain'd a superiour ascendancy in the
 heart of the Prince, and labouring to destroy him by
 forged crimes, had often well nigh effected his destructi-
 on, by alarming NERO with the views and discontents of
 RUFUS, “ as one who had been engag'd in a criminal
 “ commerce with AGRIPPINA; and, in anguish and re-
 “ sentment for her untimely end, was bent upon ven-
 “ geance.” As soon therefore as the conspirators had
 from the frequent discourse of the Captain receiv'd full
 conviction that he too had embraced their party, they
 proceeded more resolutely to debate about the time and
 place of the assassination: it was reported, “ that SUBRIUS

“ FLAVIUS had undertaken to make the first onset, and
 “ assail NERO, either while he was chanting in the Thea-
 “ tre, or scouring from place to place, in his drunken
 “ revels by night, unattended by his guards.” In the
 latter project an incitement from solitude; in the former,
 even the great conflux of people, all witnesses of an ex-
 ploit so glorious, had rous’d his soul; inspir’d, as in truth
 he was, with a purpose full of nobleness and merit, had
 not a sollicitude to execute it with impunity, restrain’d
 him; a consideration which, in all grand enterprizes, is
 ever unseasonable and fatal.

IN the mean time, while they were hesitating and pro-
 tracting the issue of their hopes and fears, a certain wo-
 man, named EPICCHARIS, applied her self to rouse the
 conspirators; tho’ it was a perfect mystery by what means
 she came at all appriz’d of the conspiracy (for till then
 she had never shewn any regard to ought that was wor-
 thy or honourable) but at last, when all her importunity,
 stimulations and reproaches, profited nothing, she became
 impatient of their slowness; and retiring to Campania, em-
 ploy’d all her industry and skill to alienate the hearts of the
 chief officers in the fleet riding at Misenum, and to engage
 them in the design, in the following manner she began:
 in that fleet VOLUSIUS PROCULUS had the command of
 a thousand Marines; one of the ministers of blood em-
 ploy’d to dispatch the mother of NERO, and, in his own
 opinion, not distinguish’d with promotion equal to the
 mighty and meritorious murder. As this officer, whe-
 ther from old acquaintance with EPICCHARIS, or a friend-
 ship newly contracted, recounted to her “ his signal ser-
 “ vices to NERO, and how fruitless they had been bestow’d;”
 and as he subjoin’d “ bitter complaints, with a settled re-
 “ solution of taking vengeance whenever opportunity arose,”
 she conceiv’d hopes that he might be engag’d himself in
 the design, and to it conciliate many others: nor of small
 moment was the aid and concurrence of the fleet, and
 frequent were the opportunities of exerting it; as NERO
 took singular delight in sailing often about the coasts of
 Misenum and Puzzoli. EPICCHARIS therefore, in answer
 to PROCULUS, urg’d many reasonings, with a copious
 detail of all the crying cruelties, all the barbarous outrages
 committed

committed by the Prince. She added, “ that to the Senate nothing remain’d to be done towards accomplishing his fall; only ’twas already determin’d to what pains the tyrant must be doom’d for destroying the Roman state. What therefore was to be expected from PROCULUS, but that he should assume the task with zeal, pursue it with vigour, associate in the cause all the bravest soldiers; and then depend upon a recompense worthy of such sublime service.” From him however, she conceal’d the names of the conspirators: hence it was that even when he had betray’d to NERO her whole discourse, his discovery avail’d nothing. For, when EPICHRIS was summon’d, and confronted with the informer, as his charge against her was supported by no witnesses, she found it easy to refute and baffle him. After all, she was detain’d in prison; because NERO vehemently suspected, that these matters were not the more false for not being prov’d to be true.

NOTWITHSTANDING the silence of EPICHRIS, the conspirators, who were thoroughly alarm’d with the dread of a discovery, came to a result to hasten the assassination, and to do it at Baiæ in a villa belonging to PISO, whither the Emperor often resorted: he was charm’d with the loveliness of the place; and there went to bath and banquet, remote from his guards and the other encumbrances of Imperial state. But in this, PISO would by no means concur: he alledg’d “ the general abhorrence which must ensue, were the inviolable rites of the table, were the Gods of hospitality, defil’d by the blood of a Prince, however vile he were: hence it were more advisable to dispatch him at Rome, in that same detested house which with the spoils of the unhappy citizens he had rear’d: or, rather they ought, in the face of the publick, to execute a deed, which for the benefit of the publick they had undertaken.” Thus he reason’d openly amongst the conspirators; but, in his heart, he was influenced by secret jealousy: he dreaded LUCIUS SILANUS a man of transcendent quality, and by the tuition of CAIUS CASSIUS, by whom he was bred, ennobled with accomplishments proper for every the most resplendent dignity; lest SILANUS might for himself seize the

the vacant sovereignty, as he would be sure of instant assistance from all such as were clear of the conspiracy, and from all those who should prove affected with compassion for NERO, as for one traiterously slain. There were many who believ'd, that "PISO likewise fear'd the lively and
 "turbulent spirit of the Consul VESTINUS; how the same
 "might, upon such occasion, operate; whether he might
 "not be prompted to restore liberty and the ancient government; or else, procuring some other than PISO to be
 "chosen Emperor, turn the Republick into a gift of his
 "own bestowing." For in the conspiracy he had no share; though NERO afterwards, under the imputation of this very crime, doom'd him an innocent sacrifice to satiate his own inveterate rancour.

At length they agreed to perpetrate their designs upon the anniversary sacred to Ceres, and always solemniz'd with Circensian games: for that, the Emperor who otherwise came seldom abroad, but remain'd shut up in his apartments or Gardens, was yet wont to frequent the diversions of the Circus, where, during the gayety and pleasures of the sports, access to him was more readily obtain'd. The scheme of their plot they contriv'd on this wise: "LATERANUS, in the posture of a suppliant, and
 "feigning to implore relief in his domestick affairs, was
 "to fall at the Prince's feet, and, while he apprehend-
 "ed no such attempt, throw him down; and, as LA-
 "TERANUS was of a daring spirit and huge in stature, hold him fixt to the place: while he lay thus
 "press'd and entangled, the Tribunes, Centurions, and all
 "the rest, according as they felt themselves prompted by
 "present impulse and magnanimity, were instantly to
 "rush in and slay him: that SCEVINUS should be the
 "formost to strike," was a task by himself earnestly claim'd: from the Temple of Health in Etruria, or, as others have recorded, from that of Fortune in the city of Ferentum, he had brought away a dagger, and carried it constantly about him, as a weapon by him peculiarly consecrated to the perpetration of a deed of mighty moment. It was moreover concluded, "that PISO should
 "wait the event in the Temple of Ceres, and be thence
 "brought forth by FENIUS Captain of the Guards, and

“ the other conspirators, and conducted to the camp;
 “ moreover, in order to attract the affections of the po-
 “ pulace, ANTONIA daughter of the late Emperor CLAU-
 “ DIUS, was to accompany him.” A particular this re-
 corded by CAIUS PLINIUS: for my self; I was deter-
 min’d to suppress no circumstance in what way soever
 deliver’d; however marvellous and inconsistent it may
 seem, that either ANTONIA should contribute her name,
 and risque her life, to promote a scheme, to herself fruitless
 and vain; or, that PISO, a man universally known to have
 been passionately fond of his wife, should engage to marry
 another; were it not that, of all the passions which ac-
 tuate the heart of man, the lust of reigning is the most
 vehement and flaming.

BUT, wonderful it was, in a combination so nume-
 rous, so variously fram’d; amongst those of every con-
 dition, different in rank, in quality, sex, and age; many
 wealthy, many poor; all things should be buried in such
 faithful silence and secrecy, till from the family of SCE-
 VINUS the traiterous discovery first arose. The day be-
 fore that of the design’d assassination, he had been en-
 gag’d in a long conference with ANTONIUS NATALIS,
 and immediately, upon returning home, seal’d his will:
 then unsheathing the dagger mention’d above, he com-
 plain’d that it had lain so long neglected till it was be-
 come blunt; order’d it to be grinded into an edge, and
 the point to be accurately sharpen’d: the charge of this
 he committed to MILICHUS, one of his freedmen; and
 next betook himself to a repast more gaudy and profuse
 than ordinary: his favourite slaves he presented with their
 liberty, others with sums of money: upon his coun-
 tenance too there hung clouds and melancholy; and it
 was apparent, that his mind labour’d with some grand
 and tempestuous thought; tho’ he counterfeited cheerful-
 ness by many starts of discourse upon as many subjects: at
 last, he directed the same MILICHUS to prepare ban-
 dages for wounds, and applications for stopping blood;
 whether the freedman were in truth already privy to the
 conspiracy, and had hitherto persever’d in fidelity, or whe-
 ther he were utterly in the dark, and then first, as seve-
 ral authors have written, gather’d from consequences his
 sudden

sudden suspicion. For, when the freedman, one still act-
ed by the base spirit of a slave, revolv'd with himself
the recompense to be expected from proving a traitor
to his master, and at the same time beheld, as already
his own, immense store of money and potent sway; he
renounc'd at once every tie of faith and trust, all tender-
ness for the fortune and life of his Lord, and all re-
membrance of liberty by him generously bestow'd: but,
besides his own mercenary motives, he had taken coun-
sel of his wife; a woman's counsel and the worst: she
was ever urging him with the peril and terror of hiding
treason, and alledging "that many freedmen, many slaves,
" had beheld, as well as he, the same things, and of
" no availment would prove the silence of one: yet only
" by one, whoever he were who first discover'd, would
" all the rewards be reap'd."

MILICHUS, therefore, at the first dawn of day, went
straight to the Gardens of SERVILIUS, where NERO
then abode; and being refus'd admittance, declar'd that
he brought "mighty and horrible discoveries;" with such
earnestness, that he was conducted by the Porters to EPA-
PHRODITUS, a freedman of NERO's, and by him forth-
with to NERO himself: to him he represented, "what
" formidable conspiracies were concerted; what mortal
" danger was just impending;" with all the circumstances
which he had heard, with whatever from his own obser-
vation he conjectur'd, and even shewing the dagger de-
stin'd to destroy him, desir'd the criminal to be instantly
produced. SCEVINUS was by the soldiers haled hastily
thither; and proceeding to make his defence, he answer'd,
"that for the dagger with which he was charg'd; it was
" a relique left him by his forefathers, ever held sacred
" in their family, by himself always kept in his chamber,
" and from thence traiterously convey'd away by his freed-
" man: new wills he had often made, and seal'd them,
" without observing any distinction of days: frequently
" before this, upon his slaves he had bestow'd liberty and
" largesses; lately with the greater liberality, for that his
" fortune being now reduced, and his creditors importu-
" nate, he distrust'd his power of gratifying his domes-
" ticks by legacies. A generous table he had ever kept,
" and

“ and ever indulg’d himself in a life of ease and pleasure; such a one as by the rigid censurers of manners, was but little approv’d: dresses for wounds, he had order’d none; but, as all the other imputations objected by his freedman, were manifestly impotent and vain; he had invented and added a charge of treason, such as might enable him to be at once witness and accuser.” His words he enforced with an undaunted spirit: he even charg’d the accuser, as “ a fellow pestilent and traiterous, and his testimony incompetent,” with a voice and countenance so intrepid, that the informer must have been baffled, but for his wife. She advertiz’d him, that “ with SCEVINUS, ANTONIUS NATALIS had held a long conversation and exceeding secret; and that both were close confidants of CAIUS PISO.”

NATALIS therefore was call’d, and both were examin’d, but apart, concerning “ the particulars, concerning the subject of that conversation.” As their answers varied, they began to administer cause of suspicion, and were thrown into irons: but the sight of the rack, and the menaces of torture, neither could bear: NATALIS however was formost to confess, as better acquainted with the whole order and progress of the conspiracy, and withal more expert in impeaching: first, he discover’d how far PISO was concern’d, afterwards to him he added SENECA; whether he had indeed acted as an inter-agent between him and PISO, or whether he only did it to purchase the favour of NERO; who, in ardent hate to SENECA, was daily hunting after all sorts of devices to destroy him. Now SCEVINUS, having learnt that by NATALIS a confession was made, yielded to the same imbecillity of spirit; or perhaps he believ’d that already the confederacy was, in every particular, disclos’d, and from his own silence no emolument to be expected. Hence he declar’d all the other accomplices. Of these LUCAN and QUINCTIANUS, and SENECIO, persisted long in denying the charge: but at length, by a promise of their exemption from punishment, they suffer’d themselves to be corrupted: then, to atone for their late slowness they named their dearest friends: LUCAN inform’d against ATTILLA, his own mother; QUINCTIANUS against GLICIUS GALLUS, and SENECIO against ANNIUS POLLIO.

NERO the while recollected that, upon the evidence of VOLUSIUS PROCULUS, EPICCHARIS was holden in custody; and supposing that the tender body of a woman could never endure the rage of the rack, order'd her to be crush'd and mangled with variety of torments. But neither the fury of stripes, nor of fire, nor of the torturers, who tore her with the more vehemence, left with all their dexterity and efforts in cruelty, they should be at last scorn'd and baffled by a woman, could at all vanquish her. She still utterly denied every particular objected: the issue this of the torture the first day, and by her its violence was despis'd. The day following, as she was returning to suffer a repetition of the same outrageous torments, and reconducted in a chair (for, all her members being rent and disjointed, she could not support herself) with the girdle that bound her breasts, she fram'd a noose for her neck, and tying it to the canopy of the chair, hung upon it with all the weight of her body, and dislodg'd the slender remains of life. Behind her she left an example the more signal and heroick, for that a woman who was once a slave, should, upon an occasion so trying and important, undergo torture and death, to protect such to whom she had no tie of kindred or friendship, nay such as she scarce knew: when men, and men born free; when Roman Knights, and Senators of Rome, without once feeling the torture, betray'd, without exception, every one the dearest pledges he had in friendship and blood. For, LUCAN too and SENECIO, and QUINCTIANUS, never ceas'd making discoveries, and were still naming more accomplices: a detail which was incessantly adding to the affright and dismay of NERO; tho' he had, with guards redoubled, fenc'd himself in: nay, as if he meant to have imprison'd Rome it self; upon the walls, all round, bands of soldiers were posted: even the sea and the Tiber were garrison'd. Moreover, parties of foot and horse were perpetually ranging every where; in the publick squares, in private houses; even through the circumjacent territory, and neighbouring municipal towns: but, with both horse and foot, there were Germans intermixt: for, in them, as they were foreigners, the Prince chiefly confided. Thenceforth, the accused were hal'd

in whole droves, numbers after numbers, without intermission, towards his tribunal, and lay together, in miserable expectation, at the gates of his Garden: when they had enter'd, in order to be successively heard and examined, if it appear'd, or was charg'd, " that they had ever
 " been seen gay or smiling with any of the conspi-
 " rators; or happen'd to speak to them, tho' fortuitously;
 " or to meet them, however unexpectedly; or to have
 " been common guests at the same table, or sat together
 " at some publick shew;" all this, or any part of it, was imputed as inevitable guilt and treason. Besides the cruel scrutiny made by NERO and TIGELLINUS, violent were the questions and imputations urg'd by FENIUS RUFUS, who had as yet escaped all information; and, to beget a persuasion, that he had been an utter stranger to the plot, manifested himself now stern and outrageous against his own associates. Nay 'twas he that frustrated the bold purpose of SUBRIUS FLAVIUS, who, while he attended, and demanded by signs, whether he should draw his sabre, and even in the heat of the inquest, perpetrate the assassination, was by contrary signs from RUFUS forbid and his ardour check'd, when already his hand grasp'd the hilt.

THERE were those who, when the conspiracy was first betray'd, while MILICHUS was yet under examination, while SCEVINUS waver'd, exhorted PISO, " to proceed
 " directly to the Camp, or mount the Rostrum, and try
 " the affections of the people and soldiery: for, if once
 " his accomplices were openly assembled to maintain his
 " efforts, those too who were not engag'd, would cer-
 " tainly follow; and, when the design was avow'd, and
 " the commotion begun, mighty would be the publick
 " noise and alarm: an incident which, in all new attempts,
 " is of infinite availment. Neither was NERO provided to
 " resist the shock: with terrors that come sudden and un-
 " foreseen, even brave men were daunted: how much less
 " was it to be apprehended that, that Comedian, guarded
 " forsooth by TIGELLINUS with his host of harlots, would
 " dare to risque a conflict of arms? Many designs there
 " were, which, tho' to dastardly spirits, they appear'd
 " arduous and impossible, were yet accomplish'd by try-
 " ing

“ ing to accomplish them. In such a mixt multitude,
 “ engag’d in the plot, or privy to it, it was vain to ex-
 “ pect constant faith and secrecy; or, that the minds of
 “ all would be proof against temptation, and their bodies
 “ against pain: to the force of recompences and tortures
 “ nothing was impenetrable: nay, there would soon ar-
 “ rive men, who would commit to bonds PISO himself,
 “ and at length subject him to a contumelious death.
 “ But with how much more glory and renown, would
 “ he fall, while he espous’d the Commonwealth; while
 “ he was bravely invoking aid, and rousing champions
 “ in defence of publick Liberty; while, even tho’ the sol-
 “ diers fail’d him, tho’ the people forsook him, he still
 “ persisted with magnanimity, and, by losing his life, ap-
 “ prov’d his death worthy of his ancestors, glorious to his
 “ posterity?” But, upon PISO these reasonings had no
 influence: after he had appear’d for a small space abroad,
 he retir’d to privacy at home, and was preparing his mind
 to encounter a deliberate death, when at his house arriv’d
 a band of soldiers, all young men, either in years or ser-
 vice; thus purposely cull’d by NERO, who dreaded the
 old soldiers, as tinctur’d with partiality for the conspira-
 tors: then it was, that causing the veins in both his arms
 to be broach’d, he expired. A will he left full of noi-
 some and odious flattery to NERO, thus fram’d in tender-
 ness to his wife, a woman of vitious conduct, void of
 every recommendation save the beauty of her person; one
 whom he had ravish’d from her husband, a friend of his
 own; his name DOMITIUS SILIUS, and hers ARRIA
 GALLA; and both concurr’d, he by his passiveness, she by
 her wantonness, to blaze the dishonour of PISO.

THE next death added by NERO to this, was that of
 PLAUTIUS LATERANUS, Consul elect, and inflicted with
 such precipitation, that he would not allow him to pay
 the last embraces to his children, no nor that short inter-
 val wont to be indulg’d to the condemn’d, for chusing
 their own death. Instantly he was dragg’d to the place
 allotted for the execution of slaves, and there, by the
 hand of STATIUS the Tribune, slaughter’d. He died
 full of exemplary firmness and invincible silence, nor once
 upbraiding the Tribune with an equal participation in the
 conspiracy.

conspiracy. The bloody doom of *SENECA* follow'd, to the infinite joy of the Prince; from no proof that he had of his engagement in the plot, but to satiate his own cruelty, that the raging sword might perpetrate what had been by poison unsuccessfully attempted: for, *NATALIS* only had nam'd him; but concerning him could discover no more than thus much, "that he had been by *PISO* sent to visit *SENECA*, then indispos'd, to complain in his name, that he himself was refus'd admittance; and withal to represent, that it would be better if they maintain'd their friendship in free and familiar intercourse: that to this *SENECA* replied, that the maintaining of frequent conversations and interviews by themselves, was conducing to the service of neither: but, in sum, upon the safety of *PISO* his own security rested." *GRANIUS SILVANUS*, Tribune of a Pretorian Cohort, was order'd to represent all this to *SENECA*, and to demand of him; whether he own'd the words of *NATALIS*, and his own answers. *SENECA* had that very day, either from chance or foresight, return'd from Campania, and rested at a villa of his, four miles from Rome: thither arriv'd the Tribune in the evening, beset the villa with his men, and to him, as he sat at table with *PAULLINA* his wife, and two friends, deliver'd his orders from the Emperor.

SENECA replied, "that *NATALIS* had in truth been sent to him, and in the name of *PISO* complain'd, that the latter was debarr'd from visiting him; a complaint which he had answer'd by excuses taken from his bodily disorder and desire of quiet; but still he never had any motive to declare, that to his own security he preferr'd the safety of a private man: a genius addicted to flattery, he never had; as no man better knew than *NERO*, who from *SENECA* had felt more frequent proofs of freedom than servility." When this his answer was by the Tribune reported to *NERO*, in presence of *POPPEA* and *TIGELLINUS*, who were assistants to the raging tyrant, and compos'd his cabinet council; he ask'd, whether *SENECA* were determin'd upon a voluntary death? the Tribune averr'd, "that he had manifested no one symptom of fear; and neither in his words nor looks

“ was ought of anguish to be discover’d.” Hence, he was commanded to return directly, and carry him the denunciation of death. *FABIUS RUSTICUS* writes, “ that the Tribune took not now the same road which he came, “ but wheeling aside to *FENIUS* Captain of the Guards, “ and disclosing the Emperor’s orders, demanded whether “ he should obey him; and was by him admonish’d to “ pursue them.” Such was the fatal spiritlessness and timidity of all the conspirators! *SILVANUS* too was one, and yet contributing to multiply the same bloody iniquities which he had conspir’d to avenge. He avoided however seeing *SENECA*, and delivering in person the sad message; but sent in a Centurion to apprize him of “ his final “ doom.”

THE denunciation no wise dismay’d *SENECA*, who call’d calmly for his will; and, as this was prohibited by the Centurion, turning to his friends, he told them, “ that since he was disabled from a grateful requital of “ their benefits, he bequeath’d them that which alone was “ now left him, yet something more glorious and amiable than all the rest, the pattern of his life: if they “ retain’d the impressions and resemblance of this, they “ would thence reap the applause of virtuous manners, “ as well as that of persevering in their friendship.” He withal repress’d their tears, sometimes with gentle reasoning, sometimes in the stile of authority and correction, and strove to recover them to resolution and constancy. “ Where, he often ask’d, where were now all the documents of philosophy? where, that philosophical principle, for so many years premeditated, against the sudden “ encounter of calamities? for, to whom was unknown “ the bloody nature of *NERO*? nor, after the butchering “ of his mother and the murdering of his brother, did “ ought remain, to consummate his cruelty, but to add to “ theirs the slaughter of his nursing father and instructor.”

HAVING utter’d these and the like reasonings, directed to the company in general; he embraced his wife; an affecting object, which somewhat abated his firmness, and soften’d him into anxiety for her future lot: he press’d and besought her, “ to moderate her sorrow, to beware

“ of perpetuating such a dismal passion; but to bear the
 “ death of her husband by contemplating his life spent
 “ in a steady course of virtue; and to support his loss
 “ by all worthy consolations.” PAULLINA, on the contrary, urg’d her purpose to die with him, and call’d for the aid of a minister of death. Upon this declaration, SENECA would not bereave her of so much glory: such besides was his fondness for her, that he was loth to leave one by himself belov’d above all things, expos’d to insults and injuries: “ I had laid before thee, said he, the
 “ delights and solacements of living: thou preferrest the
 “ renown of dying: I shall not envy thee the honour of
 “ the example. Between us let us equally share the fortitude of an end so brave; but greater will be the splendour
 “ of thy particular fall.” Presently after this conversation, both had the veins of their arms open’d, at the same instant: SENECA was aged, his body cold, and extenuated by feeble diet: so that the issues of his blood were exceeding slow: hence he caus’d to be cut the veins also of his legs and those about the joints of his knees. As he was succumbing under many grievous agonies, he persuaded her to retire into another chamber, lest his own sufferings might vanquish the resolution of his wife, or he himself by beholding her pangs, lapse into weakness and impatience: and, his eloquence flowing even to the last moment of his life, he call’d for his scribes, and to them dictated many things, which being already publish’d in his own words, and common, I forbear to rehearse in any words of mine.

Towards PAULLINA, NERO bore no personal hate, and, to avoid feeding the publick abhorrence of his cruelty, order’d her death to be prevented. Hence, at the persuasion of the soldiers, her domestick slaves and freedmen bound up her arms, and staid the blood; but, whether with her own concurrence, is uncertain. For, as the populace in their censure, are rather prone to malignancy, there were some who believ’d, “ that while she fear’d the
 “ wrath of NERO as implacable, she aim’d at the applause
 “ of dying with her husband: but, as soon as gentler
 “ hopes occur’d she became utterly vanquish’d with the
 “ sweetness and allurements of life:” to which it is certain,

tain, she added but a small portion of years, ever retaining for the memory of her husband a reverence worthy of all praise: her face too, and all her limbs, were still cover'd with such deadly paleness, that it was notorious the principles of life had been in a great measure exhausted. SENECA the while, afflicted with the tedious protraction of life, and the slow advances of death, besought STATIUS ANNEUS, one long prov'd by him for faith in friendship and skill in medicine, to bring him a draught of the poison, which a great while ago he had laid up in store; the same sort which is us'd at Athens, to dispatch such as are by the publick judgment condemn'd: this he swallow'd, but in vain; for already all his limbs were chill'd, all his juices stagnated and impenetrable to the rapidity of poison. He therefore had recourse to a hot bath, from whence he besprinkled such of his slaves as stood nearest, adding, that "of this liquor he made a libation to Jupiter the deliverer." From thence, he was convey'd into a stove and suffocated with the steam. His corps was burnt without any funeral solemnity: for, thus in his will he had enjoin'd; even then when, in the plenitude of his opulence and authority, he had provided for his decease and obsequies.

A rumour there was, that SUBRIUS FLAVIUS, in a secret consultation with the Centurions, and even with the privacy of SENECA, had determin'd, that, as soon as by the aid of PISO, NERO was slain, PISO too should be dispatch'd, and the Empire transferr'd to SENECA, as one exempt from all reproach, and only "for the fame and resplendency of his virtues, prefer'd to the supreme dignity." Nay, even the words said to have been by FLAVIUS then utter'd, became current, "that it would nothing avail towards abolishing the publick contumely, to depose a Minstrel; if to the vacant purple a Tragedian succeeded." For, as NERO was wont to sing to the harp, so was PISO to chant in the accent and dress of tragedy.

Now neither could the share of the soldiers in the conspiracy be kept longer a mystery: such was the temptation and eagerness of the discoverers to betray FENIUS RUFUS, whom they could not bear to be, as he was, at

once an accomplice and inquisitor. Hence it was, that in the examination of SCEVINUS, while RUFUS urged him to a full confession, with much vehemence and many menaces; the other smil'd and told him, "that in all the particulars of the plot no man was more knowing than himself;" he even exhorted him, "to make suitable returns of gratitude to so good a Prince." To refute the charge, FENIUS had not a syllable to utter, nor yet would acquiesce in silence; but faltering and perplex'd in his speech, expos'd notoriously his inward dismay: at the same time the rest, chiefly CERVARIUS PROCULUS, a Roman Knight, combining with all their might to convict him; one CASSIUS a soldier, who, for his signal strength of body, was appointed to attend the trials, laid hold upon him, by the Emperor's order, and cast him into bonds.

IN the detection made by the same men, SUBRIUS FLAVIUS the Tribune was next fatally involv'd. At first he aim'd at a defence, and pleaded "the diversity of his profession and manners from those of the conspirators: for that, never for the execution of an attempt so great and daring, would he, who was a man of arms, have leagu'd with such as were resign'd to effeminacy, and never bore any." But, at last, finding himself push'd with questions and circumstances, he aspir'd to the glory of confession: and, in answer to NERO, who ask'd him from what provocations had he flighted the obligation of his oath; "I abhorred thee, said he: tho', amongst all thy soldiery, none was more faithful and affectionate than I, as long as thou didst merit affection: with thy own detestable crimes my abhorrence of thee began, after thou hadst become the murderer of thy mother, the murderer of thy wife, a Charioteer, a Comedian, and the Incendiary that set fire to Rome." I have repeated his very words: for they were not divulg'd abroad, like those of SENECA: nor less worthy to be known were these conceptions of a man of the sword, which however artless and unpolite, are vigorous and brave. Apparent it was, that this whole conspiracy had afforded nothing, which prov'd more bitter and pungent than this to the ears of NERO; who was abandon'd to every black iniquity,

quity, but unwont and too imperious to be thus upbraided afterwards with his flagitious doings. The execution of FLAVIUS was committed to the Tribune VEIANUS NIGER; and in the next field, by his direction, was digg'd a funeral trench; which FLAVIUS derided, "as too streight
 "and shallow;" and, applying to the guard of soldiers, "this, says he, is not so much as according to the laws
 "of discipline." Being admonish'd by the Tribune, to extend his neck valiantly; "I wish, replied he, thou mayst
 "strike with equal valour." In truth, NIGER was totally overcome by a violent trembling, and hardly at two blows beheaded him: hence, to magnify his own cruelty to NERO, he boasted, that in putting him to death, he designedly employ'd more strokes than one.

THE next example of constancy and fortitude was administer'd by SULPICIUS ASPER, the Centurion; who, in answer to the question urg'd by NERO, why he had conspir'd to kill him, said in few words, "other relief
 "there was none against thy numberless and raging enormities;" and immediately underwent his prescrib'd doom. Nor did the other Centurions deviate in bravery and spirit, but gallantly faced death, and suffer'd its pains. In FENIUS RUFUS equal magnanimity was not found: nay such and so permanent were his unmanly lamentations and anguish, that even in his last will, he bewail'd himself. Great was the expectation which NERO was fostering, that VESTINUS the Consul, would prove likewise involv'd in the treason; as he esteemed him a man of a violent spirit, and prompted by virulent hate and disaffection. But, to VESTINUS the conspirators had imparted none of their counsels; some influenc'd by stale personal distastes; many because they believ'd him a man altogether precipitate and untractable. But, that which begot in NERO his enmity to VESTINUS, was an intimate fellowship between them. From thence the latter thoroughly knew and scorn'd the vile cowardly heart of the Prince; and the Prince dreaded the haughty and vehement temper of his friend; by whom he had been frequently insulted with poignant and disdainful sarcasms; which, whenever they are seasoned with much truth, never fail to leave behind them a bitter and vengeful remembrance. A recent

cent provocation had likewise occur'd: VESTINUS had taken to wife STATILIA MESSALINA, tho' he was aware that amongst her other gallants, CESAR too was one.

WHEN therefore there appear'd no accuser to charge him, no crime to be charg'd; NERO, since he could not satiate his rancour, under the title and guise of a Judge, flew to the violence of a Tyrant. Against him he dispatch'd GERELANUS the Tribune, at the head of five hundred men, with orders, "to obviate the attempts and machinations of the Consul; to take possession of his house so much resembling a citadel; and to subdue his domestic band of chosen youths:" for, the dwelling of VESTINUS overlook'd the great Forum, and he always kept a number of beautiful slaves, all of an age. He had that day discharg'd all the functions of Consul; he was afterwards celebrating a banquet at home, void of all fear, or, perhaps, by the gayety of feasting, seeking to hide his fears, when the soldiers enter'd. They told him, the Tribune had sent them to bring him: nor delay'd he a jot, but rose from table, and in one and the same moment the hasty tragedy was begun and finish'd: he was shut up in a chamber; the physician attended; his veins were cut; and, while yet full of life, and his strength unabated, he was convey'd into a bagnio and smother'd with hot water; nor, under all this deadly denunciation and process, did a syllable escape him, importing the least regret or self commiseration. In the mean time, the whole company who sup'd with him, were enclos'd with a Guard; nor releas'd till the night was far spent. NERO, after he had represented to himself the consternation of men, who from the joy of a feast, were waiting for their mortal doom, and had even made himself sport with their fears, declar'd at last; "that they had undergone penalty sufficient for their Consular supper."

THE next bloody sentence he pronounc'd, was against LUCAN the Poet. He, while his blood issued in streams, perceiving his feet and hands to grow cold and stiffen, and life to retire by little and little from the extremities; while his heart was still beating with vital warmth, and his faculties no wise impair'd; recollected some lines of his own, which describ'd a wounded soldier expiring in a

manner that resembled this. The lines themselves he rehears'd, and they were the last words he ever utter'd. Thereafter SENECIO, and QUINCTIANUS, and SCEVINUS, suffer'd the violence of their fate; but with a spirit far different from the former effeminacy and voluptuousness of their lives. Anon were executed the residue of the conspirators, without ought memorable by them done or express'd.

Now, when all Rome was fill'd with deaths and corps, and funerals; so was the Capitol with victims. One man had lost a son, one a brother; this a friend, that a kinsman; all fallen by the fury of the sword: but, whatever was the particular affliction and loss, every man paid his publick thanksgiving to the Gods, adorn'd his house with laurel, fell prostrate at the Emperor's feet, embraced his knees, and worried his right hand with kisses. He, who believ'd all this to be a sincere manifestation of joy, rewarded ANTONIUS NATALIS and CERVARIUS PROCULUS with pardon, for their early confession and discovery. Upon MILICHUS was accumulated abundant wealth and recompense, and he assum'd a Greek name, signifying *Protector*. GRANIUS SILVANUS, one of the conspiring Tribunes, tho' he was acquitted, fell by his own hand: STATIUS PROXIMUS, another, frustrated the Prince's pardon, by vainly engaging afterwards in another offence, and dying for it. Of their commands next were bereft the following Tribunes; POMPEIUS, CORNELIUS MARTIALIS, FLAVIUS NEPOS, and STATIUS DOMITIUS: for no charge as if towards the Emperor they bore any malevolence, but only that they were dreaded by him. To NONIUS PRISCUS, to CLITIUS GALLUS, and ANNIUS POLLIO, all obnoxious from their friendship to SENECA, and rather calumniated than convicted, banishment was adjudg'd. ANTONIA FLACILLA accompanied PRISCUS her exil'd husband, and GALLUS too was attended by his wife EGNATIA MAXIMILLA: at first they were possess'd of wealth mighty and unimpair'd; afterwards disposs'd of all: and, having sustain'd these different fortunes, their glory was thence augmented. Into banishment too was driven RUFUS CRISPINUS; a punishment for which the conspiracy furnish'd a pretence: but
the

the real cause was the antipathy of NERO; and his crime, to have been once the husband of POPPEA. Upon VIRGINIUS and MUSONIUS RUFUS, their own signal renown drew the severity of expulsion. They had both engag'd the affections of the Roman youth; VIRGINIUS by lectures of Eloquence; MUSONIUS by reasonings upon the precepts of Philosophy. CLUVIDIENUS QUIETUS, JULIUS AGRIPPA, BLITIUS CATULINUS, PETRONIUS PRISCUS, and JULIUS ALTINUS, as if a host had been form'd of criminals convict, and their doom and numbers display'd, were all at once condemn'd to be transported into the Islands of the Egean sea: CESONIUS MAXIMUS, and CADICIA the wife of SCEVINUS, were exterminated Italy; and, only by suffering the punishment of crimes, learnt that ever they had been charg'd as criminals. The information against ATILLA the mother of LUCAN was dissembled; and, without being clear'd, she escaped unpunish'd.

NERO having accomplish'd all these matters, assembled the soldiery, entertain'd them with a speech, distributed amongst them a largess of fifty crowns a man; and whereas hitherto they had been supplied with grain at the establish'd rate, he allow'd it them thenceforth without payment. Then, as if he had been about to recount to the Senate the feats and events of a war, he order'd the fathers to assemble. Upon PETRONIUS TURPILIANUS, the Consular, upon COCCERIUS NERVA, Pretor elect, and upon TIGELLINUS, Captain of the Pretorian Guards, he conferr'd the ornaments and distinction of triumph. Nay, to such notable eminence did he raise TIGELLINUS and NERVA, that, besides their triumphal Statues erected in the Forum, he would needs have their images placed likewise in the palace. To NYMPHIDIUS he granted the Consular decorations: a man this concerning whom, since his name now first occurs, I shall here recite a few particulars. For, he too will have his share in the bloody calamities and approaching vicissitudes of Rome. He was born a manumis'd slave, who having a comely person, had long prostituted the same to the domesticks of the Emperors, bond and free without distinction: hence he boasted himself the son of CALIGULA; seeing, like him,

he happen'd to be tall of stature, and of a countenance stern and terrible. Or, perhaps, it is likely that CALIGULA, addicted as he was to the embraces of harlots, had also descended to gallantries with the mother of NYMPHIDIUS.

NERO having thus assembled the fathers, and deliver'd a discourse concerning the late transactions, address'd an edict to the people upon the same subject, and publish'd from records the several evidences against the condemn'd conspirators, as also their own confessions. He was forely reproach'd by a rumour current amongst the populace, "that merely to satiate his malice, or out of base fear, he had sacrific'd guiltless and illustrious men." Yet, that there was a real conspiracy, concerted and form'd, then grown to a head and maturity, and at last detected and crush'd; was no matter of doubt to such as were then curious to be truly inform'd, and even acknowledg'd by those of the conspirators, who, after the fall of NERO, return'd from banishment to Rome. In the Senate, the while, where abject sycophancy prevail'd, and every particular, the more sensibly he was pierc'd with inward affliction and anguish, the more fawnings and congratulations he express'd; SALIENUS CLEMENS fell fiercely upon JUNIUS GALLIO, already terrified with the death of SENECA his brother, and then a suppliant for his own life: he proceeded charging him with the character of "a parricide and a publick enemy," till the fathers unanimously aw'd and restrain'd him. They advis'd him, "that he would not seem to take an unworthy advantage of the publick calamities, to gratify his own personal animosity; and since, through the clemency of the Prince, all matters were compos'd, or all faults cancell'd, he would not revive staid proceedings, nor open a new source of cruelty."

AND now it was decreed that "publick thanksgivings and oblations should be paid to all the Deities, and peculiar honours to the Sun; the God, who possessing an ancient Chapel in the Circus, the place intended for the perpetration of the parricide, had expos'd to light the dark contrivances of the conspirators: that the Circensian Games, exhibited to Ceres, should be solemniz'd

“ with an extraordinary accession of horses and chariots:
 “ that the month of April, should thenceforth bear the
 “ name of NERO; and to the Goddess *Salus* a Temple be
 “ erected in the place whence SCEVINUS had brought
 “ the dagger.” The dagger it self was by NERO dedi-
 cated in the Capitol, and inscrib’d, *to Jove the avenger*
(Jupiter Vindex) words which at that time were not minded.
 But, upon the revolt of JULIUS VINDEX, which after-
 wards happen’d; from them was then drawn an augury
 and presage of approaching vengeance. In the Journals
 of the Senate, I find that CERIALIS ANICIUS, Consul
 elect, when it came to his vote mov’d, “ that a Temple
 “ should, with all speed, be rais’d, at the charge of the
 “ state, and consecrated to the deified NERO:” a motion
 which he really meant in complement, as to one who
 soar’d above the highest lot of mortality, and was en-
 titled to celestial worship from men; from hence too was
 inferr’d an omen of his hastning fate; since to Princes,
 divine honours are never paid till they have finally for-
 saken human life, and all commerce with men.

SIXTEENTH ANNAL.

FORTUNE thereafter expos’d NERO to publick de-
 rision, through the intoxication of his own vanity,
 and the wild promises made him by CESELLIUS BASSUS
 a Carthaginian; one of a restless and chimerical spirit,
 who from the impulse of a nocturnal dream gather’d some
 great and certain hopes, and fraught with them sail’d to
 Rome: where, having by money procur’d access to the
 Prince, he set forth, “ that in his lands was discover’d
 “ a cave of enormous profundity, where lay immense
 “ store of gold, never reduced into form or coin, but
 “ in rude and ponderous lumps, such as were us’d by the
 “ ancients: and indeed the antiquity of the place was
 “ apparent in the structure and ruins; as here appear’d
 “ heaps of huge massy bricks, there pillars still erect;
 “ and all this wealth had for so many ages lain buried
 “ and reserved to multiply the riches and felicities of the
 “ present reign. For the rest, what could be learnt from
 “ conjecture

“ conjecture was, that Dido the Phenician, she who
 “ fled from Tyre, having founded Carthage, had buried
 “ this treasure, lest her new people might be debauch’d
 “ by excessive opulence, and become vitious and ungo-
 “ vernable; or lest the Princes of Numidia, who upon
 “ other accounts bore her malevolence, might from the
 “ ardent thirst of gold be instigated to make war upon
 “ her.”

THIS struck NERO, who little weighing the credibility of the account, or the faith and veracity of him that brought it, nor so much as dispatching inspectors to examine whether the particulars represented were true, heighten’d yet more the rumour of the discovery; and, as if it had been so much certain spoil already acquir’d, he sent over some to transport it to Rome; nay, to accelerate its arrival, he furnish’d them with light galleys mann’d by setts of chosen and expert rowers: nor did any other subject than this employ the conversation of the publick at that time, while with the credulous multitude it pass’d for true, but from men of discernment met a different censure. And, as the Quinquennial Games happen’d then for the second time to be in a course of celebration, the Poets and Orators, in their panegyricks upon the Prince, borrow’d from thence their chief themes; “ for that the
 “ earth was no longer satisfied with yielding only her
 “ wonted bounties of fruits and grain, or gold incorpo-
 “ rated with other ore, but teem’d, in his reign, with
 “ productions altogether new; and to him the Gods pre-
 “ sented treasures already stor’d;” with many other fictions abounding in pompous eloquence, nor less remarkable for servile debasement and flattery; secure as they were of his prompt faith to believe whatever they could feign.

IN the mean time, he rioted in prodigality without all measure, from the stimulation of his fantastical hopes; and utterly consum’d his ancient treasures, as if others in their stead now spontaneously accrued, sufficient to supply him in a course of profusion for many years: nay out of this imaginary fund he was already distributing largesses; and the vain expectation of great riches became one of the causes of publick poverty. When BASSUS had per-
 forated

forated and hollow'd all his grounds, with many adjacent fields, for a great compass round, hunting from place to place after the promis'd cave, which now he averr'd to be here, then to be there; attended not only with a number of soldiers, but by a multitude of boors employ'd as labourers in that work; he at last renounced his phrenzy, and wondring that his dreams had never prov'd false before, and that this was the first time he felt their delusion, discharg'd himself by a voluntary death from the agonies of shame and dread. Some authors say, that he was thrown into prison, and anon releas'd, but his fortune seiz'd in the room of this treasure Royal.

DURING the prosecution of this affair, as the time was at hand for disputing the prizes in the Quinquennial Games, the Senate, in order to avert in some degree, the disgrace and contumely which NERO must incur by appearing a competitor there, offer'd to assert to him by decree "the victory in Song;" nay, even to adjudge him "the crown of Eloquence:" meaning by such distinction from the fathers, to throw a veil over his Theatrical debasement. But NERO declar'd, "that he needed not the interposition and partiality of the Senate, nor any authority of theirs; since he himself was a match for all his competitors, and would only by the equitable determination of the Judges, purchase the just praise and recompence of his skill." He then presented himself publickly, but first upon the Stage peculiar to the festival, and there rehears'd a Poem of his own composing; but anon, upon the clamour and importunity of the vulgar herd, "that he would display to the publick the whole fruits of his studies" (for this was the phrase which they us'd) he enter'd the Great Theatre and practis'd a sedulous obedience to all the laws of the Harp; such as not to sit down however fatigued; not to wipe the sweat from his face, save only with the vestment he wore; nor to suffer the least moisture to appear at his mouth or nose. In conclusion, bowing the knee and with his hands lifted up, paying veneration to the multitude, he awaited with fictitious awe and trembling the determination of his Judges. In truth the commonalty of Rome, they who were wont to humour and encourage the acting and jesticulations of common players, fail'd

fail'd not now to eccho their applauses of NERO with measur'd notes and symphony, and clapp'd in tune according to the rules of confort: you would have thought that they had really rejoyc'd; and it is probable their rejoicings were sincere, from an utter insensibility of publick honour, or of the crying reproach which debas'd the Roman state.

BUT far different was the temper and behaviour of such as dwelt in the municipal cities of Italy (for the countries of Italy as yet retain'd their primitive severity, and the sober manners of the ancients) as also of such as came from the remote Provinces, where they were unacquainted with the like wantonness and revellings, and attended then at Rome upon embassies, or their own private affairs: neither of these could bear to behold this dishonourable spectacle, or were capable of discharging a task so unmanly and degenerate; so that while, with irregular and awkward efforts in clapping, they marr'd the feats of the disciplin'd clappers, they were frequently bastonaded by the soldiers, who stood in several clusters amongst the crowd, to watch that not a single moment should pass either in unequal and ill concerted acclamations, or in cold and lifeless silence. Certain it is that many Roman Knights while they strove to retire, were through the streightness of the cramm'd passages, and the weight of the multitude, press'd to death; and that others, by never stirring night and day from their seats, were there seiz'd with mortal maladies: for they dreaded even more than maladies the deadly consequence of their absence from this Imperial revel; since, besides the several conceal'd and lurking observers, employ'd to mark the carriage of the audience, there were a number of open spies, who publickly noted names and faces, and all the symptoms of pleasure or melancholy in every particular of the assembly: hence it was that, upon the vulgar and ignoble, instant pains were inflicted: towards those of illustrious quality his hate was for the present smother'd, but soon after discharg'd in deadly vengeance. It was reported, " that VESPASIAN
 " was by PHIBUS, NERO's freedman, bitterly reproach'd
 " and even charg'd as a criminal, for inattention, as if
 " he had nodded; and hardly found protection even by
 6 A " the

“ the prayers and mediation of worthy and honourable friends; that perdition still hung over him, and he only escap’d it by the grandeur of his ensuing destiny.”

THE diversions of the Theatre were follow’d by the death of POPPEA; occasioned by a casual fit of passion in her husband, who kill’d her with a blow of his foot upon her heavy pregnant womb: for, to poison I cannot ascribe it, as some writers have done, rather thro’ antipathy to NERO, than love of truth; seeing he vehemently coveted children, and was govern’d by a passionate fondness for his wife. Her corps was not consumed to ashes according to the rites of the Romans; but after the manner of foreign Monarchs, embowelled, and replete with spices repositied in the sepulchre of the Julian family. Her obsequies however were publickly celebrated, and from the publick Rostrum her panegyrick was deliver’d by the Emperor, who magnified “ her beauty and her happy lot, to have been the mother of an infant now enroll’d amongst the Deities,” with many other blind endowments of fortune, which he enumerated as so many virtues. The death of POPPEA begat in Rome every appearance of sadness and mourning; but secretly instill’d much joy into the hearts of all who remember’d her lewdness and cruelty; and, besides the reproach of this murder, NERO earn’d fresh detestation by forbidding CAIUS CASSIUS from assisting at her funeral; the first signal this of his impending doom; nor was his doom long postpon’d. In the same fate SILANUS too was involv’d, and each of them consign’d to destruction without guilt or offence in either, only that both were men of high and signal distinction, CASSIUS for his great hereditary opulence and the exemplary gravity of his manners; SILANUS for the ancient splendor of his race, and the popular hopes and eminent modesty of his youth. NERO therefore sent to the Senate a speech in writing, and in it argued for “ the necessity of removing both from any share in the administration of the state.” To CASSIUS particularly he objected, “ that amongst the Images of his ancestors, he preserv’d in high reverence that of CAIUS CASSIUS, thus inscrib’d, *The leader of the party*; for
“ that,

“ that, he too was meditating the scheme of a civil war,
 “ and a revolt from the family of the CESARS: but since
 “ in his design of exciting insurrections, he would not
 “ employ only the influence and memory of a name so
 “ obnoxious, he had engag’d LUCIUS SILANUS, a youth
 “ splendid in descent, of a tempestuous spirit, and one
 “ whom he set as a stake to produce and animate a pub-
 “ lick revolution.”

HE fell thereafter directly upon SILANUS himself, with great bitterness; urging against him the very same imputations which he had formerly objected to his uncle TORQUATUS; “ that already he assum’d the port of a
 “ Prince; in his house had establish’d officers of Imperial
 “ state, and rais’d his freedmen to several dignities, some
 “ to be Auditors of the Revenues, some to be Masters of
 “ Requests, others to be principal Secretaries:” ridiculous imputations, and as false as ridiculous! For, dread of the prevailing tyranny kept SILANUS under more awe and precaution; and, from the late bloody doom of his uncle, he had learnt a terrible lesson of circumspection. NERO next prompted certain persons to assume the name of voluntary informers and forge an accusation against LEPIDA the wife of CASSIUS, and aunt to SILANUS, “ that with this her nephew she had been guilty of in-
 “ cest, and in sacrifice had practis’d magical rites of black
 “ and mischievous tendency.” As accomplices were seiz’d and arraign’d VULCATIUS TULLINUS and MARCELLUS CORNELIUS, two Senators, with CALPURNIUS FABATUS a Roman Knight, men who, by appealing to CESAR, did thence divert their instant condemnation; and as NERO was thenceforth intent upon more exalted achievements in cruelty, they whom he considered as smaller delinquents, entirely escap’d his rage.

THE Senate then proceeded to pronounce against CASSIUS and SILANUS sentence of perpetual banishment; but, to the judgment of CESAR referr’d the punishment of LEPIDA. CASSIUS was transported into SARDINIA, and in regard of his great age, the short remains of his life were spar’d. SILANUS, under colour of sending him away to the Isle of Naxos, was remov’d to Ostia, and afterwards confin’d in Barium, a city of Apulia: while there,

there, with the spirit of a wise man, he supported a lot most unworthy of his virtue and innocence, a Centurion commissioned for the assassination, laid hold on him, and advis'd him to cut his veins: he answer'd, " that to die was " the firm purpose of his soul; but upon an executioner " he would not confer the glory of fulfilling that pur- " pose." Yet the Centurion perceiving him a man of great strength, and tho' destitute of arms, resolute and daring, and more dispos'd to acts of wrath than those of dismay, order'd his soldiers to secure him: nor did SIL- LANUS fail to make vigorous resistance, and to distribute blows with as much energy as by naked hands could be exerted, till at last he fell by the sword of the Centuri- on, but under a multitude of wounds all receiv'd before, like those of a brave man who falls facing the enemy in the day of battle.

NOR with less dispatch and intrepidity did LUCIUS VETUS and his mother-in-law SEXTIA, with POLLUTIA his daughter, undergo their bloody doom. Towards them the Prince had long borne much vindictive rancour and hate, as those whose lives were so many standing reproaches upon him, for the murder of RUBELLIUS PLAUTUS, son-in-law to LUCIUS VETUS: but the first handle for manifesting this his hatred and cruelty, was administer'd by a freedman of VETUS, his name FORTUNATUS, who having abus'd his trust and defrauded his Lord, added malice to robbery, and became his accuser. Into a partnership in this traiterous plot he assum'd CLAUDIUS DEMIANUS, one who for his villanies in Asia was by VETUS, then Proconsul there, sent in bonds to Rome, but now by NERO, in recompence of this his accusation, releas'd. The accus'd, when he was appriz'd of this combination, and that against the credit of his freedman his life was stak'd, retir'd to a seat of his own in the neighbourhood of Formia, whither a Guard of soldiers follow'd, and there secretly beset him: with him was his daughter. She besides the agonies which she felt from the present awaken- ing peril, had a soul before inflam'd and embitter'd by a long course of sorrow, ever since she had first beheld the assassins sent to butcher PLAUTUS her husband; and, as she had passionately hugg'd his bleeding neck, she still preserv'd

preserv'd the garments stain'd by his blood, still persever'd a widow, devoted to unrelenting grief and wailings, and a stranger to all nourishment, except what just sav'd her from the grave. Upon this occasion, at the request of her father, she travell'd to Naples; and, since she was denied access to NERO, she besieg'd his gates, and watch'd his coming forth, imploring him "to hear the defence of an innocent man, nor to a traiterous freedman sacrifice one who had been once his colleague in the Consulship." And this her petition she continued to urge importunately, sometimes with the lamentable moanings of a woman, sometimes with a spirit surpassing her sex, and an accent vehement and imperious; till the implacable Emperor by his behaviour convinced her, that he was no more to be softned by distress and supplications, than mov'd by the apprehensions of publick odium.

HENCE she reported to her father, "that he must banish all hope; and meet a fate which he could not fly." Tydings at the same time arriv'd, "that the Senate was hastening his trial and proceeding to a sentence terrible and merciless." Nor were there wanting some who perswaded him to bequeath to NERO the bulk of his fortune, as the best expedient "to secure to his grand-children the remainder," a proposal by him rejected; nor would he stain the whole course of his life, spent almost in the fulness of liberty, by closing it with an act of servitude, but amongst his domesticks distributed whatever sums of money were then in his possession, with orders, "to appropriate to themselves and remove away whatever they found portable; leaving only three couches for the use of their coarces." Then all three open'd their veins, in one and the same chamber, with one and the same steel; and, each cover'd for decency with a single rayment, were with dispatch convey'd into warm baths; the father's eyes intent upon his daughter, those of the old Lady upon her grand-daughter, and hers upon both; all praying with emulation for a speedy issue of fleeting life, each wishing to expire first, wishing to leave behind such dear relations still alive, tho' hastning to die: and fortune observ'd the order of seniority and nature, the oldest first expir'd and the youngest last. After they were buried, they were accus'd,

cus'd, and voted to "capital punishment according to "the president of antiquity:" but against this NERO interpos'd, and would needs indulge them to die without prescription of form: such were the instances of derision added to slaughters already perpetrated! PUBLIUS GALLUS a Roman Knight, who had been intimate with FENIUS RUFUS, and not unacceptable to VETUS, was for such offence prohibited fire and water. To the freedman and accuser, in recompence of the meritorious pains and service, a place in the Theatre was assign'd amongst the officers belonging to the Tribunes. And as the name *April* was chang'd into that of NERO, so was *May* into that of CLAUDIUS, and *June* into that of GERMANICUS: CORNELIUS ORFITUS, from whose motion these alterations proceeded, declar'd, "that he had therefore propos'd abolishing the name of *June*, for that two of the JUNII "TORQUATI already executed for treason, had thence "render'd that name abominable."

THIS year, one stain'd with so many accumulated acts of tyranny and blood, was by the Gods too branded with devouring tempests and mortality: by the violence of whirlwinds, the country of Campania was ravag'd, villages were overturn'd, the plantations torn up, the fruits of the earth scatter'd, and the extensive devastation carried as far as the neighbourhood of Rome; where, at the same time a fierce pestilence was, without any discernible malignity in the air, sweeping away all conditions of men: full of coarces were the houses, full of funerals the streets; nor sex nor age was spar'd by the impartial malady: to the same swift destruction yielded the bondmen and free, amidst the tears and wailings of their wives and children; who, whilst they were yet attending and lamenting their expiring parents and husbands, were themselves snatch'd away, and frequently burnt in the same funeral pile with those they lamented: as fast as the rest, perish'd illustrious Roman Knights and Senators; but less bewail'd, since by a deadly contagion common to all, they escap'd falling by the cruelty of the Prince. The same year recruits were rais'd in Narbon Gaul, and through Africa and Asia, for supplying the Legions in Illyrium, from whence had been discharg'd all such as were enfeebled by infirmity or age.

To

To the inhabitants of Lyons, as a relief for their late calamity by fire, the Emperor presented a hundred thousand crowns, to repair the damages of their city; a sum once presented voluntarily by the Lionese to Rome, during a time when she was under distractions and embarrassment.

IN the Consulship of CAIUS SUETONIUS and LUCIUS TELESINUS; ANTISTIVS SOSIANUS, one doom'd, as I have above related, to perpetual exile, for certain virulent verses by him compos'd against NERO; becoming afterwards appriz'd of the honour and distinction paid to informers, and of the Emperor's propensity to acts of rage and blood; being withal a man of a restless spirit, and no wise slack to embrace occasions of advantage, courted the friendship of PAMMENES, and through the similitude of their lot obtain'd it: for PAMMENES too was an exile of the same place, one celebrated for his science in the mysteries of Astrology, and thence engag'd in numerous friendships. He judg'd, that, without some important purpose, so many messengers and so many querists to consult him, could not be thus daily arriving; and learnt withal that, from PUBLIVS ANTEIVS a yearly stipend was allow'd him: nor was it any secret to SOSIANUS that ANTEIVS, for his zeal and attachment to AGRIPPINA, was expos'd to the malice and jealousy of NERO; that his opulence was sufficiently signal to stimulate the rapacious appetite of the Prince, and that from this source only multitudes had suffer'd their deadly bane. With this view he intercepted letters from ANTEIVS, and even stole the papers containing the calculation of his nativity, and the future events of his life; which were secretly kept in the custody of PAMMENES: he besides found the scheme by him drawn concerning the birth and fortune of OSTORIUS SCAPULA; and then wrote forthwith to the Emperor, "that might he obtain a short respite
 " from banishment, he had mighty discoveries to commu-
 " nicate, such as were highly conducing to the personal
 " safety of the Prince, for that ANTEIVS and OSTO-
 " RIUS were meditating some sudden attempt upon the
 " state, and diving solicitously into their own destiny and
 " that of CESAR." Immediately light pinnaces were dis-
 patch'd

patch'd away, and *SOSIANUS* transported with expedition to Rome; where, upon the first divulging of his discovery *ANTEIUS* and *OSTORIUS* were by all men consider'd rather already under the sentence of death, than such as were to be tried for their lives: infomuch that none durst appear to witness the execution of *ANTEIUS* his will, till *TIGELLINUS* authoriz'd it; having first given him warning, "to lose no time, but forthwith execute his last testament." He then swallow'd a draught of poison; but growing tir'd and impatient of its slow operation, accelerated his death by opening his veins.

OSTORIUS was then abiding at an estate of his in a remote quarter of Italy, upon the borders of Liguria, and thither a Centurion was sent with orders to slay him with all dispatch. The motive for such precipitation sprung from this source; *OSTORIUS* was a man of high military renown, distinguish'd in Britain with a Civic Crown, of prodigious bodily strength, and, from his experience in war, eminently qualified for feats of arms: hence *NERO*, who ever liv'd under continual dread, and, since the discovery of the late conspiracy, in the utmost dismay and affright; was scar'd lest that brave officer should take up arms and fall upon him. The Centurion, when he had with Guards beset every issue from the villa, to prevent all escape, acquainted *OSTORIUS* with his orders from the Emperor: *OSTORIUS*, without delay, upon his own person turn'd the edge of that bravery which he had so often exerted with applause against the foe; and, seeing that from his veins, though largely open'd, there flow'd but little blood; he dispatch'd himself by a poynard, using so far the help of one of his slaves, as to make him hold up the weapon steadily; then grasping and strengthning the slave's hand with his own, he run his throat upon the fatal steel.

WERE I even recounting the rage of foreign wars, and a series of deaths undergone for the Commonweal, in a detail of events and disasters, all like the above, resembling one another; I should doubtless succumb my self under the weary task, and propose no other than to forfeit my readers, justly loathing a recital of the fall of citizens, however honourable yet tragical and without end:

yet more irksome is the present work, in which such a deluge of blood tyrannically spilt at home, and the general and slavish passiveness under the Tyrant, are considerations that gnaw the soul and imprison it under bitter anguish and sorrow: by such as shall peruse this History, I desire it may be remember'd (and 'tis the only apology I claim) that from no hatred of mine, but the duty of an Historian, I mention those who thus tamely submitted to perish: they perish'd in truth to satiate the vengeance of the Gods against the Roman State; which falling upon particulars, in a continued course of slaughters, its operations cannot justly be display'd in one general description, like the slaughter of armies, or the storming and subduing of cities. To the posterity of illustrious Men let this occasional complement be paid, that as they are not buried, like the common herd, but their obsequies distinguish'd from the promiscuous sepulture of the vulgar; so, by recounting the circumstances of their dying, they may receive and ever retain peculiar and pious marks of remembrance.

FOR, within the compass of a few days, ANNEUS MELLA, Cerialis Anicius, RUFUS CRISPINUS, and CAIUS PETRONIUS, suffer'd, as it were all in a band, the violence of their fate. MELLA and CRISPINUS were Roman Knights, in figure and estimation considerable as Senators: the latter particularly had been once Captain of the Pretorian Guards, and distinguish'd with the ornaments of the Consulship, but lately banish'd, as an accomplice in the conspiracy, into Sardinia; where, upon notice receiv'd that he was doom'd to die, he slew himself. MELLA, who was brother to GALLEO and SENECA, forbore suing for the great Offices of State, from a wayward ambition, that a Roman Knight might be seen to vie in authority with Senators of Consular dignity: he likewise judg'd that acting as Comptroller to the Prince, in the ministration of his private revenues, was a quicker road to wealth. Add, that he was the father of LUCAN; a circumstance from whence accrued a vast accession to his fame and splendour: but after the untimely fate of his son, while with special sharpness and ardour he was recovering his effects; against himself he excited

an accuser; FABIUS ROMANUS, one of LUCAN's intimate friends. He feign'd, " that in the conspiracy, the father " and son were equally confederate;" and having counterfeited Letters to this purpose, in the hand of LUCAN, presented them to NERO, who after perusal, order'd them to be carried to the accus'd, after whose riches he ravenously hunted. MELLA anticipated his sentence by a passage to death, in those days, as the quickest, most frequently chosen, and broach'd his veins, when by Will he had bequeath'd to TIGELLINUS and his son-in-law COSUTIANUS CAPITO, an immense legacy in money, in order to secure the remainder. It is added that, in his will he inserted complaints concerning the rigour and iniquity of his doom, " that he died guiltless of every crime " deserving death; and yet RUFUS CRISPINUS and ANICIUS CEREALIS, men virulently disaffected to the Prince, " were suffer'd to live," But all this was believ'd to have been a fiction, purposely fram'd to justify the execution of these two; for CRISPINUS was already slain, and over CEREALIS the same bloody fate was impending: nor indeed was it long e'er he became his own executioner, but fell with less commiseration than the rest; for that by him, it was remember'd, had been disclos'd to CALIGULA a plot concerted to destroy that Tyrant.

Concerning CAIUS PETRONIUS some few particulars are to be recapitulated. He was one who in sleep wasted the day, and to the civil offices and gay delights of life devoted the night: as others by a course of pains and vigilance had acquired a name and character; PETRONIUS was by signal idleness and indolence rais'd to notice and renown. Nor yet was he esteem'd either a prodigal of his fortune or a slave to his grosser appetites, like many who thus brutally lavish and devour their estates. PETRONIUS was curious and refin'd in his luxury; and since his actions and sayings were frank and unrestrain'd, all accompanied with an air of negligence; the more so they were, the more pleasing they were, as bearing thence the impression of pure simplicity and artless nature. However while he exercis'd the Proconsular Government of Bithynia, and presently after the Consulship it self, he manifested himself a man of spirit and vigour, and equal to the management
of

of great affairs. Then lapsing once more into a habit of sensuality and vice, or affecting to appear vicious and sensual, he was by NERO associated with the select few, who compos'd his fraternity of intimates, and establish'd master of elegance: infomuch that to the Emperor, in the midst of all his affluent enjoyments, nothing appear'd delicious and ravishing, if it came not recommended by the taste and approbation of PETRONIUS. Hence the hate and envy of TIGELLINUS towards one, in credit, his rival; in the science of pleasures, his superiour. He had therefore recourse to the cruelty of the Prince, a passion to which all his other deprav'd appetites ever gave place. Against PETRONIUS he objected an intimacy with the conspirator SCEVINUS; corrupted one of his slaves to accuse his master, precluded him from all defence, and to sudden bonds committed most of his domesticks.

NERO happen'd at that time to be upon the road to Campania, and PETRONIUS having accompanied him as far as Cuma, was there by order put under durance: nor would he longer bear to protract his fate, by humouring the impulse of hopes or fears; nor yet did he hastily throw away life; but ordering his veins to be cut, directed them again to be clos'd and bound, then to be open'd by intervals, just as his fancy mov'd him; discoursing the while to his friends, but upon no subject serious or profound, nor in strains and sentences whence he could aim at the renown of magnanimity in braving of death. To them too he attended while they recited, no solemn sayings concerning the Immortality of the Soul, nor the Systems of Philosophers, but gay Sonnets, and Verses musical and flowing. With bounties he rewarded some of his slaves; with chastisements others: he even diverted himself with walking out, even refresh'd himself with sleep; on design, that his death, tho' in reality doom'd, might appear like one altogether casual. Neither followed he in his last Will the example and stile of most, who perish'd like himself under the tyranny. PETRONIUS flatter'd neither NERO, nor TIGELLINUS, nor any of the Partizans of power; but under the names of lewd women and pathicks, describ'd all the secret abominations of the Emperor, with every practice of impurity by him us'd, and admir'd as

singular and new. To NERO he transmitted this picture of himself, carefully seal'd; then broke his signet, that after his death it might not be perfidiously us'd, and become a snare to the innocent.

While NERO was doubting and recollecting, by what means could be divulg'd all the various devices of lubricity in which he consum'd the night, his suspicion fix'd upon SILIA, one the better known for having married a Senator; one too by the Prince associated into all the essays and diversity of his defilements, and thoroughly intimate with PETRONIUS. On pretence therefore that she had not conceal'd what she had there seen and undergone, she was doom'd to banishment: a sacrifice this to his own personal hate. To that of TIGELLINUS he made another, and to his vengeance surrender'd NUMICIUS THERMUS, once Pretor; for that a freedman belonging to THERMUS had utter'd certain criminal imputations upon TIGELLINUS; an offence which the speaker expiated under exquisite torments, and his innocent Lord by a bloody doom altogether violent and undeserv'd.

AFTER the slaughter of so many men signal in name and quality, NERO, at length, became possess'd with a passion to hew down virtue itself, by devoting to butchery the persons of THRASEA PETUS and BAREAS SORANUS, both, long since, the objects of his hate. But against THRASEA he was incens'd from separate and fresh causes; for he had withdrawn from the Senate, when the affair of AGRIPPINA and the merits of her death came under debate there; as above I have remember'd: in the solemnizing too of the preludes intitled *Juvenales*, he had manifested a spirit and behaviour far from courtly or acceptable; an indignity which pierced the Prince the deeper, for that the same THRASEA had at Padua, the place of his nativity, chanted in the habit of a Tragedian, during the celebration of the Cestic Games, instituted there by the founder, ANTENOR from Troy. Moreover when ANTISTIVS the Pretor, was about to have been by the Senate condemn'd to execution, for a virulent Satyr by him compos'd against NERO, THRASEA propos'd a mitigation of the sentence, and carried it. Add that when celestial honours were decreed to POPPEA, he was purposely absent,

sent, nor afterwards attended her funeral. Offences these which by *CAPITO COSSUTIANUS* were carefully saved from falling under oblivion: besides the native bent of his spirit, prone and abandon'd to all feats of villany, he bore special rancour towards *THRASEA*, since 'twas he who had supported the deputies from Cilicia in their charge upon *CAPITO* for extortion there, and by his credit obtain'd judgment against him.

To all these crimes of *THRASEA*'s he added many more: " he had avoided the solemnity of renewing at the
 " beginning of the year, the annual oath then taken to
 " the Emperor: he had forborn to assist at the susception
 " of yearly vows for the preservation and prosperity of
 " the Prince, tho' he were at the same time invested
 " with the Quindecemviral Priesthood: he had never made
 " oblations for the safety of the Prince, nor for his voice
 " divine. He, who had been formerly so assiduous in at-
 " tending, so indefatigable in affairs; he who was wont
 " to interest himself in every decree, and to distinguish
 " himself as a promoter or opponent of the most trivial
 " and common, had not now in three years once enter'd
 " the Senate. In an instance so recent as that of *SILANUS*
 " and *VETUS*, when the fathers assembled with such
 " warmth and rapidity, to obviate and punish two men
 " so dangerous, he only attended to the personal affairs of
 " his clients. What else was all this but an open revolt, a
 " party declar'd against the administration? and, if in many
 " particulars the same daring insolence were once found,
 " what but a publick war could ensue? As of old (pur-
 " sued *CAPITO*) this city, one ever addicted to divisions
 " and strife, was wont to discourse of *CESAR* and *CATO*,
 " as her two great chiefs and competitors then; so now
 " with the same factious spirit 'tis discours'd of thee, *NERO*,
 " and of *THRASEA*. Nay he has his profess'd followers
 " and partizans, or rather a body of champions at arms;
 " men who in truth are not yet arriv'd to his boldness
 " and contumacy in counsel, but study an exact confor-
 " mity to his mien and manners, to a behaviour rigid and
 " melancholy, on purpose to upbraid thee for a life of
 " gayety and voluptuousness. To this man only is thy

“ Imperial life of no concernment; with him alone all
 “ thy accomplishments pass unregarded: the events of thy
 “ reign the most prosperous, are by him treated with scorn;
 “ and is it not equally true, that with thy misfortunes
 “ and sorrows he is not touch’d nor satiated? such is the
 “ contumacy of his spirit, that he would not believe POP-
 “ PEA to be a Deity; and from the same spirit it pro-
 “ ceeds that he would not swear to the validity and ob-
 “ servance of all the publick Acts of JULIUS CESAR and
 “ of AUGUSTUS, Princes promoted to deification. ’Tis
 “ thus he contemns the Worship of the Deities; thus can-
 “ cels the Laws of the State. Through the Provinces and
 “ amongst the several Armies, the Journals of the Ro-
 “ man people are perus’d with the greater curiosity and
 “ care, that thence may be learnt what transactions there
 “ are which bear not the name and sanction of THRASEA.
 “ In short, let us either embrace these institutions and
 “ politicks, if they excel our own; or from a turbu-
 “ lent faction thirsting after innovations, let their Oracle
 “ and Leader be snatch’d away. Pupils and champions
 “ form’d by the same sect were the TUBERONES and FA-
 “ VONII formerly; names grating and grievous even to
 “ the ancient Commonwealth. ’Tis only to subvert the
 “ Empire, that they use the fair sound and pretence of
 “ Liberty; if their evil purposes succeed, Liberty it self will
 “ be the next object of their violence. In vain hast thou
 “ banish’d CASSIUS from the State, if afterwards thou
 “ dost suffer a party, which emulate BRUTUS, to gather
 “ strength and numbers in it. For the rest, to the Senate
 “ and our management leave the judgment and fate of
 “ THRASEA; nor to that assembly do thou write ought
 “ about him.” Naturally furious was the soul of COS-
 SUTIANUS, and now further stimulated and inflam’d by
 NERO, who to him join’d as his assistant in the accusation
 MARCELLUS EPRIUS, an Orator of great acrimony and
 vehemence.

THE task of accusing BAREAS SORANUS was already
 bespoke and undertaken by OSTORIUS SABINUS a Ro-
 man Knight, who arraign’d his conduct in the admini-
 stration of Asia, where he had govern’d as Proconsul with

such signal vigilance and justice, as thence to incur a fresh load of jealousy and rancour from the Emperor. As another offence too, he had bestow'd much pains about a popular work, that of opening the Port of Ephesus, and had besides left unpunish'd the Citizens of Pergamos for having resolutely oppos'd ACRATUS, one of NERO's freedmen, when he would have robb'd their City of her pictures and statues. These his real crimes; but those openly imputed were, "his friendship with PLAUTUS, and his intrigues "to ingratiate himself with the Asiatics, in order to engage "them in novel designs." A particular juncture was chosen for awarding them their doom, namely, that of the arrival of TIRIDATES to receive the Crown of Armenia; perhaps with design that, while the publick attention and rumour were engag'd in concernments from abroad, domestick iniquity and bloodshed might pass in quietness and obscurity: or perhaps NERO meant on this occasion to display the might and terrors of Imperial power, and the slaughter of illustrious men, as a feat of Majesty Royal.

Now while the whole City throng'd out to receive the Emperor, and to behold a foreign King, THRASEA had orders to forbear attending the entry, yet was no wise cast down, but compos'd a Memorial to NERO: in it he besought to know "the allegations against him; and "averr'd that he would vindicate himself, were he but "appriz'd of the crimes, and had opportunity of clearing his innocence." NERO receiv'd the Memorial greedily: he hop'd that THRASEA under the influence of terror, might have writ somewhat tending to magnify the grandeur and glory of the Prince, and to stain his own renown; but finding himself disappointed, and dreading withal the countenance, the great spirit, and free speech of that great man, innocent and accus'd, he order'd the Senate to be summon'd. THRASEA then consulted with his friends and kindred, whether he should attempt a defence or be silent. Their advices varied: they who counsell'd his repairing to the Senate, said "that they were "assur'd of his magnanimity there; and nothing would "escape him, but what would procure him fresh glory: "to

“ to the timorous only and the sluggard it belong’d to
 “ hide the meanness of their end in shade and obscurity.
 “ ’Twas fit the people should behold a man going forth
 “ boldly to encounter death; ’twas fit the Senate should
 “ hear his words more than human, pronounced as ’twere
 “ by the mouth of some Deity: a miracle this which
 “ might possibly soften even the heart of NERO: but tho’
 “ he should persevere in barbarity; yet surely in different
 “ esteem with posterity, would be the memory of a de-
 “ mise so worthy and distinguish’d, from that of such as
 “ chose stupidly to perish in passive silence.

THOSE who gave different counsel, and were for his
 waiting the issue at home, acknowledg’d the same things
 of the behaviour and merit of THRASEA; “ but, if he
 “ went, over him was impending much cruel mockery,
 “ and many bitter contumelies: it behov’d him to avoid
 “ having his ears assail’d with invectives and the lashes of
 “ reproach. ’Twas not COSSUTIANUS only, nor EPRIUS
 “ that were prompt to outrages: there were others be-
 “ sides, who perhaps would assault him with violent hands
 “ and blows, to humour the savage brutality of NERO,
 “ our Emperor and Augustus; and the precedent be-
 “ gun by the violent and bad, might through dread be
 “ followed even by the merciful and upright. He ought
 “ therefore to with-hold from that venerable body, which
 “ he had so long adorn’d, an occasion of so transcendent
 “ a wickedness and reproach, and to leave it to uncer-
 “ tainty and conjecture, what would have been the spirit
 “ and decree of the Senate, upon the seeing of THRASEA
 “ defend himself before them as a criminal arraign’d. To
 “ hope that ever NERO would be mov’d to a sense of
 “ shame for his crying enormities, was rash and vain:
 “ much more to be dreaded was his flying into fresh
 “ rage, and his discharging the same upon the wife, and
 “ household of THRASEA, and upon every other object of
 “ his tenderness and care. Upon the whole; he ought
 “ to measure the glory of his latter end by that of the
 “ worthies, by whose steps and studies he had squar’d
 “ his life, and die in the strength of his integrity; in the
 “ fulness of fame.” In the consultation there assisted

RUSTICUS ARULENUS, a young man of great spirit and fervour. From this temper and a passion for fame, he offer'd to thwart the Decree of Senate, by interposing against it; for he was Tribune of the people. THRASEA restrain'd his temerity, and caution'd him against attempting " methods in themselves wild, to the person
" accus'd unavailing, and to the person attempting them
" certainly fatal: For himself; he had finish'd his course,
" and from the rule of life which for so many years he
" had without varying observ'd, he must not now de-
" part. Into publick offices ARULENUS had but just en-
" ter'd; and upon his own choice it rested, how far to
" engage in transactions future: but it much imported
" him to weigh well beforehand what path he ought to
" pursue, when during such times he engag'd in offices
" of State." For the rest; to the result of his own meditation he left it, whether it were proper for him to appear in the Senate.

ON the day following two Cohorts of the Pretorian Guards under arms, environ'd the Temple of VENUS the Prolifick; a number of men dress'd in the city robe, but arm'd with swords no wise conceal'd, had beset the entrance of the Senate; and in the great Squares, and several Temples, were every where posted bands of soldiers in array. Through the midst of this scene of terror, and under the awe of objects so formidable and even menacing, the Senators pass'd to their assembly. There he, who was the Emperor's Questor, recited a speech by him sent, in which without descending to name particulars, he upbraided the fathers; " that they deserted the functions of
" the State, and from their example the Roman Knights
" too were laps'd into sloth and inaction. Hence what
" marvel, that Senators from the remote Provinces fail'd
" to attend; when many who had arriv'd at the Consul-
" ship, and been distinguish'd with Sacerdotal dignities,
" chose to withdraw from the publick, and rather to de-
" vote themselves to solitude and pleasant amusements in
" their Gardens?"

THIS speech was as 'twere a weapon presented to the accusers, and greedily they snatch'd it. COSSUTIANUS

having begun the charge, it was by MARCELLUS pursued
 with greater acrimony and vehemence: “ The Common-
 “ wealth, the Commonwealth, he fiercely cried, was here
 “ concern’d in her tenderest and most essential part: Such
 “ were the frowardness and contumacy of inferiours, that
 “ thence the gentleness and clemency of him, who bore rule,
 “ were check’d and diminish’d: Over-mild and acquiescing
 “ had, to that day, been the temper of the Fathers, who could
 “ thus suffer so many capital criminals to evade chastise-
 “ ment, could suffer THRASEA so long revolted from pub-
 “ lick obedience, suffer his son-in-law HELVIDIUS PRIS-
 “ CUS immers’d in the same rebellious measures; PACONIUS
 “ AGRIPPINUS too, one who possess’d from his father
 “ an hereditary rancour towards the Emperors; with CUR-
 “ TIUS MONTANUS, employ’d in composing abominable
 “ Poems replete with treason. For himself; he wanted
 “ to behold THRASEA, him who had been Consul, now
 “ filling his place in the Senate; him who was a Pontiff,
 “ assisting at the solemnity where publick vows were made;
 “ him who was a fellow citizen, renewing with the rest
 “ the oath of fidelity: unless he had already renounced every
 “ institution of our ancestors, civil and sacred, openly act-
 “ ed the traitor, and now declar’d himself a publick enemy.
 “ In a word; as he was wont to perform the part of an
 “ active Senator, wont to defend and protect such as had
 “ lampoon’d and defam’d the Prince; let him resume his
 “ place, let him offer his sentiments, what he wished to
 “ have corrected, and what to have chang’d: Much more ea-
 “ sily would they bear him carping at every particular trans-
 “ action, than condemning by his sullen silence the whole
 “ administration at once. What was it that griev’d him?
 “ was it the profound peace establish’d over the whole
 “ earth, or the publick victories gain’d by our armies
 “ without the loss of men? Far be it from the Senate to suf-
 “ fer such a man to gratify an ambition so malignant and
 “ deprav’d; a man who sorrow’d for the felicities of the
 “ State; one to whom the publick Places, the Theatres
 “ and the Temples, appear’d so many deserts, to him wild
 “ and strange; and one who was continually threatening
 “ to relinquish his country and roam an exile. With him
 “ our

“ our Decrees here pass’d for none, our Magistrates for
 “ none; with him this Metropolis was no longer Rome.
 “ He ought therefore to cease to live in that City, since
 “ he had long since divested himself of all tenderness for
 “ her, and now could not bear her sight.”

As in these and the like flights of fury, MARCEL-
 LUS, even in his person horrid and grim, was raging
 against THRASEA, with eyes, voice and visage all on fire;
 the Senate no longer manifested that usual air of sadness,
 which from the frequency of returning dread and peril,
 was become customary there: A terror altogether new,
 more deep and alarming possess’d them, while to their
 sight were presented such a number of soldiers, their arms,
 and separate bands. Their imaginations were also fill’d with
 the tragical lot of the person accus’d, the venerable person
 of THRASEA: And there were who commiserated that of
 HELVIDIUS, “ who must be doom’d to punishment,
 “ merely for an alliance with a man void of blame.
 “ Against AGRIPPINUS too what else was charg’d but
 “ the tragical fate of his father; a man who in truth
 “ had fallen himself an innocent victim to the cruelty of
 “ TIBERIUS. Nay, banishment must be the doom of
 “ MONTANUS, a young man and a virtuous, for no Libel by
 “ him written, but purely because by his Writings he had
 “ signaliz’d his genius and parts.”

IN the mean while enter’d OSTORIUS SABINUS, the
 accuser of SORANUS, and against him urg’d “ the friend-
 “ ship between him and RUBELLIUS PLAUTUS; and that
 “ in his Proconsular administration of Asia, he had rather
 “ consulted his own popularity and lustre than the pub-
 “ lick good and utility, by nourishing animosity and tu-
 “ muls in the provincial Cities.” Stale imputations these,
 and long since prepar’d by the accuser: but now he of-
 fer’d a recent charge, and in the crimes and peril of the
 father involv’d the daughter, “ that she had with large
 “ sums feed the Magicians.” A transaction this resulting
 purely from the passionate tenderness of SERVILIA (for
 this was the young Lady’s name) towards her father, as
 well as from the unwariness of her youth: yet the whole
 of her consultation was “ only about the conservation of
 “ her

“ her house, whether the wrath of NERO might not come
 “ to be appeas’d, and whether no tragical judgment would
 “ follow the cognizance of the Senate.” Further than this
 she inquir’d not. But for this she was brought into the
 Senate; and before the Tribunal of the two Consuls, but
 at opposite sides, stood the father and daughter, he full
 of years, she under twenty, and, since the late banish-
 ment of ANNIUS POLLIO her husband, in a state of wi-
 dowhood, solitary and sad. Her father’s face upon this
 occasion she could not bear to behold, since she, as it
 seem’d, had wofully heighten’d his danger and suffer-
 ings.

THE accuser now question’d her, “ whether she had
 “ not turn’d into money her bridal Ornaments, and even
 “ stript from her neck her collar of Jewels, in order to
 “ defray the expence of magick Rites and Sacrifices?” At
 first she cast her self down, and lay along upon the floor;
 then after a flood of tears, after long sobbing and silence,
 she rose and embracing the Altars, particularly that of
 VENUS; “ no mischievous Divinities, said she, have I in-
 “ vok’d; no incantations have I tried, nor was ought else
 “ the burden of my rash and disastrous supplications, than
 “ that thou CESAR, and you Fathers of the Senate, would
 “ to this my dear and indulgent parent, beset with ter-
 “ rors and affliction, graciously afford protection and safety.
 “ With this view I presented my jewels, my precious ray-
 “ ment, and other decorations peculiar to my quality; as I
 “ would have presented my blood and life, had my blood
 “ and life been requir’d. To these Foretellers, men till now
 “ utterly unknown to me, it belongs to declare whose mi-
 “ nisters they are, and what mysteries they use: By my
 “ self the Prince’s name was not once pronounced other-
 “ wise than with those of the Deities. Yet to all this pro-
 “ ceeding of mine, whatever it were, my unfortunate fa-
 “ ther was an utter stranger; and if ’tis a crime, I alone
 “ am the delinquent.” These words alarm’d SORANUS,
 and while she was yet uttering them, he interrupted her;
 he cried out with earnestness, “ that his daughter went not
 “ with him to the Province; such too was her tender age
 “ that she could have no possible acquaintance with PLAU-

“ TUS:

“TUS. In the crimes of her husband she was no wife
 “engag’d; her only blame was that of filial piety over-
 “strain’d: let her cause be therefore disjoin’d from his; and
 “his own fate, whatever it should prove, he was ready to
 “undergo.” This said, he was hastning to embrace his
 daughter who flew to meet him; but the Consular Lictors
 stepp’d between and prevented them.

To the witnesses next an immediate hearing was given;
 and however high the barbarous spirit of the accuser had
 already rais’d common sympathy and compassion for the ac-
 cus’d; equally high was the indignation excited by the ap-
 pearing of PUBLIUS EGNATIUS as an evidence: a client
 this and follower of SORANUS, now bought with a price to
 overwhelm his patron and his friend. As he profess’d the rigid
 Sect of the Stoicks, his testimony was from this circumstance
 to derive weight and consideration; for he had into such
 solemnity fram’d his countenance and whole exteriour, as
 to display the semblance of a man worthily dispos’d and
 virtuously employ’d; but possess’d a soul traiterous and
 ensnaring, one replete with avarice and every deprav’d
 appetite, all artfully conceal’d. But now the force of money,
 more prevalent than art, having laid open so much hy-
 pocrify and imposture, furnish’d an instructive example,
 that as we guard against such as are branded for notorious
 frauds and contaminated with open villanies; so with no
 less care ought we to guard against men, who, under the
 fair guise of righteous life and acquirements, hide hollow
 hearts, alike prompt to profess and to betray friendships.
 On that same day, however, was exhibited a different and
 honourable example by CASSIUS ASCLEPIODOTUS, a
 man, for his signal opulence, of the foremost rank in
 Bithynia; yet without regarding what risk he incurr’d, the
 same devotion and reverence, with which he had courted
 SORANUS during the sunshine of his fortune, he ceas’d
 not to pay him tho’ now sinking under a tempest and ma-
 lignant fate. Hence he was despoil’d of his whole fortune,
 and doom’d to exile: Such was the lukewarmness and in-
 difference of the Deities, alike unmov’d by patterns of
 righteousness and those of iniquity! To THRASEA, to SO-
 RANUS and SERVILIA was granted the choice of their own
 6 F deaths:

deaths: HELVIDIUS and PACONIUS were to be banish'd from Italy: MONTANUS, for the sake of his father, had his pardon; with an exception annex'd, "that he should never be admitted to any Office in the State." To EPRIUS, one of the accusers, was decreed a reward of more than thirty thousand pounds; to COSSUTIANUS another, the like sum; and to OSTORIUS the third, as many thousand crowns, besides another recompense, that of the ornaments of the Questorship.

THE Questor attending the Consul was, now in the close of the day, dispatch'd to THRASEA, then in his Gardens. He was at that instant frequented by a numerous assembly of men and women illustrious for their quality; but was chiefly attentive to DEMETRIUS, a professor of the Cynick School. With this Philosopher, as far as could be conjectur'd by the intenseness of his looks, and by certain words, which when they happen'd to raise their voices were over-heard, he was reasoning and inquiring about the nature of the Soul, and concerning its departure from the body; till he was interrupted by the arrival of DOMITIUS CECILIANUS. This was one of his most intimate friends, and to him related what the Senate had decreed. As upon these sad tidings the whole company melted into passionate complaints and tears, THRASEA press'd them, "forthwith to retire, nor to tempt danger by involving themselves in the fate of a person condemn'd:" And as ARRIA his wife was earnest to emulate the example of her mother, and to share with her husband in his last lot; he besought her, "to preserve her life, nor deprive their common daughter of her only remaining refuge."

HE then went forth into a gallery, and there the Questor from the Senate found him; but found him fill'd rather with cheerfulness than with any opposite passion, since he had learnt that against HELVIDIUS his son-in-law, nothing worse was decreed than his banishment from Italy. Having now had deliver'd to him in form the sentence of the Senate, he took HELVIDIUS and DEMETRIUS into his chamber, and extending both his arms, the veins of both were cut: as the blood sprung, he call'd the Questor nigher; and with it besprinkling the floor; "Let us, said
" he

“ he to him, make this libation to Jove the Deliverer.
 “ Look here, young man, and consider; may Heaven too
 “ grant there be no Omen in my words: But into such
 “ times thy birth and age have thrown thee, as may justly
 “ require thee to fortify thy spirit by examples of mag-
 “ nanimity.” After this, as from the slow approaches of
 death, grievous torments were ensuing, he turn’d towards
 DEMETRIUS * * * *.

The rest of this Annal is lost.

F I N I S.



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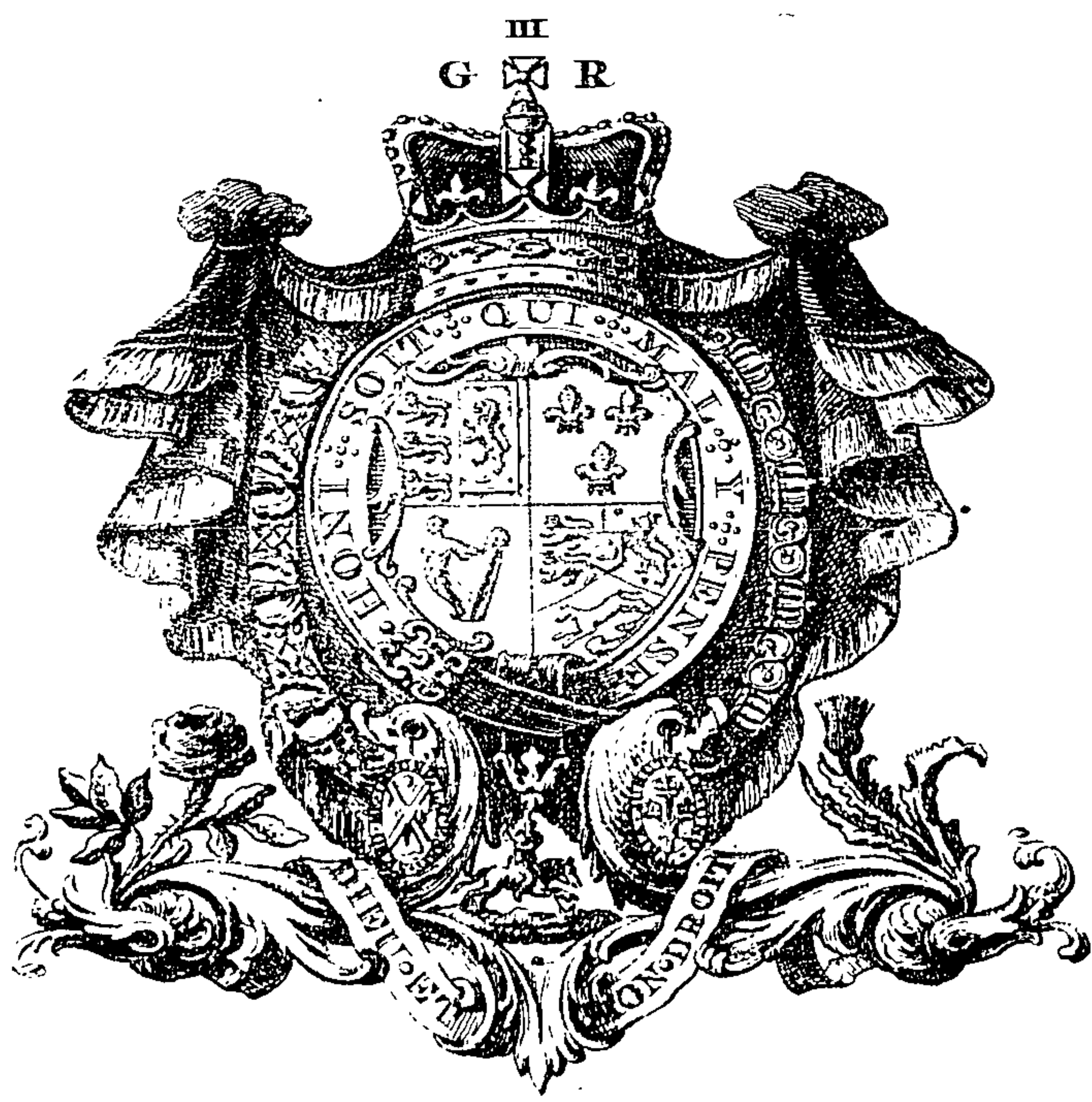
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MDCCXXXI.



TO HIS
ROYAL HIGHNESS,
FREDERIC
PRINCE of *WALES*.

SIR,



IN presuming to lay the following Work before Your Royal Highness, I am encouraged by the dignity of the subject, by the great name of TACITUS, and by the sincerity of my own heart conscious of honest and loyal intentions, and sincerely attached to the interest of Your Illustrious Family, as well as unfeignedly devoted to that of Your Person. But what gives me higher assurance, is a persuasion, that no attempt to serve and vindicate the cause of Liberty can fail of being countenanced by Your Royal Highness. Such countenance is worthy of a Prince of the House of Hanover, worthy of an Heir Apparent to the British Crown. Since this Cause is the noble foundation of Your Royal Father's Government, as we firmly hope it will be the glory of Yours, and as it is indeed the genuine glory of all Princes, glory arising from a true, a god-like source, even the well
being

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being of Society and the general good of man. It is what all good and wise Princes will pursue, as the surest bulwark of their Throne, as the brightest ornament in their Crown, and the best warrant for future praise.

INDEED ever suitable to the spirit and reign of a Prince will be his fame when he ceases to reign. After his death, men will use him as he in his life time used them, with resentment or applause, with honour or reproach. A living Prince who is hated may be flattered, perhaps the more flattered for being hated, as flattery is often no more than a disguise for aversion, at least for the want of affection; and, the grosser it is, the more it answers the end. Nay, every Prince in the world would surely abhor all flatterers, if he considered that whoever flatters him must needs also condemn him: Since it can never be supposed, that any would venture to mislead him by vile arts to gain selfish ends, unless they entertained withal a very mean opinion of his understanding. But when death, which flatters no man, has bereft him of his power and lustre, when he is laid low, and can no longer terrify or prefer, flattery which only followed his fortune, and studied to deceive him for interest, will, like all false friends, desert his memory. Then, though perhaps he was never told that he had any faults (whereas from some no man was ever exempt) a thousand will probably be objected to him, perhaps with many invidious aggravations. Even they who had fed him with constant incense, and long blinded him with the smoke of it, instead of now vindicating one whom so lately they adored, will perhaps join in the cry against him, and be foremost in upbraiding him with errors which they would never suffer him to see, probably caused him to commit.

SUCH, Sir, is the experience to be learned from History, such the useful lessons which it affords to Princes. They will there see that, where fear or interest governs the hearts of men, guile will be apt to guide their tongues,
and

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and that, as it is in the power of Princes to hurt or oblige numbers, there will always be numbers ready to deceive them; and they can hope to hear plain truth but from very few: That there have been some, indeed too many, who seem never to have heard any truth at all, at least, where it was of any importance to their duty and government, though it so nearly concerned them; because from their hearing or not hearing it, infinite good or infinite evil was to redound to their people, as well as to their own quiet and fame.

HENCE History is to be carefully consulted as a faithful Monitor, upon which nor awe nor hopes have any influence; a Monitor which nakedly represents the actions of Princes and the result of those actions, what measures tended to their credit and ease, what to their anguish and dishonour; how liable they are to be deceived, how readily abandoned by deceivers; how several very good men proved very bad Princes, by being misled by evil servants, such as carefully deprived them of the counsel and assistance of the best; and how differently men speak of Princes and to Princes, how differently of the living and of the dead: And that hence may be seen the apparent, the precious value of truth, how many have been undone for want of hearing it, how many might have prospered better had they known it.

FROM History a Prince will discern, that a Country well governed does well reward and secure its Governor, but that by evil Government he is precluded from all tranquillity here, and from any honourable name hereafter: That whatever destroys his people is destructive to himself, for they are his glory and strength. So that in taking an affectionate care of his people he does but fortify his Throne, of which they are the best guards, does but procure his own ease and stability, and purchase an excellent and unperishing name.

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IT will be there learned that he may indeed find men to serve him even where his commands are unjust; but, besides that services which are disliked are seldom cheerfully performed, they who perform them will first or last, to excuse themselves, throw all the blame and scandal upon him. He will find that of just commands only no Prince has any cause to be ashamed; and that all honest services every honest man will be forward to execute, all men ready to justify: That between the interest of a Prince who acts justly, and the interest of his people, there can never be any competition or disagreement: that whatever he gains from them unjustly, will yield him bitter fruits; that though many will be ready to humour him at all adventures, none are fit, none worthy to serve him, but such as in serving him study also the happiness of his subjects; that to exhaust or oppress them, to vitiate and debase them, can never be for his interest, nor such as do it for him or advise him to do it, his real friends: that whatever measures of his injure the Public, must be injurious to him, and that nothing which is unjust can bring him any real advantage.

HE will see that, in the nature and ordinary course of things, evil counsels are followed by painful consequences, and that no pursuits whatever which are not worthy and upright, can secure rest and comfort to the human soul: that the most successful conquerors, the most fortunate wicked men, have by their wicked counsels been bereft of all calmness and internal felicity (for, other than internal there is none) and lived under perpetual insecurity, or perpetual struggles and anxiety: That the great, the able and accomplished CAESAR was often pressed by distress and despair, ready to fly his Country, threatened with being tried and condemned as a Public Criminal, ready to fall upon his own sword; and that after a restless life, full of hurry and perplexity,

full

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full of fears and cares, he perished just as he had established his Tyranny, though with it he could not establish his own happiness: That whoever makes numbers unhappy and discontented, cannot expect to be easy and happy himself: That happy, truly happy is he who does good to all men, who causes whole Nations to rejoice and to bless him: That had CAESAR, in order to preserve and secure Public Liberty, done what he did to destroy it, had he for this glorious end exerted the same industry and admirable talents, what an amiable character he had been, in what security he might have lived, or that he had certainly died in renown, however he had died.

HISTORY will shew, that the most powerful Princes in the world grow insecure as soon as they grow oppressive; when so great a Monarch as JOHN BASILOWITZ of Muscovy, he who held States so vast in extent, and authority without bounds, could negotiate as he did, with the Embassador of our greater Queen ELIZABETH (greater because beloved, and observing the Laws) for a retreat and protection in England under an apprehension of being expelled from his own Kingdom; a fate which he daily dreaded, though he had many flatterers who applauded all his oppressions and errors, especially his extreme bigotry to Saints and Masses: That thus insecure, thus miserable and fearful did the rigor of his Government and overmuch Power render him; and in such safety and credit did that excellent Queen reign, because her Throne was established in Liberty and Righteousness. She might have said with the renowned Emperor CYRUS, that she could not conceive how a Prince could fail of being beloved, if he seriously endeavoured to be so.

As in History a Prince will see cause for not trusting his faithful servants, since from overmuch diffidence, as well as from overmuch confidence, he may alike hurt himself; he will likewise perceive the necessity of inspecting his own affairs, and of not trusting
blindly

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blindly to others: He will see what a mean figure such Princes made, who lazily transferred their great office to Favourites, will see their uneasy and unfortunate reigns. From hence he will make the same observation which SCHAH ABBAS the Emperor of Persia made to a creature of his, who told him, that he degraded the Royal Majesty by being seen too much by his people. “No,” said that able Prince: It is owing to the tricks and “frauds of Flatterers, that a Prince is shut up in solitude, “whence they themselves may have the more scope to “tyrannize in his Name. He who would truly reign, “must see all and direct all.” He will find cause for giving up guilty Ministers to the just complaints of his subjects, and for supporting the innocent against all the clamours of faction, since the best may be traduced, and the bad, to save themselves, may ruin him.

HE will there learn, that all the doings of a Prince, however studiously concealed, are in danger of being commonly known; that all his pursuits, counsels, and pleasures are likely in time to be published and canvassed, probably misconstrued, and judged with rigor: That to all his actions, to all his words there will be many officious witnesses, many greedy, perhaps unfaithful listeners: That this is a lot inseparably annexed to an elevated state; and thence he will be convinced how much it concerns him to do and to say nothing unworthy of himself, nothing justly to offend his People.

HE will find the noblest designs for the Public Good often marred by malignant spirits, through private pique and the gratification of a particular passion; find one man, or party of men, frequently combining to distress, perhaps to destroy their Country, because another man, or party of men, was employed to serve it or to save it. He will find personal and domestic feuds often producing popular factions, and even convulsions in the State, such as have threatened its downfall; like the first quar-

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rel between LIVIUS DRUSUS and CAEPÍO at Rome, in the time of the Commonwealth, a quarrel that rent all the City into angry Parties. Yet from what mighty cause did it begin? From no other than that the two families happened to bid upon one another for a Gold Ring at an Auction. Hence he will learn to stifle sometimes the beginning of faction in the State.

HE will find that a Prince trusting to flattery and surrounded with flatterers, is often long hated before he knows that he is not beloved, nay whilst he is persuaded that he is. Hence he will resolve to beware of such as are always soothing him, resolve, in order to gain the love of his People, to do things which shall convince them that he loves them, as the surest way of making them love him, and of knowing that they do.

HE will perceive that all the goods of Fortune are transient and perishing, that Fortune, even when she smiles most, may prove untoward and desert him, like that of the great Kings of Babylon, NEBUCHADNEZZAR and BELSHAZZAR, who whilst secure of their power, boasting in their might, and resigned to luxury and banqueting, felt a terrible reverse, the one degraded, the other slain. He will find, that of all the felicities of this world, and amongst all its possessions, Virtue alone is that which can never perish, never forsake him. Nor power nor youth, nor pleasure can be stayed or secured against malice, and time, and accidents. But Virtue is a sure support, always present and unchangeable, above envy, above rage and fate. Even he who perishes for his Virtue, is happier than one who by oppressing Virtue acquires Empires.

By Virtue Your Royal Highness will easily conceive to be here understood the solid and extensive Virtue of a Prince, such as prompts him to do good to all men, such as restrains him from injuring any, and not an unmanly fondness for fanciful observances and forms, nor

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a propensity to monkish devotions, nor his fostering and enriching Hypocrites and Bigots; things which such men generally miscall by that venerable name, or at least consider as equivalents for the want of it in other and more important instances, to the notable misguidance, and sometimes to the ruin of Kings, such especially as were devout but tyrannical, and by humouring Bigots, were encouraged in their Tyranny.

HE will find, that as true Valour is a glorious quality, which has no other aim than the welfare of Society and the chastisement of such as disturb it; so a wanton Spirit of fighting and conquering, is always mischievous to the world, without bringing him who has it any solid advantages, but always much guilt, danger and disquiet; that it proves generally pernicious to himself, almost ever destructive to the conquered: That such diffusive mischief is but diffusive infamy, though he may judge so ill as to aim at public adoration and fame; and that it were desirable for the quiet and welfare of humankind, that such romantic Destroyers, such sanguinary Lunatics, were locked up in Madhouses or in Dens with their less mischievous brethren possessed with humbler distraction, and satiated with less blood.

HE will see much ground for approving the advice of ISOCRATES, not to envy Princes who possess vast territories, but only to emulate such as know how to preserve and improve their own. He will be convinced that Princes who have the smallest Dominions, have enough to do, if they will do it well, and that vast Empires, instead of growing more flourishing and populous, grow generally Desarts. He will perceive the unspeakable advantages of public Liberty, the singular prosperity of Free States, how superior to such as are not free, in Strength, People, and Wealth; that all these advantages accrue to the Prince, whenever he wants them for public ends; and that no other ends can he have if he consult his duty
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and glory, since in promoting the felicity of his State both his glory and his duty are found: That he who separates himself from his People can only earn insecurity and reproach; nor aught else can he expect but reproach, and the severest, if he strive against the happiness of his Subjects, and bring misery upon those whom he is bound to cherish and protect. He will consider what anguish it must be to a Prince whose Subjects are oppressed and enslaved, to see how infinitely such as are free surpass his, to compare their plenty and ease with the poverty and meanness of his own. He will find small Free States contending against great Empires with superior prowess and might; find a single City baffling the efforts of mighty absolute Kings, like that of Seleucia, which for several years together repulsed the whole power of Parthia; and that TACITUS had reason to say, that the Romans had always found the Germans, who were ever a free People, a much more terrible enemy than the mighty Parthian Monarchy.

YOUR Royal Highness is born to govern a People the most free upon earth, a People always free, yet always obedient to Royal Authority tempered by Laws, but ever impatient of encroachments and oppression. This is the character given them by TACITUS sixteen hundred years ago, “ That they cheerfully complied with
“ the levies of men, with the imposition of tribute, and
“ with all the duties of Government, provided they received no illegal treatment or insults from their Governors: for, those they bore with impatience; nor
“ had they been any further subdued by the Romans,
“ than only to obey just Laws, but never to submit to
“ be Slaves.”

SUCH, Sir, was the Genius of the British People then, such it has continued, and such it remains: They were always peaceable Subjects to Princes who observed the Laws, very uneasy and discontented under such as set
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themselves above Law, and therefore lost all by grasping at too much. As long as the chief Ruler kept his Oath, the people kept their Allegiance, generally longer. They have been always fond of Monarchy modelled and limited by Laws. Nor does such limitation infer any insufficiency or defect in this sort of Government, but only that the Monarch is secured against committing errors and suffering for them, from hurting himself and his people. It is undoubtedly the most desirable and compleat form that the good fortune of men has hitherto produced, or their wit been capable of contriving, and allows all the Liberty and Protection which Subjects can want from Government, all the true Grandeur and Dignity which Princes can desire from Empire, even the unlimited Power of doing good. Of more Liberty than it affords us we are hardly capable, and an endeavour to extend it much further might break it: As indeed Liberty, as well as Power, then always ceases to be secure whenever 'tis turned into licentiousness. No civilized Nation in the World enjoys so much; nor is there any Government existing where the malice of men in Power has less scope than here, or fewer opportunities of distressing or destroying such as they dislike.

THIS Constitution has indeed been often shaken, sometimes oppressed; but having its foundations very deep and strong, it still recovered its ancient frame and vigour, to its own honour and to the lasting contumely, often to the ruin of such as had crushed it. The power of the Crown and the privileges of the Subjects are fortunately proportioned. They have Liberty enough to make them happy: The Crown has authority enough to maintain and increase that happiness, and therefore possesses all the glory which can adorn a Crown. This is the true and substantial renown of Princes. Any other renown than this is all adulterate and forged, nor could there be greater vanity than that of a late enterprising
4 Monarch,

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Monarch, who pretended to high glory, though to gain it he was beggaring and oppressing his Subjects. A Prince can then truly boast his glory when his People can boast their freedom and ease. This, Sir, is the lot with which we are now blessed under the mild and just Government of Your Royal Father; and, when he has finished his Reign with great renown and length of days, we see much cause for presuming upon the same happy lot from the Reign of Your Royal Highness.

As in the following History, composed by a man of extraordinary wisdom, there are found many excellent rules and lessons for the conduct of Princes, with many affecting warnings taken from the ill fate of such as observed not these rules, I humbly present it to Your Royal Highness. This I do with very affectionate zeal for your interest and honour, and am utterly unbiassed by any such motives as usually produce Dedications to Princes. The whole of my request and ambition is, that this Address, and the following History and Discourses, may be graciously accepted, and that to my self may be allowed the honour of being ever esteemed what I sincerely am, with intire duty, submission and respect,

S I R,

Your ROYAL HIGHNESS'S

Most Humble, most Dutiful,

and Most Obedient Servant,

T. GORDON.

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OF THE
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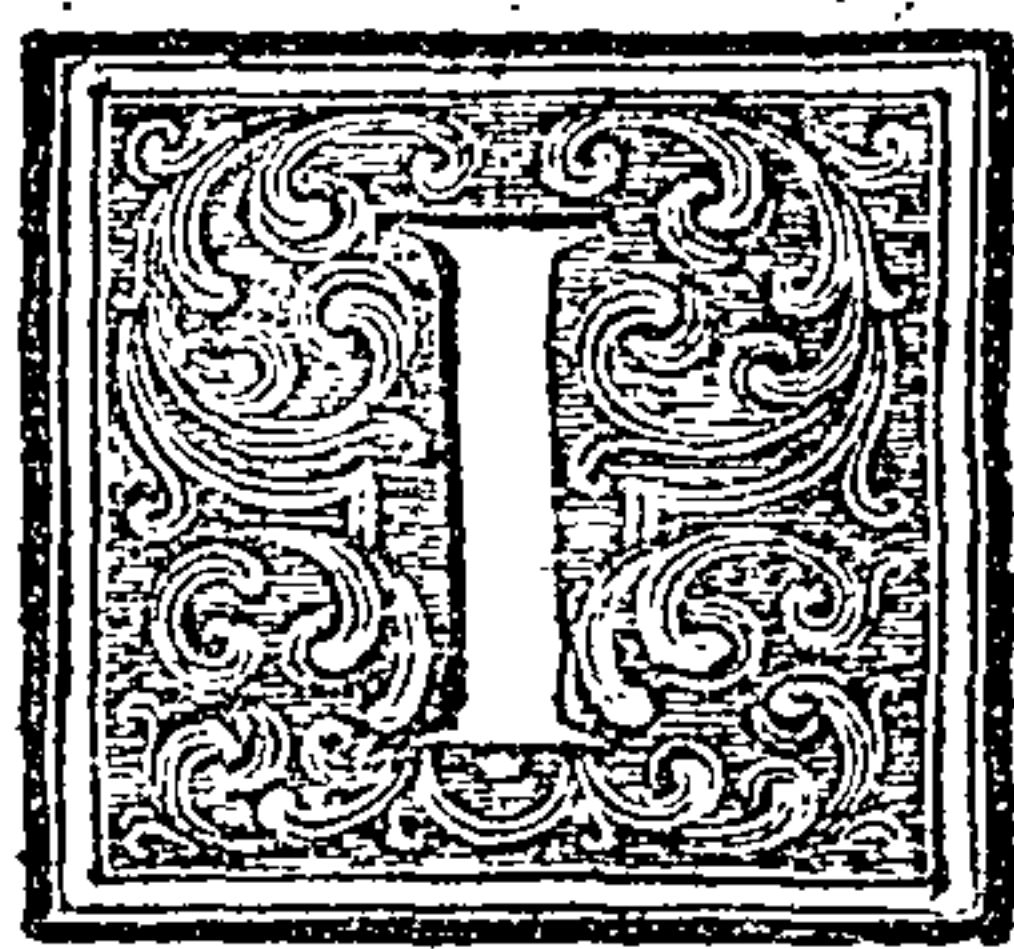
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THE INTRODUCTION.



NOW acquit my self of my engagement to the Public, by sending abroad the remaining Works of *TACITUS* translated into English. In this second Volume I have followed the same method as in the first, allowing for the difference of stile in the Original; for that of the History is more eloquent and sounding than that of the Annals; tho both Works are equally grave, equally abounding in strong sense and beautiful reflections, such as at once convince the understanding, affect the heart and please the imagination. Proofs these of the power of good writing, and indeed of its utmost perfection. A very fine stile may be very languid; very lively expression may have very little force; very grave reasonings may be far short of persuading. But when a writer at the same time delights, and animates, and instructs, when his sentences are brilliant, his propositions self-evident, his arguments irresistible, his manner charming, and when his heart withal is benevolent and sincere, he is an accomplished, he is a perfect writer. Such a writer is *TACITUS*, as I have already largely shewn. Nor do I mean or want to add further to the character or defence of that extraordinary Author. I hope I need not. I have already amply displayed and defended it, and the more I study him, the more cause I find to admire and justify him, and to wonder at the objections usually made to him, as fantastical and groundless.

THE following History is one of the most entertaining that can possibly be read, full of surprizing events and revolutions, recounted with great spirit and judgment, in a stile more free and flowing than that of the Annals, and every where enriched with curious observations, all charming and wise. Equally noble and delightful are his two Treatises subjoined, his Account of Germany, and the Life of *AGRICOLA*, both very curious, both very instructive, and only worthy of the masterly hand of *TACITUS*.

IN the beginning of the former Volume, I have shewn how ill he had been used by former Translators. His History has hardly fared better than his Annals. Sir *HENRY SAVIL* who translated it first, has taken great pains and is very exact; but his expression is mean, lifeless and perplexed, void of all force and beauty. He grovels from

sentence to sentence, labouring after the meaning of words and particular phrases, and quite loses, or quite starves the noble and nervous thoughts of TACITUS. He is a cold dealer in dry grammar, untouched with the vivacity of his Author, and without feeling, much less possessing any part of his strength and fire. His Notes are learned but insipid, and shew great diligence and memory, but a barren genius and very short discernment. His censures of TACITUS are pitiful, and in them he chiefly betrays his own peevishness, his vanity and carping temper.

SINCE him there has been another Translation still worse, by several hands, most of them beholden to him for the sense of TACITUS, and guilty of enfeebling even the weak expression of Sir H. SAVIL. He translated four books of the History, with the Life of AGRICOLA (I presume he omitted the fifth book in tenderness to the Jews) and they who translated these over again have sadly maimed them to make them modern English, that is to say, to make TACITUS prate pertly and familiarly. Were it not for fear of tiring my reader, I could largely shew the many and continual defects of both Translations, as I did those in the Translations of the Annals. But to such as have any doubt or curiosity about it, I refer that task.

IN defence of my own Translation, I have little else to say than that it wanted no care of mine to make it exact, to make it resemble the Original, and yet not to read like a Translation. It is my opinion that it is possible for an English writer to imitate the Ancients very nearly in phraseology and stile. As our Language is capable of many variations of phrase, there is great room to improve it by the transposition of words from the common way of marshalling them; and in solemn works of prose as well as in poetry, it must be frequently done in order to preserve a decent dignity of expression, and to avoid the lightness and familiarity of ordinary conversation: Whatever is intended to convince the understanding and to move the heart, must be noble and grave, free from all trite words, from all light and trivial sounds. And because we want variety of words, and our words often want force, it will be found necessary to give them some advantage in the Ranging and Cadence; a thing which may easily be done. Of this a thousand instances might be produced, especially from MILTON and other of our Poets. But I shall illustrate what I mean by a quotation or two from the old Testament. The Prophet speaking of *Tophet*, says, "wide and deep it was made: For the King it was made." This seems to me more noble and sounding than if it had been expressed a different and the usual way, tho the very same words had been employed: "It was made wide and deep: It was made for the King." Another example I shall take from the book of Job. "By the blast of God they perish, and by the breath of his nostrils they are consumed." This manner of expression is far from being stiff. I think it more flowing as well as more forcible than the common manner. Here both periods close with the strongest ideas, those conveyed by the words *perish*, and *consumed*; and the vigour of the sentence is found where it should be, in the end of it.

ANOTHER improvement would arise from reviving some of our old words, such as have significancy and sound: For many such there are, and many such we eminently want. I have ventured upon doing
this

this in a few instances; and it may be done in abundance with success.

I HAVE not yet found any cause for wishing that I had taken another method in translating TACITUS. Whoever would do him justice must endeavour to preserve his brevity and fire, and instead of bringing him down to common language, endeavour to raise the language up to him, or as near him as the idiom will permit. Such transformation is for its advantage, may be made without hurting perspicuity or the ear, and will prove more beautiful as well as more lively. I mean not a verbal translation, which is generally no language, but only harshness and jargon. What I mean is Pruning and Ranging, the Rejecting all waste words, all faint phrases, and the Consolidating spirit and sound. These variations from the usual and familiar form, are by some called *Latinisms*, and under that name condemned. But if they be clear and strong and read well, they are just, whatever they be called. I wish our Language resembled Latin more. I own that an exact imitation of the Latin will never do; witness the old Translation of TACITUS, which creeps after every word with equal insipidness and obscurity. I shall only produce one example. That Writer speaking of the Germans, says, *Argentum & aurum propitii an irati Dii negaverint; dubito*. The Translator renders it thus: "Silver and gold whether the angry or favourable Gods have denied them, I doubt." This is nonsense. The man perhaps knew what TACITUS meant; but no English reader can know what he himself means; though he has adhered literally to the Latin. In my own Translation of this passage, I have preserved something of the Latin manner, I hope without injuring the English. "Silver and gold the Gods have denied them, whether in kindness or in anger, I am unable to decide." Sir WALTER RALEIGH, Mr. HOBBS, MILTON and SHAKESPEAR, are all great masters of language; and their language resembles that of the Ancients.

WHATEVER objections to this performance come from men of capacity and candour, I have ever regarded, I ever shall regard, with due submission to them, with due distrust of my self, and be ready to own my conviction, or to convince them that I cannot see cause. There may be very just and unanswerable exceptions, which have not been communicated to me. Whenever they are I shall be forward and glad to make suitable alterations.

IN reviewing my Translation of the Annals I have discovered some mistakes, which though they be of little importance, I shall rectify in the next edition. The like care I shall take of the present Volume, where I hope very few will be found.

THE following Discourses, like the former, were composed for the interest of public Liberty, against public violence and the iniquities of power. Nor can one who reads TACITUS attentively, fail of starting a thousand reflections, such as must fill his heart with anguish for the deplorable lot of a people enslaved and oppressed, and with bitterness against their tyrants and oppressors. Unless he have hardened his heart against all the impulses of humanity and compassion, unless he have lost all regard for right and wrong, all sense of liberty and truth, he must be struck with the sad scenes before him, innocence suffering, cruelty devouring, iniquity exalted and powerful, virtue persecuted and perishing. He must rejoice in his own happier
lot

lot and that of his country; must abhor all practices and principles repugnant to liberty, and productive of servitude, abhor the men who broach such principles, and advance such practices. He must find proportionable delight from seeing the cause of Liberty flourish, from seeing it well explained, asserted and recommended.

THE advantages and blessings of Liberty are there most palpably to be discerned, where Tyranny is most heavily felt; and from this very History the reader will see, that whatever is good or amiable in the world is by Tyranny destroyed and extinguished; that whatever is evil, mischievous and detestable, is by Tyrants introduced, nurtured and propagated. From hence he will reason and recollect that every thing dear and desirable to society must result from a state of liberty; that there only property and life are not precarious, nor conscience and the faculties of the soul bound in chains: That even Religion, in order to do good, must be left entirely free, and that in countries enslaved, it is converted, even the sacred alliance between the soul of man and its Creator, is converted into an apparent engine of tyranny and delusion, into a manifest market and commodity for deluders, who whilst they are openly engaged in nothing but gain, and fraud and domineering, and the like selfish pursuits, all very worldly, many very wicked, have the confidence to preach up self-denial, to preach against the world, and to claim successorship to the poor, wandering, holy and disinterested Apostles. A sort of hypocrisy and assurance this more insulting than all the rest of their unhallowed contradictions and doings, that such men as they, the tools of Tyranny, and themselves Tyrants, dare thus cover their pride and passions with the name and commission of the meek and merciful JESUS; dare pretend to reasoning, yet forbid all enquiry, talk of learning, and promote ignorance, demand vast reverence from the people for keeping them in a condition of savageness and slavery, and take great revenues for deceiving and oppressing them.

By such considerations upon nations under servitude, especially under popish servitude, the most hideous and compleat that the world ever saw, he will be awakened with just zeal for the preservation of his own British Liberty, and grow jealous of every attempt to abridge it; since whoever will know the value of Liberty, need only examine the dismal state of those countries where it is not.

LIBERTY, which is the people's civil salvation, cannot be too often inculcated and explained. Where Liberty is gone, what have they more? It has been often secretly undermined, often openly attacked in this free Nation. Against it many monstrous and wicked doctrines have been advanced: To overturn it the holy name of God has been boldly profaned; his sacred Word impiously perverted, all the excesses of oppression and public robbery have been encouraged and sanctified: And all this by some Oracles of the Law, in defiance of Law, by many Ministers of Religion in spite of Religion and of solemn Oaths. Injustice has usurped the name of Law; nonsense, chicanery, and the prostitution of Scripture, were called sound Divinity; usurpation and misrule were stiled the Ordinance of GOD: madness was Loyalty; common sense was Treason.

THUS was every thing dear and valuable to this Nation given up: nor was it a meer complement officiously made, and not taken. To manifest how acceptable it was, the perjured and godless traitors who made

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made it, were openly distinguished with protection and rewards: To refute their reveries and barbarous positions, was dangerous, forbidden, nay capital; and to prevent the poor people, thus doomed to bondage and misery, from perceiving how inhumanly they were abused and betrayed by their professed guides and pensioners, and by these their paid protectors, they were blinded and terrified by the witchery of words and superstition, nay threatened with damnation if they would not be damned to be slaves.

WHAT language can paint such shocking wickedness and delusion! Surely none ever feared God so little as some who have spoken in his name; none have ever been so void of humanity towards men as many who assumed a right to guide them to all happiness. Nor was it possible for any man to deliver such tenets as from God, without being either a bold Impostor, or an Enthusiast stark-mad, a hard-hearted Knave, or a dreaming Lunatic. In truth, these doctrines of theirs were as notoriously selfish as they were notoriously wicked and absurd. Whenever they themselves were caressed, they never failed to justify oppression and to deify oppressors. Whenever they thought themselves slighted, tho bereft of nothing but the power of doing mischief, they ever laboured with all bitterness to distress and even to destroy every administration however legal, however free from any violation offered to oaths and laws. Could there be a stronger demonstration, that such a spirit came not from a gracious and a just God, or from reason, or from any concern for right and justice, and the good of men? And was it not evidently inspired by the foulest ambition, by malice and rage, and every corrupt and ungodly passion? Could they after this expect to be trusted or respected by men, they who had shewn themselves such restless enemies to society and the good of men?

To vindicate the Deity from the impious charge of protecting Tyrants, to maintain the cause of Liberty and shew its blessings, to assert the rights of men and of society, and to display the sad consequences of public corruption, with the beauty and benefit of public virtue, is the design of these Discourses. The design I hope is pardonable, and in pursuing it I can truly say that I was utterly divested of all personal passions, of every partiality, friendship or enmity, and utterly free from any view to hurt or to flatter any man in the world. If I inveigh against any of the dead or praise them, it is for a warning and incitement to the living. To explain the evils of Tyranny lay directly in my way, and tended to shew the value, the inestimable value of Liberty.

WHAT so nearly concerns the happiness of all men, it imports every man to know. It is but knowing their birthright, with the measures of securing it, as also the peril and ways of losing it, and the curse attending the loss. It is a subject of infinite availment, and comprehends whatever is dear to men in the world; it furnishes the strongest truths, the clearest reasonings, and is perplexed with no intricacies. The great question arising from it, is chiefly this, whether men have a right to what God and Nature has given them, to what their own Laws and Constitutions confirm to them, to what the Oaths and duty of their Magistrates testify to belong to them: Whether that sort of government which is evidently best for men, be well pleasing to the Deity, or whether he espouses and approves the worst. What

question ever admitted of a clearer answer? Yet what tomes of nonsense and ungodly falsehoods have been published about it, to sanctify oppression, to blast and overthrow all the natural and civil rights of men!

COMMON happiness and security are the ends of society; to procure these ends is the duty of Governors; where they are procured 'tis the duty of subjects to obey and reverence and support their Governors. Where such ends are not pursued, but, in opposition to them, power degenerates into violence, and subjection into slavery; where sheer will and passion bear rule, where universal misery and dread and open oppression prevail, can Government be said to exist? No; this is not the exercise of government but of hostility: and to resist an enemy is but self-defence; 'tis the law and duty of nature. Is it not repugnant to nature and to all common sense, to reverence evil, to be fond of the author of evil, and to conceive that any duty is due to him? Was it possible for the Romans to love *TIBERIUS*, possible to esteem *CALIGULA* or *NERO*? It is enough that people love such as love them, that they esteem those who protect and relieve them.



DISCOURSES UPON TACITUS.

DISCOURSE I.

Of the Emperors who are the subject of the ensuing History: Of their Ministers, their Misfortunes, and the causes of their Fall.

Sect. I. *An Idea of NERO's Reign, how mildly it began, how terrible it grew. The deceitfulness of prosperity.*



NERO at first proposed to reign after the model of AUGUSTUS, and upon all occasions courted the fame of Clemency, Liberality and Courtesy; did every thing that was generous and benevolent to the Public; shewed every act of mercy and tenderness to particulars; wished that he could not write when he was to sign an execution; was continually doing popular and expensive things. For these he was extremely flattered: Flattery infatuated him with vanity; and by his extravagances he became necessitous. Hence the beginning of his cruelty and rapine. He surrender'd himself intirely to a course of luxury and engaged the City in it; loved Shews and Pantomimes, found the people loved them, and thence promoted them assiduously and continually, and at last obliged men of the first quality to act in them, as he himself did.

THIS course at last grew tiresome, he first contemptible, then hated. He threw off all care of public affairs and the duty of an Emperor, to attend the Theatre and gain the unprincely glory of singing and acting. There followed continual murders, parricides, false accusations and excesses, as if his life had been a constant struggle to shew how wicked, how execrably bad, a human creature vested with great power may be. He murdered his brother BRITANNICUS, murdered his mother AGRIPPINA, his wife OCTAVIA, his wife POPPEA, ANTONIA his wife's sister because she would not marry him, VESTINUS the Consul, to have his wife; murdered most of his own kindred, all of them that were signal for merit or fortune, or splendor, or popularity, RUFIVS CRISPINUS
his

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his wife's son, SENECA his ancient Preceptor and Counsellor, with BURRUS Captain of his guards a venerable and excellent person: as also all the rich freedmen at court, all such ancient men as had at first promoted his adoption, and then his sovereignty. At last he murdered men by heaps with their families and children, by the knife, by poison, by drowning, by starving, by torture and casting them headlong; and all for any cause or no cause, some for their name or that of their ancestors, some for their faces, looks and temper. He robbed the Provinces, robbed the Temples, wasted the public Treasure, murdered the best men, oppressed all, and brought all things into a state of dissolution and desolation. These with him were the measures of Government, such as he said his predecessors (tho brutal and raging Tyrants) had failed in, and he blamed them for not understanding their own power. *Negavit quemquam principum scisse quod sibi liceret.* He destroyed Rome by fire, meant to destroy the Senate by the sword, and rejoiced at the first tidings of a revolt, as thence he hoped for a pretence to sack and pillage the Provinces.

PRINCES in the flow of their power and grand fortune (things so apt to turn the head and swell the heart) should prevent overmuch giddiness and insolence naturally cleaving to grandeur, by supposing themselves now and then in a state of distress, and considering the great possibility of a change: They should at least put themselves in the place of others, their subjects and inferiors, and as they would then wish to be used by their Prince, let them use their People. They should reflect how much a tumult of spirit caused by prosperity darkens or suspends the understanding; they therefore ought to suspend their joy and stifle their vanity and passions, to consult and exercise their reason. Instead of this they seldom quit their exultation till that quits them, nor hear reason till reason can do them no good, but only serve to reproach and torment them. CROESUS King of Lydia could not bear the behaviour of SOLOON, for telling him honest truth and refusing to magnify his power and felicity. But when misfortune and captivity had abated his pride and brought him to his senses, when he who had been lately so elated and happy, saw a dreadful doom prepared for him, he could sigh and call mournfully upon the name of SOLOON, and prefer his wisdom to the wealth of the world. CROESUS seems to have been a man of sense and natural moderation, but blinded by fortune and flattery.

SECT. II. *The weakness of GALBA, and the iniquities of his Ministers.*

GALBA with an heart altogether upright and well-meaning, for want of prudence, activity and a good head, fell into measures quite unpopular and odious. His severity to the soldiery was ill timed, so was his strictness and parsimony; and he who was a new Prince, unestablished, and should have courted all men because he wanted the assistance of all, behaved himself so as to disoblige the Armies, the Senate, the Equestrian Order, and the People. Besides he was blindly controuled, and his authority abused by his servants and ministers, men who were continually prostituting the credit and character

character of their Master to their own vile gain and wicked passions. By them all things were set to sale, Offices, Provinces, public Revenues, public Justice, and the lives of men both innocent and guilty. He was old, they were insatiable, and eager to make the most of a short reign; and as he was easy and credulous, they were daring and rapacious. From him they enjoyed their place and honours and all their advantages, but employed the same not for his benefit but their own: Nay every service which they did to themselves was pernicious to him, since whilst they reaped all the profit, he bore all the odium.

IN truth no Prince will be long reckoned good, when his Ministers are known to be bad; and if they are much hated, he will not be much beloved. Few Princes, if any, escape reproach where their Ministers are believed to deserve it. It must be owned that Ministers are often wronged, and suffer imputations very ill grounded and unjust; nay perhaps will be ever doomed to suffer such, from the nature of their post and power; and where they do so, 'tis but reasonable and generous to protect them. But here the guilt was glaring, and their iniquities manifest to all men but GALBA. He whom of all men it most imported to know it, knew it not. As he never inquired into their behaviour nor blamed it, they never mended it, nor feared him. The sad fate which this their corruption and his own indolence and incuriosity brought upon him, is a sufficient warning to Princes either never to trust implicitly to the advice and conduct of any Ministers, or at least to be well assured that the men are such as may be implicitly trusted. The best of them have weaknesses and passions and partialities, enow to lead them into rashness and mistakes: There are therefore perhaps none of them so perfectly innocent and wise, as to render a discerning Prince secure that their management however uninspected, however unaccountable, will yet be righteous and immaculate. Ministers no more than their Masters ought to be left without restriction and controul. It may perhaps be right in some few instances to deceive a Prince, it may be of public advantage to mislead the Public: But such a latitude will be ever more likely to be abused than well applied.

SECT. III. The folly of the evil measures pursued by these Ministers, how pernicious to themselves and to the Emperor.

NOT to dwell upon the ingratitude and vileness of GALBA's Ministers, thus to abuse, discredit and ruin a Prince to whom they owed all things, and to sacrifice him, his glory and diadem, to sordid interest, which was the smallest thing that they ought to have sacrificed for him, their ancient Emperor and so good a Master; the measures which they took proved pernicious to themselves. Their policy was folly, and tho they pursued nothing but their interest, they were not interested enough. The best interest is that which provides for our own reputation and security. Now the Ministers of GALBA, by every step which they took, invited and hastened their own doom. Their safety and establishment depended upon his, and these they were continually weakening and rendering odious and contemptible, and

themselves detestable. Their daily oppressions, their daily acts of venality and rapine, multiplied their enemies without measure. Nay to their own enormous guilt they added the odium of that of others, even that of the most execrable instruments of NERO's Tyranny, TIGELLINUS and HALOTUS, men whose execution was demanded by the universal voice of the Roman People. Indeed had these two sons of blood been less guilty than they really were, it had been but just, as well as politic and popular, to have devoted their impure lives to the Manes of so many illustrious Romans murdered by them, and to the honest rage of the Public. But this was only justice and reason, it was only obliging the People and strengthening their Master: small considerations these with VINIUS and LACO and ICELUS, in comparison of filling their coffers and gratifying private passions. They protected both; and thence gained to their Prince what they never studied to avert, infinite public hate, but to themselves what they aimed at, and what every one may conjecture. It is probable too that they dreaded the precedent of punishing any man for having done what they themselves were doing. Yet their very wealth contributed to their destruction and that of their families. *Testamentum T. Vinij magnitudine opum irritum fuit.*

BUT besides the influence of money and example, TITUS VINIUS, who chiefly protected TIGELLINUS, had another view, which is finely expressed by TACITUS; namely, "thence to purchase means of shelter and escape in time to come. For this is the policy of every desperate offender, from distrust of present fortune and dread of change, to arm himself betimes with private favour against the public hate. Hence it comes that for the protection of innocence no regard is shewn; but the guilty combine for mutual exemption from punishment." Such was the selfish wisdom of VINIUS: But his wisdom proved weakness; for by protecting the abhorred TIGELLINUS, he drew fresh abhorrence upon himself. The People, after OTHO had succeeded, were so bent upon the execution of TIGELLINUS, that an uproar ensued and many seditious clamours, till the sentence passed for his doom, now over late, as it was plainly forced and therefore could claim no thanks. For under OTHO too, the same policy and corruption prevailing, justice against that Monster was hardly procured.

SUCH confederacies between guilty men in power and guilty men out of power, are frequent and natural; and no man who is corrupt or intends to be, will care to join in punishing any man for corruption. MUCIANUS, the prime Confident of VESPASIAN, entertained the Senate with a long discourse in behalf of the Accusers. Yes the Favourite of VESPASIAN, a Prince who professed to cure and remove the mischiefs of former tyranny, became an advocate for the Accusers, the forest instruments of that tyranny. How consistent was this! and what hopes it must give the Senate and People of Rome of seeing better days? What came he for? If 'twas to save the Romans, why save their worst enemies? If he meant altogether to secure the Flock, why so tender of the Wolves, unless he found wolfish inclinations in himself? What a comfortable reflection to the Public, that after myriads of men slain, after so many millions spent, after so many struggles and battles and so much crying desolation, they were to have no change but that of names, and no Prince without oppressors!

The Candidates for place and power are always bent upon public reformation, till they have an opportunity of making one, and then find it needless, or dangerous, or unseasonable. They are great enemies to oppression, till they are in a capacity of oppressing. Then as their own guilt grows, they become very merciful to the guilty. This is the spirit of man, this the round of things. Great redresses are still wanted, still promised, still unperformed. Such mockery is not new, and never will be old.

ALL wickedness is folly; nor can I recollect an instance where evil doings have not been followed by painful consequences to the doers. They were either disappointed, or found new difficulties, or met with infamy and mortification, or insecurity, or some grief and uneasiness after the iniquity, such as rendered the committing of it a greater affliction than pleasure. Neither in the fortune of ALEXANDER, or CAESAR, or MAHOMET, or of any other the most resplendent criminal against Truth and Liberty and Peace, is ought to be found to invalidate this reasoning. Even in their beloved pursuits of power, they could have no pure delight: Though they valued not the liberties and lives of men, yet as they valued their own security and success and fame, they must needs feel many inward struggles, many apprehensions and distrusts, many doubts about the issue, many anxieties for themselves and their party and cause. *Si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici laniatus et ictus — scvitia, libidine, malis consultis animus dilaceretur.* If worthy pursuits also are often attended with evils, the testimony of a good conscience and of good men at least makes these evils the lighter.

HOWEVER true or disputable these speculations be, 'tis certain that the Ministers of GALBA, by their corrupt and selfish management, brought a bloody fate upon themselves as well as upon their Prince; a Prince who from the integrity of his intention merited a better, but from his blind reliance upon such wicked men could not reasonably hope for any other.

SECT. IV. GALBA's *blindness in trusting intirely to his Favourites, who by their wickedness blasted his reign and their own hopes.*

HAD GALBA been blessed with good Counsellors, he would in all probability have proved an excellent Prince. He had many public and private virtues; he was temperate, frugal, free from ambition, an enemy to the insolence of the soldiery, and wished well to the Commonwealth. But what availed his good qualities when he exercised them not? He himself robbed no man, but those under him robbed all men; and he, who should not have employed bad men, or at least should have restrained or punished them, incurred the same censure and blame as if he himself had done the evil, or authorized it. The People justly expect protection and paternal usage from their Prince, and where they find it not, will think the Prince answerable. Why does he undertake the Office? Why is he raised so high above others and all men, but for the good of all? Why was NERO deposed if things were not mended under GALBA? Why a new Prince chosen, but for the ease of the
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Public after a reign of Violence and Tyranny? Vain is the change of men, where measures are not changed. *Eadem novæ aulæ mala, æque gravia, non æque excusata.*

GALBA left the administration, he left his own fate and glory to his Favourites; and his Favourites sold him to dishonour and a violent death, turned the State into a market and shambles; and whilst they were yet glutting their cruelty and avarice the hand of vengeance overtook them, though it was reasonably judged that some of them had tried to secure a retreat, and had purposely betrayed GALBA to merit favour from OTHO. It is the way of such men: when they have foolishly or wantonly ruined their Master's affairs, their last office to him is to revolt from him, and perhaps it proves the first instance of their dealing sincerely with him. But whether they really meditated treason or not, they were believed to have done it: Such was the public opinion of their vileness and falshood; and such always will be the general rule of judging, that from men notoriously wicked every sort and degree of wickedness will be apprehended.

It is worth observing here how short-sighted and imperfect was the ambition of these men, and how foolishly as well as wickedly they marred what they aimed at. Was it glory and power? By consulting and establishing those of their Master, they would have reaped an abundant share to themselves. Good men would have applauded and assisted them; bad men would have feared them: They would have had inward peace, perhaps protection, from their own good works, reverence from the public voice, and the praises of posterity. By the same honest means they might have acquired wealth and ample fortunes, with the approbation of all men, and probably left it to the peaceable possession of their families. They had the largest opportunities for raising and establishing their name: They were the first Ministers in the great and opulent Empire of Rome, vested with the first dignities, and first in favour; and they served a Prince easy to his servants, too easy, one never disposed to check or change them.

As he came to the Empire with great expectation and popular favour, had his administration proved steady and virtuous, all revolts might have been prevented, or through his superior credit and strength, easily defeated, and he might have gone to his grave in peace and glory. Both his Rivals were in their persons extremely unpopular, both loathed for their vices, both desperately poor, neither of them esteemed in War, neither thought qualified for the arts of Peace, one a stupid Glutton, one an abandoned Debauchee. He himself had conducted Armies with renown, governed Provinces with integrity. His race was noble, his life innocent, he possessed great wealth, and was by all men esteemed capable and worthy of swaying the Scepter. What more probable, than that his reign might have lasted peaceably as long as his life, had his reign been well conducted? where a fairer prospect for his Ministers than under himself? By betraying him they betrayed themselves; by ill serving him, they ruined themselves. What could they expect from OTHO or VITELLIVS, but to be considered as real Traitors, or at best as corrupt and wretched Counsellors? the former a character always detested, the other one always despised even by such as profit by them.

them. AMURATH the Turkish Emperor cut off the head of the Persian Governor who betrayed a City into his hands. MYRMAH MUD dealt severely with those who had held a traitorous correspondence with him from Ispahan, declared their names infamous, their estates confiscated, and had them all put to death, and their carcasses thrown into the streets. Thus the Emperor MAXIMIAN served MACEDO who had prompted his bosom friend QUARTINUS to revolt, and then slew him to make a merit with MAXIMIAN, who, for all his wicked merit, put him to death, and did also put to death

Sect. V. *The insatiation of men in power; they generally rely upon it as never to end, and thence boldly follow the bent of their passions. Instances of this. Guilty Ministers how dangerous.*

WHAT I have observed in the last Section was reasonable and obvious. But in the tumult of rampant passions, reason is not heard. Those Ministers were transported with the sudden change of their condition, and giddy with the direction of Imperial Power. The present temptation, the prevailing appetite was too strong to be resisted; and without regard to consequences, to the Emperor's honour and safety, to the public good, to their own infamy and danger, they blindly followed every impulse of concupiscence and revenge. Men in a torrent of prosperity seldom think of a day of distress, or great men that their greatness will ever cease. This seems to be a sort of a curse upon power, a vanity and insatiation blended with the nature of it: as if it were possible, nay easy, to bind the fickleness of fortune and ensure happiness for a term of years. 'Tis from this foolish assurance, often cleaving to very able men, that those in authority often act with such boldness and insolence as if their reign were never to end, and they were for ever secure against all after reckonings, all casualties and disgrace. From whence else comes it, but from such blind security in the permanence of their condition, and in the impunity of their actions, that Ministers have sometimes concerted schemes of general oppression and pillage, schemes to depreciate or evade the Laws, restraints upon Liberty, and projects for arbitrary Rule? Had they thought that ever they themselves should suffer in the common oppression, would they have advised methods of oppressing? would they have been for weakning or abrogating the Laws, had they dreamed that they should come to want the protection of Law? Would they have aimed at abolishing Liberty, had they apprehended that they were at any time to fall from power; or at establishing despotic Rule, but for the sake of having the direction of it against others, without feeling its weight and terrors in their own particulars?

A GREAT man near an hundred years ago is charged with having contrived such a model of government for one of our English Kings, as was entirely arbitrary and Turkish, a model deliberately digested in writing. Such a monstrous change of mind had ensued the change of his condition: Formerly he had breathed a very different and opposite spirit, and asserted Liberty with uncommon zeal: It was when he came to sway the State that he altered his stile, which

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it is probable he would not have altered, had he not imagined that his sway was to have no end. He lived to see it at an end. He, who had but too lightly esteemed Laws, and Liberty, and the Lives of men, was bereft of Liberty and Life in a manner contrary to the forms of Law; and as he had promoted lawless and unaccountable power, he fell by an effort of power, unusual and extraordinary. A wicked Minister who declared in a succeeding reign, that he hoped to see the King's Edicts (that is, his absolute will and humour) have the force of Laws and pass for Laws, made this declaration in plenitude of favour, which as he meant not by any virtue of his to lose, he hoped never to forfeit, made it at a time when his head would have been employed in framing such Edicts. When afterwards he was abandoned to disgrace, I trust he had different sentiments about kingly power, and perhaps would not willingly have seen his life and estate taken away by a proclamation.

SUCH a reverse in the fortunes of men, especially of great men, who depend upon the caprice and whim and breath of another, were easy to be imagined, did not self-love darken the understanding. The greatest men, nay the wisest men, when they are blind, are exceeding blind. How few of them have provided against an evil day? How few secured themselves a resource of friendship and affection from the Public, in case of a storm at Court, and the frowns of a Crown! nay what some of them have done to serve the Crown against the People, has been a motive with the Crown, (and a politic motive, tho not always a just one, at least not generous) to sacrifice them to the pleasure and revenge of the People. Thus CAESAR BORGIA used ROMIRO D'ORCO, Governor of Romagna, one first employed to commit cruelties, then executed for having committed them; and thus the Great Turk often uses his Bashaws.

TO return to GALBA; no Prince was ever more unhappy in his Favourites: They were very wicked, very guilty men; nor can any Prince, who entertains such, be happy or secure. Mr. SELDEN, discoursing of EDWARD II. and his Minions, says, "Thus Favourites, instead of cement between Prince and People, becoming rocks of offence, bring ruin sometimes to all, but always to themselves." Those of GALBA had but their deserts: Their Master merited a better fate, and chiefly through their guilt his blood was shed. Great guilt in Ministers is threatening to a Prince. When they can no longer support their Master nor their Master them, their next course will probably be to desert him, or to rebel against him. As by their wicked administration they had betrayed his interest and dignity, destroyed his reputation, the dearest interest which a Prince can have, incensed and estranged the minds of his people, who are the surest support which a Prince can rely on, it is by no means unnatural if at last they destroy him whom they had already undone. I shall hereafter prove this by many examples.

Sect. VI. *Weak and evil Princes rarely profit by able Ministers; they like flatterers better: These frustrate the good advice of others.*

EVEN when these Roman Emperors happened to have good Ministers, they rarely made any good use of them, but followed the advice of others and worse: For with bad they were always provided. Hence it is that as a weak or an evil Prince seldom has good counsel, he is seldom the better for it when he has. SÜETONIUS PAULINUS and MARIUS CELSUS were able men, and probably would have made the cause of OTHO triumphant, had OTHO pursued their counsels. But about all such Princes, for one honest or able man, there will be many foolish and base, and 'tis great odds but these have much more influence and weight; as they are more forward and impudent, more positive and sanguine, more prone to flatter him and assure him of success (a method which goes great lengths with Princes) and as they are worse judges of measures, less concern'd about events. Perhaps too they have already made, or mean to make terms for themselves, whatever becomes of their Master. So CECINA came to desert VITELLIUS and to espouse the cause of VESPASIAN, when he was assured that the merits of his treason would be rewarded by the latter. Perhaps they are bent upon the ruin of some Rival at Court. For this has also happened, that men have betrayed their own cause out of pique to some particular Leader in it; Armies have been often suffered, by one of the Commanders, to be cut to pieces, purely to bring disgrace upon the other, and LACO, Captain of the guards to GALBA, even in the last struggle of his Prince for saving his life and Empire, opposed every counsel, however wholesome, which came from any one else, particularly from TITUS VINIUS.

TITIANUS OTHO's brother, and PROCULUS Captain of his guards, thwarted and frustrated every good advice, every rational project of PAULINUS and CELSUS, and as they were better flatterers, they were better heard. They were both very wicked men; PROCULUS particularly excelled in slander and whispering, and was an adroit Courtier. It was thus that this man, full of craft and injustice, came easily to surpass in credit all who were more righteous than himself. OTHO moreover, as well as these his Favourites, dreaded and distrusted every able man, relied chiefly upon tale bearers, and made his chief court to the common soldiers. So did VITELLIUS, and so probably will most weak and guilty Princes. They dislike to see any man exceed them in prowess and public estimation, or to possess the credit arising from address, good conduct, and military exploits. Nay such of them as most eminently want Governors, are sometimes the most fearful of being governed. LEWIS the thirteenth dreaded the great capacity of Cardinal RICHELIEU and hated his person; as did NERO the person and authority of SENECA.

THE danger of serving such Princes ill, is not greater than that of serving them over well, nor perhaps so great: and many great Ministers and Generals have been ill used and undone for doing eminent service and discharging their duty with applause; such as CAIUS SILIUS, ANTONIUS PRIMUS, and GONSALO the great Spanish Captain under FERDINAND the Catholic. From this weakness and pride of theirs, they are sometimes prone of themselves to follow the advice of weak counsellors rather than of such as are able and sufficient, partly from jealousy of the latter, partly from an ambition of being thought to do notable things without them, and of reaping all the praise themselves, at least of seeing it reaped by such whose moderate ability and character gives them no umbrage.

HENCE the signal miscarriages of Princes who have wise Ministers but neglect their wise advice. NERO was assisted, or might have been, by the counsels of SENECA and BURRUS, and it was no fault of theirs that he proved a detestable Tyrant. What advice he took was that of Sycophants, Debauchees, Pandars, of the worst and off-cast of humankind. These told him what an accomplished Prince he was, what ripeness of judgment he had, what maturity of years, and being no longer a child it was high time for him to shake off his Tutor. For towards SENECA they bore notable rancour and antipathy, as was natural to such profligates who then swarmed at Court; and whilst he was there he still proved some check to the brutal spirit of NERO; a thing which pleased not the Courtiers, nor NERO himself: For with such Princes flattery in their servants is more palatable and prevailing than virtue and ability.

SECT. VII. *How difficult it is for a worthy man to serve a bad Prince, and how dangerous.*

IN like manner was OTHO hurried through evil counsel and conduct into evil fortune, tho served by such Leaders as PAULINUS and CELSUS. Such is the risk which an able and worthy man incurs by serving a weak Prince, even to have his good counsels rejected, and to bear the blame and discredit of evil counsels which he had disapproved. For upon the most signal Minister all the reproach will be apt to rest, and he must bear the infamy of the worst; nor perhaps will it be safe for him to disown the foolish and disastrous measures which he opposed, lest he thence cast a blemish upon his Master. Even some able Princes have looked with an evil eye upon the person and credit of an able Minister, and perhaps it is the safest way of advising the best of them, to let the advice seem to come from themselves. Such is the slippery situation of good Ministers under Princes wise or weak; a situation not to be envied.

OTHO miscarried; and as PAULINUS and CELSUS were thought his directors, they were likewise thought traitors: so infamous were the measures which he had pursued, and which they in truth had opposed. Yet afterwards PAULINUS and PROCULUS meanly descended, for their own safety, to confess that they had contrived them purposely; and for favour from VITELLIUS pleaded the merit of having betrayed OTHO. VITELLIUS too

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was vain enough to believe, that out of pure regard for him, they had really stained themselves with such foul dishonour. It was shameful to own that they had, tho they had not. But so differently do men construe actions done for them and against them, and so rare it is to find the bravest men compleatly brave, any more than the wisest men compleatly wise. The qualities of all men are limited, and subject to inconsistency; else such a man as PAULINUS, who had so often ventured his life for glory, would never have studied to save it by infamy. It was however much less criminal to assume guilt than to have earned it.

It must be owned, it required either very great virtue or very great folly to serve such Princes as some of these Emperors were; tho it was cruel and unjust to betray them. By raising to the Diadem such men as OTHO and VITELLIUS, it looked as if the design had been, not to find one fit to restore the Roman State shaken, ravaged, and tyrannized by the bloody NERO, but to chuse one purely for his resemblance of that Monster, one as monstrous as he. They were both guilty of the same debauchery and excesses, both studied to imitate him, and to restore his name and honours; nay divine honours were already paid solemnly to his Manes. It was even reckoned one of OTHO's qualifications for reigning, that in his manners he so nearly resembled NERO. For this the soldiers adored him; and for this the common people loved him, as they had NERO, and as the vulgar ever will any man who gratifies them with idleness and the means of debauchery. What, for example, is more pernicious to a State, to public Virtue, to private Industry and Innocence, than rioting and idle holy-days? Yet what more dear to the populace than such debauched and riotous days, and the holy idle men who encourage them? I speak of Italy and other Popish countries.

IN serving such Princes, there was neither honour nor security to oneself, nor benefit to the Public. Their chief delight was in feats of prodigality and voluptuousness, in Jesters, Pathicks and Buffoons, and all the execrable retainers to NERO's Court. They thought that the business of Sovereignty consisted in excesses and sensuality. Their measures of Government were to oppress and exhaust the State, to depress or destroy every good man, to countenance and employ the most profligate: Or if they employed men of merit, they did it against their will, and the more they were obliged to such men the more they hated them; as VITELLIUS did JUNIUS BLAESUS, a man nobly born, of a princely spirit and equal fortune, one who served him generously and at a vast expence furnished him with a princely train, which the great poverty of VITELLIUS could not yet afford: For all this he incurred the Emperor's distaste, and was repaid in hollow flattery and sincere hate. Who could chearfully serve a creature whom he could not help despising and probably had cause to fear, one by whom he knew himself dreaded perhaps hated?

Sect. VIII. *Under wicked Princes, how natural and common it is to wish for a change. Their different treatment living and dead. In what a Prince is chiefly to confide.*

DOUBTLESS all good men, all prudent men, all who wished the good of the Empire, the tranquillity of Rome, and security to themselves, had their eye upon a change. A better there might be, a worse there could not. All endeavours exerted in behalf of such rash, raging and polluted Tyrants, tended only to prolong public misery and disgrace, as well as the ruin and perils of particulars. They who served them with most applause, must expect distrust and ill usage in return, at best to be dismissed, perhaps to be destroyed, as was that glorious Commander CORBULO by NERO, and the illustrious AGRICOLA thought to have been by DOMITIAN. Men wicked and corrupt are always suspicious; and it was natural for them to dread and hate the best men for being the best. Nor could either OTHO or VITELLIUS with a good grace complain of being deserted and betrayed. It was no more than they themselves had done to GALBA, who confided in them whilst they were revolting from him.

BESIDES such was their character with the Public and the public opinion concerning them, such the wrong measures which they took, such the weak and evil counsellors whom they followed, that it was manifest they could not stand. And when Princes begin to totter, the zeal of their adherents always begins to slacken. They who were the foremost to flatter them, are also foremost to censure them, and as a Prince in power never fails to have merit and applause, a Prince who is fallen or falling, never wants faults and reproach. It was thus with GALBA: How much zeal, how many warm professions did he find whilst he stood? How many upbraidings, how much contumely pursued him after he fell? It was thus with OTHO, thus with VITELLIUS. They were adored and traduced as fortune was seen to espouse them or to forsake them. And thus it will be with all Princes. 'Tis seldom that they will hear truth, seldom that others will venture to tell it. They must therefore form a judgment of the opinion of the Public and of their own stability from their own actions and administration, from the character of the Ministers whom they employ and of the measures which they pursue, and not from the sayings and soothings of those about them, nor from the shouts of a crowd, nor from the fidelity of their Generals. All these lights may be deceitful and have deceived many. But a righteous conduct may be boldly trusted. At worst who would not rather fall by it, than subsist by vileness and iniquity? He who falls through virtue is a gainer, whatever he loses; as he who gains by wickedness is certainly a loser, whatever he gains. Virtue is equivalent to all things, and the wages of wickedness are worse than nothing. Nor is this speculation only, and mere refining, but holds in practice and the commerce of life.

DISCOURSE II.

Of competition amongst the Ministers of a Prince, and their corruption. The evil effects of indolence in a Prince.

Sect. I. *Discord between Ministers, how fatal to their Masters.*

THE strife and discord between the Ministers of a Prince, who wants authority to controul them, and capacity to make advantage of their difference, never fail to be of mischievous consequence. The Ministers of GALBA were daily striving, not to serve him, not to save the State, but to distress and disappoint one another. Between the Ministers of VITELLIUS the like enmity prevailed. He could do nothing without them, they did nothing but contend with one another; and by seeming partial to VALENS he provoked CECINA to hate him, and at last to revolt from him. For SABINUS (VESPASIAN's brother) knew his disgusts and improved them; and by representing his unequal usage from VITELLIUS, drew him to embrace the party of VESPASIAN. Nor was this his desertion and infidelity a new or uncommon thing: It is the usual result of such competitions. When an ambitious man cannot engross the whole power and favour, he will renounce what he has tho' ever so much, and concur with an enemy to pull down a Rival. With such men the fear of public and avowed enemies is not so prevalent and alarming as that of a secret Competitor. Cardinal MAZARIN was abhorred by the faction of the Frondeurs, yet concerted with them for the ruin of the Prince of Condé, even when the Frondeurs were offering the Prince their assistance to destroy the Cardinal, whom the Prince had protected from their vengeance. The Prince afterwards in emulation to the Cardinal called in the Spaniards, the natural enemies of France.

THE vile and malicious Eunuchs, they who governed all things under SCHAH HUSSEIN, Emperor of Persia (a few years since deposed by the Agvans) were more afraid of their own Generals, especially if they proved honest and able, than of these Barbarians and public enemies. They were therefore continually destroying every brave Commander, and thence daily advancing the interest and conquests of the invaders. This will account for their hasty and amazing success. Yet after they had gained many Provinces, were ravaging the heart of the Empire, and advancing with terror and rapidity to besiege the Capital, the Emperor having appointed a faithful and experienced General, had regained most of the Country, and was upon the point of retrieving all; till the Eunuchs, the execrable governing Eunuchs, set themselves with all their might and malice to ruin his preserver and the preserver of the State, because no man should have more credit than themselves. They effected their wicked purpose, and made that good natured easy Prince believe, that his deliverer was his

his enemy, and they themselves his only vigilant guardians, whilst they were disgracing his Government and overturning his Throne.

WHEN an army was defeated, one faction at Court (for the wretched Eunuchs were always divided into two) never failed to rejoice; as the General being preferred by one faction, was always and certainly maligned by the other. The loss of Armies, the desolation of the Kingdom, the dishonour of their Royal Master, the miseries of the poor unoffending People, touched them not. They hated domestick rivals more than public enemies. There followed, or rather there attended such competition and misrule, an intire dissolution of government. No magazines, no stores, no experienced officers; nothing fit for the field. Even when all was lost but the Capital, and that was besieged; when the sword was pressing them from without, fear and famine within, these merciless wretches forbore not to cabal against every effort for deliverance, because no man should have the glory of effecting it, and thence endanger or eclipse them.

Se&ct. II. An indolent Prince a ready prey to the falsest and worst of all men: These disgrace his Reign, and provoke his People.—Their amazing corruption.

WHEN a Prince neglects himself and his own credit, all men will be apt to neglect him: The worst men will be sure to gather about him, and then the best men cannot serve him. SCHAH HUSSEIN had been served by able Ministers, brave Generals; but the Eunuchs disappointed all their endeavours, and often destroyed their fortunes and lives. Weak and indolent Princes always trust men too much or too little; and it behoves every Prince to be wary what sort of persons he entertains about him, since such, however low in station, will always have some degree of influence and be able to hurt him. If they cannot mislead him (which yet they will probably endeavour, probably accomplish) they can at least discredit him, either by reviling him, or by behaving themselves corruptly, and thence bring a stain upon him. For a Prince always suffers by the ill behaviour and depravity of his servants, especially where they meddle in the distribution of favours or punishments.

GALBA's common domesticks and even his slaves were considerable enough to dishonour the Sovereignty of their Master, because they were known to sell all places and all acts of grace. The Emperor who should have considered the desert of particulars, should have considered their capacity and pretensions, as well as his own reputation and the justice of bestowing benefits worthily, neglected this useful and important duty, and left it to the administration of his domesticks, who discharged it to his reproach and their own gain. With these mercenary and faithless knaves it availed not how much or how fast they disgraced and consequently ruined their good old Master, provided they could by his indulgence and their own villany acquire money: Though every step that they took to raise themselves in this dishonourable way, was a step taken to sink him, since in his fame and reputation, which they were thus polluting and pulling down, his best strength lay.

Indeed.

INDEED it never fails to sour and provoke the People, People of all ranks, when they see underlings and upstarts, perhaps vagabonds, and strangers, rise by the mere countenance and indolence of a Prince, into pomp and wealth; see his Butler or his Barber possessed of fortune sufficient for the qualification of many Senators. If upon themselves only they brought public odium, it were of little moment but by such infamous gain they bring infamy upon their Patron and their Prince, not to mention the just resentment of all such whose reasonable pretensions are thus defeated. So considerable is the evil and danger to a Prince in having venal minds about him. GALBA was as much undone by the corruption of his servants, as by the corruption and violence of the soldiers.

TO the Emperor SCHAH HUSSEIN there was no access but through the favour of the Eunuchs, nor any merit considered by them but that of money. These filthy slaves sold the royal protection, sold the royal favours to the best bidder, and made public traffick of public employments and justice. Hence all emulation in merit was extinguished, where no sufficiency, no virtue was regarded. Hence also public oppression, with private extortion and rapine, in all forms; since they who had exhausted themselves to purchase places, were forced to exercise all sorts of villany and spoil to repay themselves, and to feed their insatiable Patrons the Eunuchs with continual bribes for protection and impunity. Thus all Persia groaned under depredations and licensed spoilers. Formerly no thefts or robberies were known amongst them, because the Governors of the places and provinces were answerable for the damage, and took special care to prevent it. But under SCHAH HUSSEIN, robbery was common and even encouraged, because the Governors had a share, or, in civiler words, a perquisite. Nor had they ought to fear from justice, for none was stirring. As long as they had prudence and a purse to see the Eunuchs, they might spoil and ravage without mercy or shame. He must be a very simple knave, unworthy to be an oppressor, who would not resign a part to save himself and the whole.

THE Eunuchs, the most barbarous bloodsuckers that Persia had ever seen, were forsooth such enemies to blood, that they taught the Emperor a cruel piece of false mercy, that of putting no man to death for any crime whatsoever. Thus these pious deceivers secured themselves. Then by their advice he turned all punishments into pecuniary mulcts; but as his conscience scrupled to receive amercements for sin and crimes, they who taught his conscience this tender lesson for their own good, had the fingering of all these fines. Thus these gentle hypocrites enriched themselves.

THE public Tax in Persia was fixed and certain, and every Town paid yearly such a limited and constant sum. This the Governors could not alter: But as the mulcts for offences are arbitrary, they were discovering perpetual offences and raising perpetual fines, and thus pillaged the people of sums mighty and uncertain. They have by these money-penalties levied at once six times more upon some Towns than these Towns paid to the public Tax in a whole year. Even by the Governor of Ispahan, the capital of the Empire, and seat of Government, thieves and robbers were put to ransom. Such as had not robbed sufficiently to satisfy him and gain his favour and a release, were kept in jail, yet let out at nights to rob again and

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again; and by their last robberies they cleared themselves of punishment for all the former.

Sect. III. *The Reign of an indolent Prince, how destructive it may prove, however harmless the man. Into what contempt he falls.*

NOW whence all the abovementioned crying injustice, whence this absence of all equal protection and depravation of all Law in Persia; whence all this anarchy and spoil of the greater over the smaller, this general and rampant iniquity, this sacrifice and oppression of innocence? Came it not all from one root, the baseness and corruption of those about the Throne, and the weakness of him upon it? SCHAH HUSSEIN was a Prince of infinite good nature, full of generosity, full of mercy and compassion; his mind of that delicacy and tenderness, that he was startled and alarmed upon having shot a Duck in one of his canals, when he meant only to have frightened her. He thought himself polluted with blood, and for expiation had recourse to acts of devotion and alms deeds. For he had likewise a world of religion; so much religion that when fire had seized the great Hall of the Palace, full of wealth and rich furniture, he would not suffer it to be extinguished, for fear of opposing the decrees of Providence. He gave immense Charities, built Monastries, endowed Hospitals, performed long Pilgrimages, one Pilgrimage of six hundred miles.

Now what availed his good nature, what his compassion or his religion? He would not hurt a Duck, but suffered his Subjects to be pillaged and undone, brought war and desolation upon his Country. The poor man saw the Duck killed, but saw not the oppressions of his People, nor heard their cries. He seemed to have no other Kingdom or care than his Seraglio. The Ladies there, not his Subjects, had all his time and benevolence; and the Governor of a City or Province was sure to please him, if he sent him a fine Woman! No matter how that Governor used or abused the People. About this SCHAH HUSSEIN made no enquiry: If he had, his faithful advisers the Eunuchs were beforehand retained to make a favourable answer. In truth, these indulgent Tutors of his had consulted his ease so much in withdrawing him from all the cares and fatigues of Government, by assuming the whole of that painful task to themselves, that he seemed not to believe himself interested in the concerns or fate of his own Empire. When he was told that the public enemy approached to Ispahan; he said, "It was the business of the Ministers to look to that; they had armies ready. For his part, if his Palace at Farabath were but left him, he should be content." Into what insensibility, what weakness, and therefore into what contempt, had this poor harmless Prince brought himself, by trusting blindly to selfish seducers.

THAN a Prince or a State or great Man fallen into contempt nothing is more contemptible, nothing is more insecure. This I think is an observation of LIVY. Even that religious or rather superstitious turn, with which these designing hypocrites had bewitched SCHAH HUSSEIN, the better to govern their Dupe by such

such ghostly fears, was of pernicious consequence to his People. In one long pilgrimage which he took, to visit the tomb of a Saint, as he travelled accompanied with all his Seraglio and a guard of sixty thousand men, he oppressed and ruined all the Provinces through which he passed, and wasted more treasure than would have served for many expeditions against the invaders of Persia.

A PRINCE who neglects his affairs will always be contemned, and from the moment he is contemned, he ceases to be secure. People will be turning their eyes and minds towards a Successor, growing impatient for a change and perhaps be ready to make one. At best, though they may wish him well, they cannot esteem him. What esteem could the Public entertain for PHILIP the fourth of Spain, when they saw him marching to defend his Kingdom against the French, accompanied, not with a number of Officers, but with a troop of Comedians. For such had been the contrivance of the Count Duke OLIVARES, to keep him from marching too fast, and from meddling with affairs and seeing public mismanagements. What wonder if the affairs of that Prince were so loosely conducted, if his designs miscarried, and that great Monarchy, for so long a time, made so small a figure, when the Monarch himself was resigned to absolute indolence, and not he but his Favourites reigned. Small will be the credit of a Nation abroad, when the administration is loose or wretched at home, and small the regard for a Prince who exercises not the duty of one. PHILIP was a good man, but a bad King, as 'tis possible that a good King may be a bad man.

Sect. IV. *A Prince beset with evil Counsellors, how fast he improves in evil.*

A PRINCE who is naturally weak, or, which is the same thing, has ability but does not apply it, is always sure of being surrounded by the worst of all men, who will be flocking about him as eagerly as a party of robbers about a rich booty, and will exert equal zeal to keep far from him all such who are not so bad as themselves. If they find him weak they will make him wicked; if they find him wicked they will make him worse. If they cannot make him directly cruel, they will at least make him idle, and idleness in a Prince is cruelty; since he who governs all men ought to be more vigilant than all. A Prince who minds not affairs, let his intention be ever so good, is liable to be eternally abused and misled; for without experience and examination and attending to the course of things, he can form no judgment about them, but must trust altogether to the judgment and representation of others, and thence becomes their property and machine.

THE most mischievous of all the Roman Emperors (and more mischievous the world never saw) were yet made worse by their Favourites and Flatterers. The cruelty of TIBERIUS was heightened by the bloody counsels of SEJANUS; MACRO promoted the monstrous excesses of CALIGULA; and the brutal NERO was made more brutal by the instigation of TIGELLINUS. Of all human vermin the worst are found in debauched Courts; and even

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a well disposed Prince, if he be but credulous and lazy, can hardly escape being managed and corrupted by them, especially if he be addicted to pleasure. They will be continually laying baits for him, devising new scenes of voluptuousness, and keeping him immersed in sensuality.

THE Emperor COMMODUS was carefully educated by several learned men placed about him by his father the excellent MARCUS AURELIUS, who at his death left him in the hands of his own ancient friends and worthy Ministers. But he soon became weary of virtuous Men, became soon corrupted by Flatterers and debauched Courtiers, abandoned the duty of an Emperor, and surrender'd himself to ease and luxury. In this course he was encouraged by his reigning Favourites, particularly by CLEANDER, who whilst he was sunk in voluptuousness, studied to destroy him and set up himself. SEJANUS too from managing the whole business of the Empire, found himself in a condition of aspiring to be Emperor.

WHEN a Prince runs thus, like COMMODUS, into these dangers (tho they were dangers of his own making and arose from his mismanagement and folly) they sour his spirit, make him distrustful of all men, and thence mischievous and cruel to all. Thus from purposes perhaps harmless at first, he becomes at last a Tyrant. This was the fate and character of COMMODUS, who in the beginning chiefly attended to pleasure: This withdrew him from Government and the business of a Prince: Others ruled; he grew despised: Conspiracies were formed against him: These incensed him; and from being an idle voluptuary he commenced a bloody Tyrant. He greedily hearkened to all slanders, all defamations; thought all men wicked; contracted fierce enmity to every thing that was good; abhorred and banished from his presence all men who had Virtue or Wisdom, as men ill sorting with his reign and genius; and degenerated into a devouring savage; would see none about him but Buffoons, Pimps, Pandars, Gladiators and Charioteers, wretches as polluted as himself, and so vile as to give him no umbrage; and set himself to butcher and destroy all who were obnoxious to him or them. Hence he grew further detested, and found that he was, and thence his fresh sallies of Fury and Tyranny. Such is the gradation, and so naturally does evil beget and multiply evil!

DISCOURSE III.

Of public Frugality.

Sect. I. *The Prodigality of the Emperors; its terrible consequences to the Public, namely, Tyranny, Murders and Oppression.*

AMONGST all the weaknesses, vices, and excesses of the Roman Emperors who involved themselves and the Empire in calamities, none contributed more to their own ruin and that of the State, than their Profuseness and Prodigality. And upon all Princes and Countries in the world the same conduct will have the same effect. "If by popular or vain-glorious bounties we exhaust the Exchequer, by rapine and oppressions we must supply it;" said TIBERIUS very wisely. It was what his mad Successor did; he wasted the public money, then robbed and murdered to get more. This was the course of almost all the succeeding Princes, of CALIGULA, NERO, OTHO, VITELLIUS, DOMITIAN, COMMODUS, &c. And this the continual cause of lawless oppression and killing. In taxing the People and arraigning particular men, it was not justice or guilt that were considered, but how much money could be acquired. So that wealthy men were always guilty, extravagance and murder succeeded one another naturally, a man who had a great Fortune rarely escaped being a great Traitor, and with his Life he always forfeited his Estate. Oftentimes rich men were put to death without any form at all, but only by a short direction from the Emperor to kill them and seize all that they had. And NERO, whenever he bestowed any public Office, always told the person; "Thou knowest what my wants require: let our joint endeavours be, that no man possess any thing."

THESE Tyrants first brought themselves into necessities by monstrous wastefulness and dissipation, then let loose their bloodhounds to spoil and destroy men and countries for a supply. NERO declared, that he knew no other use of Treasure but to scatter it, and thought the calculation of expence (without which neither the Public nor particulars can subsist) a task only worthy of misers and mean souls, but esteemed such who knew how to lavish and confound, as spirits altogether polite and magnificent. Nor did he admire and applaud his uncle CALIGULA for any of his execrable exploits so much as for his consuming, in so short a time, such an immense Treasure left in the Exchequer by TIBERIUS; that is to say, above one and twenty millions of our money in less than a year. He indeed closely followed the great example, insomuch that he plundered and squandered almost all that that mighty Empire could yield him. He robbed and exhausted Nations, Cities, Churches, and all degrees of men, not only of money and land, but of furniture, pictures and ornaments. From wanting he proceeded to plundering and killing. So had his pattern and predecessor CALIGULA, who had at last des-

cended to keep public Stews for money, whither all men were invited to encourage the Emperor and promote his trade. He likewise kept a public warehouse for the sale of confiscated goods, which he put upon his customers at his own price. DOMITIAN too, when by every wild expence he had drained the Treasury, and involved himself in great straights, had recourse to every expedient, every trick of rapine and spoiling, and to unlimited butchery.

WHAT else could be expected, after such incredible waste, but proportionable barbarity and plunder? NERO had squandered away above seventeen millions in mad bounties; VITELLIUS, in a few months, consumed more than seven millions, chiefly in feats of voluptuousness and gluttony. CALIGULA in one supper spent near eighty thousand pounds, and upon his favourite Horse bestowed a stable furnished with ivory and solid gold, besides a great household and train. NERO entertained TIRIDATES in Rome, at the expence of above six thousand pounds a day; and when he went away, presented him with the sum of near eight hundred thousand pounds. To MENEKRATES the Harper, and to SPICILLUS the Fencer, he gave the Palaces and patrimonial Estates of noble Romans, even those of the first dignity, such as had been distinguished with triumphal honours. Nor after this was it a wonder to see his Lady POPPEA drawn by Mules covered with harnesses of Gold, or bathing herself daily in the warm milk of five hundred she Asses, such as had lately foaled.

THE revenue of the world was not equal to the expence and luxury of these Imperial Vultures, frantick with power and elevation. No matter for the misery, the want and beggary of humankind, so these profligates, the worst of the race, might but riot with their vile train of Pandars, Sycophants, Harlots, Buffoons and Informers about them; for in such only they delighted. Nations must be drained of their whole wealth and best blood, to furnish out a debauch for the chief Cannibal and his crew. To pamper a few such as were the curse and disgrace of nature, all the rest were obliged to languish, to sorrow, and to perish. Whenever a new fund was wanted, to carry on the course of voluptuousness and prodigality, it was only laying a heavy Tax upon the miserable People already undone by Taxes, or murdering and confiscating a number of men guilty of being rich, sometimes forty at once.

Sect. II. Only the worst men share in the bounties of an extravagant Prince, and carefully seclude the best—how ruinous his extravagance to himself and the State.

IN the bounties of a prodigal Prince the worst men always share, as by it all the rest are sufferers. Such as really deserve it are seldom the better for it. The vicious, the idle, the impudent and the false, will naturally flock about him, and be vigilant to keep far from him whatever bears the dangerous marks of honesty, truth, or modesty. Terrible Rivals these to the Minions of Power, and never to be suffered to approach, at least not to be heard when they do. When the poor unfortunate VITELLIUS, not more unhappy in his own folly than in the falsehood and corruption of his

Confidents,

Confidens, was undoing himself by precipitate counsel, such of his Officers as would have dealt faithfully with him and advised him profitably, were debarred by the Minions, who had in truth so moulded his soft and simple spirit, that he would hear nothing but what was pleasing and pernicious, and disrelished every honest truth as unfavourable and bitter. An honest Centurion who honourably ventured to acquaint him with his condition, with the strength and victory of his enemies, with his own weakness and loss, was reviled by him as a Traitor; usage which so incensed the brave man that, as a proof of his sincerity, he went and slew himself.

Who were they that reaped all the enormous gifts of the Roman Emperors? Who but Fencers, Fiddlers, Jesters, Prostitutes, Voluptuaries, Procurers and Accusers, Creatures at once the most wasteful and rapacious, the pests and dishonour of Society and of the Court, but with the Emperors chief Favourites and privy Counsellors. The Government of VITELLIVS was chiefly conducted by the vilest Mimicks and Chariot Drivers; but especially by ASIATICUS, his Freed-slave: This last was his Pathick, or Male-mistress, reckoned one of the richest men in the Empire and the greatest rogue.

"THE followers to a King excessive in gifts, are excessive in demands, and cut them not out by reason but by example," says Sir ROBERT COTTON: "Favours past are not accounted. We love no favours but what are future." Some of these observations he has taken from MONTAGNE. He adds, that "the more a Prince weakeneth himself in giving, the poorer he is in friends." For such prodigality in a Sovereign ever ends in the rapine of his Subjects." He instances in HENRY the third. This King so prodigal and bountiful, was forced to sell his Lands, sell his Jewels, pawn his Countries abroad, nay his Imperial Crown, and even to rob the Shrine of EDWARD the Confessor. At last he had not bread for his family, was driven to quit house-keeping, and went about with his Queen and Children, from Abbey to Abbey, humbly seeking victuals and lodging.

A lamentable situation for a King or a Man, yet he deserved no other, and indeed run into it by his great obstinacy, perjury and tyranny. He had sealed, he had signed, and solemnly sworn to observe the great Charter, with many terrible execrations upon himself or any other that broke it. Yet he afterwards broke it openly, bid open defiance to all Oaths, all Charters and Laws, had recourse to avowed Oppression, called in foreign Counsellors and foreign Guards, became an Enemy to his People and a public Spoiler. But from all his spoiling and oppressing he gained nothing in the end but the just recompence of such enormous measures, shame and distrust, scorn and beggary. Yet again his Oath was taken, again he swore to observe the great Charter, and was once more reinstated and supplied. But faithless still and despising the ties of conscience for the mischievous possession of unjust power, he once more ventured his own Damnation and a War upon his People. It must be owned he grew wiser near his latter end, and after he had governed fifty years, began to learn from many efforts, many trials and revolutions, after much distress and disgrace, that his greatest power, his greatest safety consisted in ruling righteously, in obeying the Laws, and using his People well.

" His

“ His immoderate liberality, says Sir ROBERT, he had found
 “ but a weak means to win love; but it lost more in the gathering
 “ than it gained in the giving. This bounty bestowed without re-
 “ spect, was taken without grace, discredited the Receiver, detracted
 “ from the judgment of the Giver, and blunted the appetites of
 “ such as carried their hopes out of virtue and service.” — He
 that will “ lay the foundations of greatness upon popular love, must
 “ give the People ease and justice. For they measure the bond of
 “ their obedience always by the good that they receive.”

*Sect. III. The waste of public Money, its tendency to pro-
 duce popular Commotions and civil War. — How much
 men love themselves better than the Public. — Such waste
 seldom answers any end.*

WHENCE began the civil War in Paris, during the mino-
 rity of LEWIS the fourteenth, but from the extreme exac-
 tions and oppressions practised to supply the Treasury exhausted by
 prodigality, and by bounties and pensions to particulars. For the
 Queen and the Cardinal, to recommend their administration and
 strengthen themselves with friends, refused nothing, gave the public
 money with both hands, and by gratifying Creatures made the People
 mad. For the poor People must ever pay all, even for their own un-
 doing. It may not be amiss to observe here that, whilst the People
 only were oppressed, the sovereign Courts made no opposition: But
 as soon as they themselves began to be cramped and squeezed, they
 presently grew public spirited, and combined to make a great stand.
 Thence the famous Arrêt of Union of all the Parliaments. Yet the
 Parliament of Paris, tho acting from such narrow and selfish motives,
 was thought the refuge of the distressed, and adored by the People,
 who, unless misled by some false friend, or by some superior passion,
 are always and naturally grateful.

THIS behaviour of the Parliament of Paris reminds me of a man
 who had a place in the Exchequer during our own civil War. The
 man was a good Cavalier, a great lover of Church and Monarchy.
 He had an affection for the cause and person of the King, and was
 concerned for his misfortunes. But whatever befell his Majesty and
 the Royal Interest, or that of the Church, which were both daily
 sinking, the good man, tho very sorry, still kept his temper and his
 place, still preached patience and acquiescence to his friends. He saw
 all the calamities of his Royal Master, saw him taken, imprisoned,
 hardly used, tried, nay his head cut off, saw Monarchy it self and
 Episcopacy utterly abolished: He disliked all this indeed, but bore it
 all. He was still for submitting to the Powers that were, though
 he approved them not. At last the Parliament did a thing which ef-
 fectually set fire to his zeal, by going about to regulate and retrench
 the Fees of the Exchequer. He then declared, “ That if they were for
 “ striking at Fundamentals, it was high time for all honest men to
 “ look about them.”

No bribe, no liberality can secure men void of natural honour
 and virtue. Many of those who had been most highly favoured by
 Princes and most beholden to their liberality, were the first to desert
 them

them and to turn against them. Many have thought the advantages given them to be no more than what were already due to their merit, and therefore no ties upon them to future service. Besides, many will be bribed and engaged to go certain lengths but not all. And such largesses, such officious application to men by the means of money, will be apt to pass for an argument of the weakness of the Administration and the fears of those in Power; and then the Government will be despised, and the Leeches still craving for more. Or it will be judged that the Court hath evil and dangerous designs; and then too the price will be raised by some; others will quite fall off. Many of all these sorts quite deserted the Queen and the Cardinal; and of such as remained, few were cordial and determined, whatever they appeared.

Sect. IV. *The wisdom of Parsimony in a Prince — The certain distress and disgrace of such as are prodigal.*

PRINCES should consider themselves as only Stewards of the public Purse, and what a breach of trust it is, what a breach of honour, nay how cruel and criminal, to apply the People's money otherwise than for the People's benefit, much more to waste it wantonly, or bestow it upon Idlers, Flatterers and Debauchees. I am pleased with the frugality and public spirit of OMAR, the second Caliph after MAHOMET. He had a jewel of great price sent him, as a present from the Greek Emperor HERACLIUS, and sold it. His friends advised him to keep it for himself. But OMAR said, he could not answer that to the Public. In proportion to this his public frugality was the steadiness and credit of his Government; and in dealing with particulars, he was equally just and judicious.

VERY different were the measures of OTHMAN, the next Caliph, different his reputation and fate. He was partial and profuse to his Creatures, employed them however unqualified, removed the best Officers in the State to make room for them, and upon them wasted the public Treasure, which his predecessors owned to belong to the Public. But OTHMAN said that it was God's, and that he who was successor to the Apostle of God, had a right to dispose of it as he pleased. It is probable that his Minions and Flatterers, they who gained by his mismanagement and prodigality, had been filling his weak head with wild dreams of his *Prerogative and Divine Right*, for which doubtless these pernicious hypocrites appeared very zealous. It was what others have done since; that is, they have often so infatuated a Prince with a divine right of doing whatever he pleased, (that is, a power from the good God to be mischievous to men) that he has perished in making the experiment. In which the Almighty did but vindicate his goodness from such a blasphemous imputation, and give these seducers the lye.

A PROFUSE Administration is always loose, disrespected and tottering: That of OTHMAN was eminently so, and ended tragically. Public discontents and resentments, popular remonstrances and insurrections, were the natural effects of his misrule. As he had sacrificed all things to his Creatures, and regarded his Family more than the

Public; it was no wonder that the People, who were not regarded by him, grew weary of him; no wonder that they were enraged at such a scandalous dissipation of the public money to feed worthless Favourites. And when the People whom he had provoked, had taken up arms against him, could his Favourites, whom he had so dearly purchased, protect him? No: The poor man, having lost all esteem and the hearts of his subjects, was left helpless and forlorn, and butchered in his house with the Alcoran in his lap. For OTTHMAN was very devout, and perhaps saying his prayers when his Secretary was using his name and seal, to the destruction of his best subjects, and servants; a practice usual with the Secretary.

HENRY the third of France was a most lavish Prince, and according to the measure of his lavishness were his exactions and rapine. He was so buried in riot and sensuality, and his subjects so drained and pillaged, as to have it said of him, that only by his daily and heavy oppressions, they knew him to be alive. Could a more infamous thing be said of a King, one whose duty it is to be daily employed in contriving how to ease and benefit his People? He made a very different use of Sovereignty, and robbed them without mercy to satiate his Minions and his Vices: As if Royalty were only pomp and luxury, and Princes only for themselves.

HE reaped the just fruits of such extreme wickedness and folly; and suffered sorely for having made his People suffer. By his prodigality and the barbarous methods which he took to supply it, he drove them to despair; and as the first part of his reign had been wanton and oppressive, the latter part of it was miserable and distressed. He never could recover the esteem and affections of his subjects; so that ambitious men taking advantage of the scorn and hate borne him by almost all men, hunted him to his grave; and he who had been a man of Blood, died in Blood. Yet this unhappy Prince had many good qualities, and some great ones. But he was easy and profuse, and thence the property of Sycophants, Minions and Monks, and to his People a very great Tyrant.

HIS father too had a fine disposition and fine endowments, but his reign was grievous and intolerable; because he was profuse, and therefore rapacious. He loaded his Kingdom with heavy impositions, such as were unknown before, yet all too little to gorge a few Favourites. So that besides the general grinding of the poor people, the rich must be brought under forfeitures and their estates given to the Lecches about the King. To accomplish this, Laws were stretched or trod under foot, evidence forged, witnesses suborned, and every execrable Court-art tried to destroy the innocent, on purpose to enrich wretches bloated with guilt and crimes. Heresy was one fruitful pretence for worrying and robbing the wealthy, that the Minions might have their spoils. To be innocent was of no availment; nor had any man, marked out for a victim, other remedy than that of redeeming their lives and estates by a large price given to the Minions for their interposition with the King, who, for the sake of such blood-thirsty serpents, was become the enemy and spoiler of his People.

THE Duchefs of Valentinois, a wicked woman who governed this King and misled him, glutted her self with confiscations; especially those of the Hugonots. He himself the while was necessitous, his Government weak, and full of miscarriages and dishonour. He had spent

spent a large Treasure left him by his father, devoured the substance of his People, seized many Estates, was forty millions in debt, yet the Kingdom not defended, nor his Dominions preserved intire, but on all hands lost and dismembred. *Aliis quidem quum omnia raperent, & rapta retinerent, ut si nihil rapuissent, nihil detinuissent, defuerint omnia.* Plin. Pan.

SUCH a curse upon a King are venal and voracious Favourites: Such a curse upon the People, is a King governed by them. They never fail to bring misery and desolation upon his People, and upon him necessity and dishonour: Perhaps he escapes not so. A violent death, which shortened the days of that Prince, leaves us only room to conjecture what events his measures might have produced, had he continued them, and his reign been longer.

Sect. V. *Public Frugality and public Profusion compared in their effects. — Princes brought by extravagance into distress have no resource in the hearts and purses of the People.*

PARSIMONIA magnum est vectigal. It is not great Revenue but great Frugality that creates plenty, nor a small income but want of thrift, that brings poverty. FRANCIS the first with a few Taxes was rich, tho always in war: Such was the force of good management, that this alone sufficed for so many demands, so many expences. His Successors with numerous Taxes were poor even in peace. FRANCIS was so apprized of the sufficiency of the public Revenue even then, that he advised his son HENRY the second to ease the People and abolish some of the Imposts, especially such as were laid on to support the War. We see how well he profited by such good counsel.

WHEN Princes, who by extravagance and mismanagement are distressed in their Finances, come to be pressed by any public exigency, by disorders at home or war abroad (and to such exigencies such Princes will be ever most obnoxious) they then find, perhaps too late, the folly and wickedness of their ill œconomy. The People whom they have provoked and abused will not help them, or, being already impoverished, cannot. Will they then have recourse to their Minions for help to defend their Crown and Dignity, and to repulse an Invader? NERO in the midst of his sports and profusion never had thought of a day of distress, or that he should ever be obliged to ask the Romans for money and be refused: But he lived to see that day, to find wants and none to supply them. When the Provinces and Armies were revolting, and he judged an expedition in person necessary to reclaim them, he wanted a fund to set it on foot, and commanded all orders of men to bring in such a proportion of money. But almost all men refused to contribute any thing, and with common consent desired, that he would rather recall all the monstrous sums which he had bestowed upon his creatures and implements, the Informers and Accusers. It was a just and a bitter return made to the deadly Tyrant.

A FRUGAL administration of the public Treasure is a sign of a well governed State, which can never be well governed where

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the public Treasure is wasted and misapplied. To the honour of Queen ELIZABETH's reign it was said (and to her honour too much never can be said,) that in her Court Majesty and Thrift strove for preheminance: No Prodigality, no Meanness: No Hardships upon the People; no Resentment upon the Queen. She never had oppressed nor drained her People: No wonder she had their hearts, which Mr. OSBORNE calls very truly, the Paradise of a Prince.

HER Successor who was always lavish, was always in wants, and ever hunting after new resources for money; nor did he refuse any that were offered, however heavy, however scandalous. Hence so many Combinations and Monopolies, to the ruin of Trade, and the affliction of the Subject, so many vexatious Prosecutions, so many excessive and arbitrary Fines. The Bloodsuckers about him were continually preying upon him, and forcing him to prey upon the Public. Profuseness created want, and want which tempts private men to be knaves, makes public men oppressors. All his regular Revenue, all the supplies which he had from Parliaments, with all the advantages which arose from many mean devices, many oppressive tricks to get money, were hardly sufficient to raise and support Favourites, Upstarts, Pandars and Voluptuaries.

COULD the Public like such an Administration, or honour him? He was accounted at best but a King in Law, not established upon the affections of his People. It was reckoned that his Minions cost England more than Queen ELIZABETH had spent in all her Wars. He was fond of all new ways of raising money and squeezing his People, fond of all Forfeitures and Confiscations; affronted his Parliament, so that they cared not to oblige him; deceived them, so that they would no longer trust him; denied their reasonable demands, or granted and then eluded them; descended to all low shifts, and was at last thought unworthy of all confidence; submitted to have the money granted by Parliament deposited in the hands of Commissioners appointed by Parliament, yet afterwards forced it from these Commissioners against all faith and honour solemnly plighted.

A PRINCE must be extremely despised of whom it could be said, as it was of him, "That he had no designs to hurt any people but his own; and was severe against Deer-stealers, but indulgent to Man-slayers," since no murder was punished when the murderer had money. In return for all his Prodigality, Falshood and Oppression, he was scorned, hated, and lived in constant uneasiness and distress. In his reign began those discontents which afterwards involved the Nation in the long civil War.

Sect. VI. *The greatest Revenues insufficient under ill management. — How grievous this to the People, how baneful to the State. The true Liberality of a Prince, what. The vile spirit of flattering Casuists.*

NO Revenue whatever is large enough to bear constant embezzlement. The wealth of the new World, the mines of Mexico and Peru, possessed by the Spaniards, could not keep their great Monarchy from scandalous poverty during a long course of years in the late reigns; because the Finances were miserably managed, lavished in misapplications and enormous Pensions, and diverted from the service of the State. By this means, in a great measure, that proud Monarchy, which had aimed at being universal, was become so impotent and helpless, that far from conquering other Countries, she could not defend her own, saw some of her most considerable Territories torn from her, and had it not been for some of her neighbours, even such as she had formerly aimed at swallowing up, but now for their own preservation obliged to protect that their ancient enemy, she herself had followed the fortune of her Frontiers, and been the sport and purchase of a Conqueror. A few Provinces once her own, not very large but very frugal, as they had at first beaten her in her best days, assisted her in her worst, and in the greatness of their fleets and armies employed in her defence, quite surpassed her, as well as in promptness and capacity to fit them out. Can there be a greater instance of the different effects of management and mismanagement?

UNDER the Ministry of Cardinal MAZARIN, during the minority of LEWIS the fourteenth, when money was wanted from the Finances for the service of the State, the Superintendents were wont to answer, "That there was none in the Treasury, but the Cardinal would lend the King some." With honest management the King could not have been so destitute, nor the Cardinal so abounding. When the Emperor CLAUDIUS was once complaining of the poverty and emptiness of his Exchequer, it was pertinently observed, "That he might be abundantly rich, if his two governing Freedmen would admit him for a sharer with them." NARCISUS and PALLAS were the two meant, they who studied nothing but to ravage and spoil with all their might: No matter what the Public paid; no matter what their Master wanted.

LEWIS the fourteenth who was extremely magnificent, that is, throwed away vast sums in pomp and vanity, when he heard of the great Confederacy forming against him, resolved to abridge his prodigious expence in building, gardens, jewels, &c. For that very year he had, in building only, spent fifteen millions. Nor could he hold his resolution to retrench, notwithstanding the public necessity so pressing, notwithstanding the private poverty so melancholy and affecting. He went on with Prodigality and Taxing. What the poor People had, he would not want; for his pity was by no means so extensive as his power.

To spare, to foster, and to enrich the People, is the true and chief Liberality of a Prince. Detestable is that Bounty which impoverishes

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all men. It was truly said of OTHO, that greatly deceived were they with whom his profusion and extravagances passed, as he would have had them, under the name and guise of Generosity. The man might know how to waste and confound; but to the discreet and beneficent rules of liberality he must have been an utter stranger. I admire a saying of HENRY the Great, (who, in truth, was a glorious Prince) that he hoped to see the time when the poorest man in France would be able to have a pullet in his pot; or words to that purpose. This shewed the true and paternal spirit of a King, such a spirit as every King ought to have, else I know no business he has with the Office. What has any King to do but to make the People happy? What have People to do with a King who makes them miserable? Yet to the dishonour of some of our English Princes, they often claimed payment of the People, and had it, even for reasonable Laws and Concessions, and never parted with any lawless exactions without an Equivalent. They were paid for granting what it was unjust and infamous to deny.

I WAS out of countenance for a late Prince, one who affected the title of *Great* (in my opinion very preposterously) upon meeting somewhere with the following Story. He told a Mistress of his, what great peace of mind he had just received from his Confessor, to whom he had imparted his anxiety about his grinding and exhausting his People in so grievous a manner, and how readily the good man had removed all his scruples by assuring him, that whatever they had was his own, and whatever was his own he might conscientiously take. She is said to have replied very freely but very justly; "And were you such a fool as to believe him?" Doubtless there was no flattery, no self-ends, nor view to favour and preferment in the State-Casualty of this holy hard-hearted knave, who by the law of God could authorize Oppression and sanctify the enormities of a Tyrant. Surely worse than no Religion is that Religion which extinguishes humanity and warrants barbarity; as wicked as Tyrants are they who countenance Tyranny, and of all Sycophants such who cajole in the name of the Lord, are the most pestilent and odious.

WHEN King JAMES the first asked Bishop NEAL, whether he might not take his People's money without the ceremony and consent of Parliaments; the Bishop answered roundly, that he might. "God forbid, Sir, but you should: You are the breath of our nostrils." By such cant and the impious burlesque of Scripture, he would have warranted the overthrow of the Establishment, and let loose the King to rob his Subjects, contrary to the Duty of a King, contrary to his Coronation-oath, and against Law and the Constitution. Had the Law provided no punishment for such a poisonous parricide, such a declared enemy to Law and Liberty and all men? To meditate the death of the King is justly made High Treason. The Bishop was for killing the Constitution. To such extreme wickedness and falsehood 'tis probable this unhallowed pedant was led only out of regard to King JAMES's partiality to Episcopacy, and chiefly to his being the source of ecclesiastical preferments. I know not in what other sense he could be the breath of the Bishop's nostril: Sure I am it would have been a very lying complement out of the mouth of the People, had they been fleeced and spoiled against Law, as the good King desired and the pious Bishop advised. This miserable consideration was to his narrow spirit

spirit superior to the felicity of human Society, the Laws of his Country and all things.

THE State of Athens was so sensible of the danger and mischief of embezzling or misapplying the public money, that to prevent it they made the following awful Law: "That whereas a thousand Talents were yearly assigned for the defence of Athens against foreign invasions; if any person presumed to lay out, or but proposed to lay out that money, or any part of it, on any other design, he should suffer death." And, though by the Law of Athens no free Athenian could be put in bonds, yet such as had wasted or misapplied the public Treasure, were excepted and denied the benefit of it. Many other wise and severe precautions they took to secure the Revenue of their State, and by it the State itself. Nor can any State subsist in honour and security where havock is made in the Exchequer. A Nation as well as a Family may be undone by Profuseness.

Sect. VII. *Public Frugality advantageous to all; disliked only by a few.—Public Bounties ill bestowed, how dishonourable.*

BY all those from whom a Prince takes nothing away, that is to say, by almost all men, he shall be accounted noble and beneficent, and reckoned close and penurious only by a few to whom he gives nothing, says MACHIAVEL, and it is truly said. Let him therefore judge, whether it be not more just, prudent and profitable to oblige and care for his People, tho he disgust some particulars, than to cherish and glut a few particulars at the expence of the People. People sometimes love to see a liberal Prince, but care not to feel him, when he is liberal out of their pockets. It must be a melancholy consideration to a Prince (if he consider at all) that by giving a large Pension perhaps to a worthless or wasteful man, he is laying a heavy load upon the backs of hundreds of his best subjects, and oppressing a multitude to be generous or rather prodigal to one. It was a fine and true complement to TRAJAN, that he warily restrained all lavishness in the Exchequer, because he never meant to supply it out of the fortunes of the innocent.

It is indeed infamous in any man to accept of bounties from the Public, if he can live without them. They who do so, are at best but public Almsmen; and every man of fortune, who with it has virtue or shame, will scorn the character. What is here said, does not affect such as for serving the Public receive thence an equivalent; since rewards that are due are never scandalous. But alas, the service is too often over-rated, and when that ceases, the recompence is often continued to such as want it not, as well as given to many who not only do not want it, but never could deserve it. I have known great Largeesses and mighty Annuities granted to many for no apparent reason, but that they were shameless enough to ask, and the Prince weak enough to give. If they had any real claim, it was too infamous to be owned: and 'tis a terrible reproach upon a Prince when, for a small or a wicked service done to him personally, equal regard is had, and as much liberality shewn, as for any signal service done to the State, perhaps more, and when the

Offices

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Offices of the State or its Treasure are prostituted to gratify private Jobbs and Intimacies.

WHEN this giving humour prevails there is no end of Suiters and Claimers. Every man, every woman will have something to alledge, some suffering or some service. Upon the accession, particularly, of a new Prince such claims always abound. "In every shift
" of Princes, says Sir ROBERT COTTON, there are few so mean
" or modest that please not themselves with some probable object
" of preferment. Men expect payment for doing their duty and
" assisting the Public, that is assisting themselves, and what is no
" more than duty they call merit, and merit must be rewarded;
" and when men are left to measure their own, we may guess it will
" lose nothing of its extent and value. There are indeed few who
" think themselves as high in employment as they are in capacity." When there are not Places enow to gratify pretenders, an equivalent is expected; and when once Pensions multiply, and are given to many worthless people, there can be no satisfactory reason given for refusing others as worthless. Thus the public Revenue comes to be thrown into a sort of average and spoil. Nor when the corruption has gone far, is it an easy matter to cure it; and he who first attempts it, Prince or Minister, will be sure to find a hard task, a torrent of opposition and outrageous clamours: For all the Harpies, all who had not clean hands will be found to have foul mouths; and when public frugality, when general ease and relief is intended and pursued, injustice and avarice will be imputed. But the reformation, as it is always just, will certainly prove popular at last, when the generality feel benefit from the just disappointment of a few. *Augeo Principis munus quum ostendo liberalitati inesse rationem. Ambitio enim, et jactantia et effusio, et quidvis potius quam liberalitas existimanda est cui ratio non constat.* Plin. Paneg.

DISCOURSE

DISCOURSE IV.

Of Princes.

Sect. I. *The Duty of a Prince, what. His motives to be good, and content with limited Power: That of the Roman Emperors bounded.*

IF we now enquire into the duty of a Prince, what else can it be but to conform to the Laws and see that all others conform, to be vigilant for the public welfare, to consult the good of the whole and of particulars, to prevent oppression and to punish it, to promote virtue and to reward it, to consider himself as made for the People's protection, not the People for his pleasure, and that where his Subjects reap no advantage, he can reap no glory; to enforce the observance of Law by his example as well as by his judgments, and by his faithful care of his People, merit their affection and fidelity? *Omnia invigilare, omnia audire, et undecunque invocatum, statim velut numen adesse et assistere.*

It is thus he must resemble the Deity, nor can he be otherwise the Representative of God than by doing God-like actions. It is not enough that he do things innocent and harmless; 'tis not enough that he forbear things wicked and mean. What he does must be virtuous, noble, public spirited. Every sordid action, every low artifice he must detest and avoid. He who represents the Almighty, he who guards the Laws and the Lives of men, must be just in observing Law, ambitious to resemble his Maker and Sovereign. How can he, how dare he neglect or injure those for whose sake alone he is what he is? "He who is above all, ought to be better than all," was the wise and worthy saying of CYRUS. *Un Roy (entant que Roi) n'a rien proprement sien: il se doit soy même à autrui. La jurisdiction ne se donne point en faveur du juridicant: C'est en faveur du juridicé; says MONTAGNE.* He adds, that a superior is created not for his own advantage, but for that of his inferiors: As a Physician is so for the sick, not for himself.

SUCH a Prince, whose only end and pursuit is the People's good, as 'tis in truth his only business, will desire no power to hurt them, none such as others under him, or after him, may turn to their prejudice, tho he himself would not. Tho a Prince perfectly wise and just could never abuse any power, he would not covet power without bounds, because whatever the best Princes have had the worst will always expect. So that good Princes will be content with a little, a smaller share, that the bad may not have too much. They will look beyond their own time, and contrive that the People may be happy when they themselves are gone. This consideration terribly heightens the crime of Usurpation and overturning the Laws of a Country. Though he who does it may have good qualities, and possibly desire public good; Yet such as are to come after him

38 DISCOURSES UPON TACITUS.

may be fools, madmen, bloody savages. CAESAR therefore and his fellows are never to be forgiven, never to be excused.

LET a Prince be invested with a power ever so boundless 'tis still intended, or ought to be, for the good of men, and he has none to be cruel or wicked. A power to destroy is not given but taken, and what is usurped has no right whatever. No regular, no just power can be derived from the irregular will of man, whatever fine name he takes to himself. "Hard it is for one who has no bounds to his power, to set bounds to his passions; said the wise and good MARCUS AURELIUS. Nor did the Roman Emperors pretend to be above the Law, but only above the formality of Law. If they acted otherwise, as they generally did, they gave the lie to truth and their own professions. ALEXANDER SEVERUS declared, that nothing was so much a part of sovereign power, nothing so much its character, as to live according to the Laws. TRAJAN professed, that the Prince was so far from being above the Laws, that the Laws were above the Prince. As he took an Oath to obey the Laws, he faithfully observed that Oath; and thence PLINY says, "That all the Emperors before him had made the same professions, but their professions were not believed:" What they had promised to be he was. The Romans in the times of the Emperors, made a wide difference between a Prince and a Master: the former they considered as a lawful Magistrate, the latter as an Intruder and Usurper. And 'twas observed of TRAJAN, that he possessed the place of a lawful Prince, to prevent the exercise of lawless rule. *Sedem obtinet Principis, ne sit Domino locus.* The Emperor ADRIAN declared to a public assembly of the Romans, that he would govern like one who had the direction of the People's affairs, not his own; and SEVERUS owned himself to be no more than the public Steward. Many Emperors used their power mischievously; but such abuse of power was no part of their Commission.

Sect. II. *The wisdom of governing by Law——No just power without Law——Just Government requires sense——Any wretch capable of tyrannizing——No good man fond of boundless power.*

THEY who are set over men, too often forget that they themselves are but men. Indeed such of them who pretended to be above Law and above Humankind, were much worse than beasts, they who claimed Divinity, a disgrace to Humanity. Hence PLINY says to TRAJAN, who without arrogating celestial honours had a spirit truly divine, "That, from the fate of the Princes his predecessors, it was manifest, that none but such as men love, are beloved by the Gods."

WHAT is it that gives a Prince a right to power? Not his bare will, for then every man who has force, has a right to power, a right to all that downright brutal force can bring him. As the public good is the general rule of Laws, these Laws are the rule and boundaries of the Prince's power. To these all men are and ought to be subject, he especially who is entrusted with their execution and the care of all men.

men. If the Laws are for the security of the State, why should not the Prince observe them, he to whom the guardianship of the State is committed? The Roman Emperors, even in their acts of Tyranny pretended to observe Law, and under the name of some Law most of their cruelties were perpetrated. Nor durst they avowedly violate the Laws. Thus *CLAUDIUS* was afraid to marry *AGRIPPINA*, for that there was no Law authorizing an Uncle to marry his Niece. Nor durst he accomplish the marriage till a Decree was purposely made. Thus even the outrageous *NERO* proceeded in cutting off some of the greatest men: He got them butchered under the form and mockery of Law.

It is the more glory for a Prince to govern regularly, and by the just measure of Equity and Laws; for that, in order to govern well, parts and prowess and vigilance are required; but any novice, any savage can exert brutal passion, follow his absurd humour, yield to his headstrong will. It is the easiest thing in the world to exercise disorder and misrule, to gratify private appetite, to create public mischief and disorder. This the frantick *CALIGULA* could do, this the infamous *HELIOGABALUS*, and this our *RICHARD* the second or King *JOHN*. A madman or a fool may be an able Tyrant; and to be so, fools and madmen are the most aspiring. *LA BRUYERE* says, "That for the exercise of Tyranny there is no need of arts or sciences. Those politics which consist only in shedding of blood, are very narrow and void of refinement: They inspire us to kill such who, while they are alive, prove an obstacle to our ambition. This is what a man naturally cruel does without difficulty. It is the most horrible, 'tis the most gross method of supporting ourselves, or of acquiring grandeur." Indeed, a wrong head, a wicked heart and human shape, seem the chief qualifications for a Tyrant.

As unlimited oppression generally follows unlimited power, and as all power that can be abused will be abused, none but a madman, a wicked man, or a changeling will desire unaccountable dominion, whence he can reap no other fruit than guilt and odium, and his People none but misery and pillage. What can be the mark of a viler spirit, what a more detestable character of a man, what more repugnant to the business and duty of a public Father, than to consider the People as his property, not his care; as if millions were created for the sake of aggrandizing one of themselves, often the worst, as a Tyrant is certainly the worst creature in his dominions, let the rest be ever so bad, and bad they must be as well as wretched. For the breath of Tyranny contaminates all things, destroys the best things, nor can virtue any more than happiness stand before it, or within its reach. 'Tis a maxim with evil Princes to make their subjects evil; and in order to bear slavery they must have the abject souls and vices of slaves, must be sordid, ignorant, debauched, void of care for the Public, void of humanity and honour.

Sect. III. *How amiable the character of a good Prince, who rules by Justice and Law, who loves and relieves his People.*

HENRY the fourth of France used to say, "That in order to reign well, it is not expedient to do whatever we can:" A saying worthy of the wise head and great heart of that brave Prince. As he said he practised. He always heard with great patience the remonstrances of his Subjects and Parliaments, nor was ashamed to change his opinion, or to depart from points of Prerogative; hated to hear Parasites magnify his power, and shew great tenderness for the privileges of Royalty, or to be praised by men unworthy of praise; would not suffer the Provinces to be oppressed to enrich particulars; confessed that he differed not from his Subjects, since he had but two eyes and two feet no more than they. He told an assembly of the principal men of Normandy at Rouen, that he had called them, not blindly to approve what was his will and pleasure, but to receive their counsel, to trust it and to follow it. This was the language of a man of sense and honour, and he did just the contrary to what a fool or a small spirit would have done. A certain Prince, cotemporary with him, would have probably told such an assembly, "That State-affairs were above their reach," (and quoted some Latin to prove it) "that they should beware of encroaching upon his Prerogative; that he wanted not their advice, for he was a wise King."

THE word Prerogative was what that great French Monarch was seldom heard to mention. He considered it as given him only for one end, nor could it be given to any Prince for any other, for the sake and support of his People, as were his Revenues to enable him to defend the People, and not to be wasted upon pomp and voluptuousness, as were the Revenues of some other Crowns at that time. An oppressive Prerogative is a monster and contradiction; so are oppressive Revenues, nor will a good Prince think ought due to him which his Subjects are unable to bear or to pay. HENRY the fourth abhorred the recent excesses and encroachments of the Royal Authority, and suppressed many duties which the late Tyranny had exacted. In one Edict he forgave the People all the arrears due to the Crown, and wished that his own Revenue had been sufficient, for that then he would have taken nothing out of the purses of his People. The divine MARCUS AURELIUS remitted all that had been due to the Imperial, or to the public Treasury (for they were distinct) during six and forty years. He declared, "That the public wealth belonged to the Senate and People, that he had nothing of his own, that the very Palace which he lived in was theirs."

THIS was the stile, these the concessions of a King and public Father, two characters which should eternally be the same, but too seldom are. Nor were all these professions of theirs the grimace of politicians. MARCUS AURELIUS and HENRY the fourth had no occasion for grimace: Great souls are always sincere. They delighted to see their People happy, and studied to make them so.

To accomplish this, HENRY the fourth cheerfully lessened his revenue, lessened his authority, and restrained his prerogative where his prerogative interfered with the interest and happiness of his People. He was above all little suspicions, above all doubling and deceit; habits so common to men of little minds and little sense. As he wronged no man, he feared none, and his large mind was never fretted with the jealousies usually cleaving to power. He knew no purpose of being higher than others but to do good to all; and when he found himself too high to assist those below him, he feared not to descend; still secure in the benevolence of his intentions and conduct, as well as in the sufficiency of his own might. He was aware that overbearing pride and prerogative were not the means to win affection or esteem, and that the condescension of a Prince is no contradiction to his dignity, nay a sure way to raise it: He therefore lived with his People like a father with his children; as was said of a Roman Emperor who resembled him, I mean TRAJAN, a Prince in all excellencies resembling HENRY the fourth. What pity that such Princes, such friends to the world and protectors of men, should ever die.

Sect. IV. The miserable Spirit and Infamy of Princes who consider themselves above Law, and independent on their People.

HAD CATO the elder known two such Princes as the above-mentioned, he would not have given as he did such a shocking character of Kings, "That they were all ravening beasts:" a character due to those whom he knew, eastern Tyrants, the constant Enslavers, Oppressors and Butchers of men. Power is indeed a brutal, a hideous thing, when not tempered by Reason and Laws, not employed for the benefit of Society; and such as have it and do not thus use it, are worse than animals of prey, more destructive, more detestable.

ONE of the greatest and bravest of our Princes was EDWARD the third. He had many demands made upon him by his Parliaments, and granted them all. Hence he reigned and died in renown. Two of our weakest and worst Kings (at least till then) were EDWARD the second and RICHARD the second. These were great zealots for Prerogative, that is for a privilege to be mischievous and unaccountable, and rejected all such demands. Hence their miserable reigns, their calamitous ends, their infamous memory. They were that sort of wretches who set up folly and appetite against duty and human society. Good sense and greatness of mind are always found together, and justice is inseparable from either. EDWARD the third had equal wisdom and magnanimity, and was just in proportion as he was brave. It was his study to cherish his People, nay to be great with them, and to be counselled by their Representatives. "He had the honour, says Selden, to be the repairer of the ruins that his father had made, and was a Prince whom you might think by his Story to be seldom at home, and by his Laws seldom abroad."

LEWIS the thirteenth was a great lover of power, in proportion

tion to his great incapacity to exercise it. As a specimen of both, when the People of Tholouse applied to him, by an earnest and unanimous petition, for mercy to the Duke DE MONTMORENCY condemned to die, he answered, "That if he followed the inclination of the People, he should not act like a King." I question whether his son would have given a better answer, a Prince so flattered for the art of reigning, if his government deserve that name. What strange lofty notions must have possessed the weak head of this Prince, that a King should act for himself against his People. The thing is often too true. But pray how should the People act on their part upon such an occasion? I mean not the People of Tholouse at that juncture, but a whole Nation, when they find by his administration, that he only considers himself, and not them, or rather makes them only a property to himself. Such as have an unjust power, ill got, or overmuch, or such as intend to abuse their power, are ever jealous and fearful. They are ever fearing those whom they cause to fear, and whom they fear they seek to oppress or destroy. This the nature and progress of Tyranny. *Cuncta ferit dum cuncta timet*. In Dr. BURNET's late History we find a strange, a shocking declaration of CHARLES the second concerning the Duke of Lauderdale; that the Duke had indeed done a great many damned things against the People of Scotland; "but I cannot see, says his Majesty, that he has done any thing against my interest." A speech upon which I make no reflection, nor can my imagination furnish one that can possibly heighten its horror.

Now besides the infamy, besides the crying iniquity in LEWIS the thirteenth, of making his Kingdom groan under the merciless weight of Prerogative exerted in violation of their Birthright, Liberty and Law; all the new power which he usurped was usurped to his Minister. It was the Cardinal who swayed the enormous Scepter, and swayed it terribly, even to the dread and shame of the Monarch, who by setting himself above the Laws, above the Remonstrances of his Parliament, did but set the Cardinal above him, and from his excessive weakness, to call it no worse, his Minister derived his excessive power. Henceforward he could not, he durst not either see or hear but by licence from his Eminence.

Sect. V. *Princes seeking or possessing arbitrary Power, rarely exercise any themselves: Their Ministers and Creatures generally rule all.*

IT is wonderful this strange thirst, this boundless appetite in Princes for unbounded Power, which yet they seldom occupy themselves, but leave to be exercised by others, their Minions or Mistresses. What they gain by putting bonds upon all men, is to be themselves holden in bonds by the meanest or the worst. LEWIS the thirteenth, a Prince very insufficient but very obstinate, one who had no Ideas or very short ones of his own, assumed to be the origin and oracle of all Justice and Law; and his passions, infused or managed by the Cardinal, were to be the rule of life, and to determine the fate of all men. The Cardinal, who used the King like a mere machine, was effectually Monarch of France, as all Frenchmen felt, as all Europe saw.

saw. He was indeed an extraordinary man, a mighty genius: but as he trod upon the Laws and Liberties of his Country, the best that can be said of him, is that he was an able destructive Minister. Whoever rules by fancy will ever be a pernicious ruler, let his abilities be what they will.

THE sovereignty, and folly and cruelty of CLAUDIUS were all managed by his manumised Slaves, or his Wives; and he had neither discernment or passions but such as they infused. Nor was it peculiar to CLAUDIUS to be under such guidance. The rest of the Cæsars were generally subject to the supreme rule of some mean and uncontrollable Favourite. These lofty Emperors who would bear no limits to their authority, exercised in effect none, but reserving only the name and iniquity of power, devolved the administration and abuse of it upon their vilest domesticks, the dregs of human race.

THE great Turk, who claims and exercises a power without controul over the lives of all men, who challenges a right to the fortune and property of all, and is Lord of every acre throughout his vast dominions, enjoys from all this enormous, this founding sovereignty no more than a mighty name and mighty danger. He is seldom seen, seldom does any thing, or knows what is done. With the seal which he delivers to his prime Vizier, he surrenders the absolute disposal of his immense Empire, the absolute direction of his boundless Authority. The Prerogatives of State which he exerts in his own person, are such as concern not the State, at least help it not: He diverts himself with the tricks and grimaces of Mutes and Buffoons, with his Ladies or Pathicks, with Dogs and Huntsmen.

'Tis thus he discharges the duties of a Sovereign, thus guards the Public and protects Nations. Are these the marks of authority divine, of a power holden immediately from God, sacred and irresistible, as the Mahometan Doctors teach? Are the characteristics of Divinity to be found in the neglect and abuse of Government, as well as in the discharge of it? If he who does the office be the person divinely appointed, as I think he ought, not the Grand Seignior, but the Grand Vizier is the man. How the Turkish Divines reason upon this point, I know not. I doubt not but they are provided with good casuistry and distinctions to account for their recommending, as they have sometimes done, their Monarch to be dethroned or knocked on the head, tho by their principles he was irresistible and sacred. Such force and magic there is in the sage subtleties of this profound Divinity and of these able Divines, and so powerfully do they aid Princes to stand or fall.

A MAHOMETAN preacher was bold enough to tell the Emperor to his face, that instead of defending Buda (then besieged) he went every day a hunting. The rebuke had such an effect, that, as soon as the sermon was ended, his Highness ordered nine hundred of his hunting dogs to be drowned. We see the efficacy of an honest sermon upon a Prince when an honest man is found to preach it, one who aims at truth and reformation, not at flattery and preferment.

THAMAS King of Persia was shut up in his Scraglio, drowned in voluptuousness, for ten years together, leaving his Authority to be abused, and his Subjects oppressed and devoured all that while at the lust and discretion of his Servants. They therefore were the
sovereign

sovereign Rulers, whilst he had the sovereign Title. In a manner like this are all or most of the great Monarchies in the East conducted. The Monarchs do nothing, and their Ministers do mischief. These Representatives of the Deity are themselves represented by a Woman, or a Pathic, always by a Slave.

SUCH of our English Kings as had the greatest appetite to absolute rule, as the worst always had, never swayed what violent power they had grasped, but resigned their People, their Dominion and themselves to Creatures and Favourites: Whether the King were a HENRY, an EDWARD or a RICHARD, a JOHN or a JAMES, 'twas still, a PIERCE GAVESTON, a HUGH SPENCER, a MOUNTFORD, a BREMBER, a CARR or a PETERS that misgoverned and oppressed. The King only lent his name and warrant, and often not that, but still blindly approved what they had done, tho he knew it not, nor why.

Sect. VI. *The arbitrary will of Favourites often proves the only Law of a bad and arbitrary Prince — How apt they are to abuse his power, and at last to desert him.*

THE caprice, or passion, or evil counsel of a reigning Favourite, will always pass upon a weak Prince for the rules of Equity and Law. As a Prince who is not controuled by Law will in all probability prove bad, and certainly bad where he rejects Law; so a Minister acting without any check or inquiry from his Master, is not very likely to prove modest and virtuous. The one will be apt to grow domineering and insolent, if the other be credulous and indolent. Such a temptation is seldom withstood, or such an opportunity lost. This was the case and misfortune of GALBA. For such, says TACITUS, was his weakness and acquiescence, that by it the avarice of his friends, already insatiable, and ravening according to the measure of his sovereign fortune, was farther heightened and excited; whilst under a Prince thus feeble and credulous, their iniquities were attended with the smaller peril, and with gains the more mighty. PLINY says, it was always a glaring and sure sign, that the Prince was impotent and contemptible, when his Servants were mighty and powerful. *Præcipuum indicium non magni principis, magnos liberos.*

RICHARD the second left his Government so entirely to his Favourites, that they were said "to have taken the Kingdom to farm." They passed Patents, they issued Proclamations, levied Money, spoiled the Subject, all without his knowledge or once asking his consent. Nor other reason had they for setting him above Law, but that they might be lawless. Thus they caused it to be proclaimed in the City of London, "That no person should dare to utter a word or expression against them, on pain of forfeiting all that he had." Nay they made the poor weak King swear to them, not only "to be governed and counselled by them alone, but to maintain and defend them, and to live and die with them." After this 'tis small wonder that they would not suffer the great persons of the Realm, or the King's best subjects, to give him any advice or information, or even to approach him, except in their presence. BREMBER (one of the Minions) caused two
and

and twenty men to be hanged in one night, without law or trial. But this was only a small essay of his power and violence; he had marked out seven or eight thousand obnoxious Citizens to be cut off at once, and prepared a common Hatchet for that purpose, an instrument that providentially served to strike his own head from his body.

CONCERNING those low and servile spirits at Court; who, in times of peace and corruption, swagger and govern all things with high insolence and disdain, manage little intrigues with notable craft and sufficiency, tell lies, practise falshood, traffic for places, and carefully keep all men of honour, capacity and merit at a due distance; it is worth while to observe, what a miserable figure they make in a time of danger and alarms, confounded, struck with terror, ready to change sides, ready to abandon their old friends and protectors, to submit with mean suppleness to such as they had lately deceived, insulted and oppressed, and to become humble slaves to professed enemies.

Sect. VII. Princes guilty of the Oppressions committed by their Authority. Their Ministers are generally like them, bad or good. A limited Authority safest to Kings and Ministers. The best Ministers obnoxious to clamours.

A PRINCE who permits oppression and cruelty, is cruel and oppressive, though he know it not; for he ought to know, ought to enquire, and to prevent it or punish it. Why else is he a Prince, and what else is his duty, but to watch for the public good? Nor did ever any reason otherwise, except Tyrants, public enemies and spoilers, with their Flatterers and Minions, who hoped to gain by misleading and corrupting them. What they cannot do themselves they ought to see well done by others, to redress what is ill done, to take care that it be not repeated, and that public examples be made of public criminals. A Prince becomes bad by his idleness as well as by his actions. He is invested with a great trust, the greatest upon earth, one so extensive that upon the well or ill executing of the same depends the felicity or misery of Nations; so that whoever neglects it, is unfit for it, or unworthy of it.

'TIS allowed that an able and honest Ministry make amends for the indolence or insufficiency of a Prince: but how rarely does it happen that he chuses such? They generally prove like himself, vicious or weak, or make his folly a warrant for their injustice. His choice is determined not by their talents for Government, about which perhaps he is ignorant, perhaps unconcerned, but by taste, or whim, or passion, for some particular quality, or some foolish excellency that he delights in. Peradventure they joke well, or shave well, or procure him Mistresses, or become such themselves, or are notable Musicians, notable Devotees, or notable Drinkers. For such accomplishments, and without any other, Men, and Monks, and Women, and Barbers, and Buffoons and Fiddlers have been raised by Kings to rule over Kingdoms.

THEY who do what they please seldom do what they ought, and such as may do evil with impunity generally do it with licentiousness. Nor other fence or security is there against evil but pe-

nalties and the dread of evil. Men are then least likely to offend when they dare not. The power therefore of the highest ought to be bounded, and precautions taken as well against the excesses of Kings as those of Subjects. Kings themselves should desire it: 'Tis the safest rule as well as the most honourable and even most profitable; since where the People, secured by the Laws, live unmolested, the Prince will reign in security, and the more free they are, the more able they will be to serve him, the more chearful to support him, as well as more rich and liberal to supply him.

NEITHER can a Prince under the restriction and guidance of Laws, be long served by worthless, silly, or arbitrary men. They must be men of sense and reputation, otherwise they will soon destroy themselves or him or both. In a Nation governed by fixt Laws all men will see, indeed feel, whether the Laws and their Properties are violated, whether they are oppressed against Law or protected by it. The dignity of the Administration must be supported, decency and gravity preserved, with regularity in the course of business, the Public must be tenderly treated, and particulars civilly used: Else the Crown will fall into contempt, into weakness and distress, the Subject into discontents and rage, all things into confusion. Minions and Underlings may, and probably always will, have secret influence and sway, sometimes enough to hurt and perplex a Minister, who often suffers blame for the ill things which they, in spite of him, do: *damnatus culpæ quam alii deliquerant*. But he who conducts the public affairs must be a man of parts, a man of business, and sufficiency, of name and credit.

WITH all this he must expect to be hardly pressed, often find it a hard task to stand. He will often be thought guilty even where he is most innocent. He will be sure to disoblige some, even by obliging others: several will think themselves at least as well qualified as he for his place, and, in hopes to be taken in, endeavour to push him out. They will be apt to charge him with crimes at a venture, and probably hate him enough to wish him criminal, or to believe him so. Many will concur in the imputation, some through personal anger, more through natural malignity, the most of all through folly. The multitude love changes, some find advantage in it, and many hope to find. Even his excellencies and renown may happen to create him enemies and persecution. *Causa periculi non crimen ullum, sed gloria viri*. Perhaps few Ministers ever served a Prince with more faith and sufficiency than Monsieur DE RÔNY did his great Master HENRY the fourth, or with greater regard to the interest of the Public. Yet his credit with the King, tho no more than he deserved, and two or three fine employments, however due to his merit, served for a constant pretence to malecontents, and even for the ground of several conspiracies. In matters of great and public moment, 'tis a difficult thing to please all.

Sect. VIII. *The benefit of standing Laws to Princes and their Ministers, further illustrated. What regard Princes should have to posthumous Fame, what dread of Infamy.*

IT is not in a free Country as in one enslaved, where whatever the Prince likes all must seem to approve; where all must bestow their reverence and submission blindfold, wherever he bestows power and favour tho blindfold too. In a Nation of Freedom and Laws, all men claim a right to judge and censure for themselves, a right which they often abuse and misapply, but ought never to lose. Better it is, that all men say what they please, than one man do what he will. Yet a Minister under all these disadvantages, however obnoxious to clamour and unjust censure, is safer and happier than in the service of a lawless Prince, whose rage is usually more sudden than his favour, and who never accuses but he likewise destroys, often without accusing; whereas, when the Laws govern, Ministers are frequently accused but seldom hurt, and the worst too often escape, whilst under a Tyrant the best never do.

To Princes themselves the Laws are the best guides as well as guards. Most men will be apt to flatter them, few to tell them the truth. Let them have recourse, for information, to the Laws, Counsellors which will not cajole nor deceive them, nor betray and desert them, as Favourites and Armies may. Sycophants will tell them that "they may do what they list," and 'tis like, confirm that impious lie by another equally impious, that "such is the ordinance of God." The Laws will tell him that, "whatever he does must be for the good of men; that he has no right to hurt them, no power but what is given him, limited by institutions framed by the wisdom of men, for their own safety and his, and that for their security, and not for his own ease or pride, he is set over them. If he break his bounds, if he violate his trust, he becomes an enemy to God and Man, and must hope for favour from neither, since in the sight of God, the impartial Father of all men, none are high or low but in the sanctity or impiety of their lives, and he who injures and betrays all men is evidently the worst of all."

LET any Prince judge, which is the more reasonable instructor, the Sycophant or the Laws. (For Sycophants, and the vilest, they all are who tell a Prince that he may overturn the Law) Let him judge which is likely to lead him to most justice and benevolence, to most honour and renown, to most security whilst he lives, to most praise when he is dead: Let him determine with himself, whether he would be a *Nero*, governed by Parasites and his lusts, detested as a Tyrant, doomed to immortal abhorrence through all ages, or a *Titus*, who made Justice and Law the measure of his Government, was stiled the delight of human-kind at that time, and has been judged worthy of the same amiable character at all times since. In proportion to the excellence and depravity of a Prince's reign, will be his fame afterwards, illustrious or inglorious.

WHAT can be more delightful to a Prince, than an assurance of being adored when he is dead? What more shocking than to foresee, that he shall be abhorred, or even his memory slighted amongst men? For in the memories of men his most lasting monument must be raised, happy for him if also in their affections. *Mibi in animis vestris templa; hæ pulcherrimæ effigies et mansuræ.* These are the inscriptions, this the character, which cannot be erased, panegyrics that will not lye, unperishing honours, out of the power of time, and death and malice. *In quos nihil flammis, nihil senectuti, nihil successoribus liceat.* Such as were by PLINY foretold to TRAJAN, and such as TRAJAN still enjoys, still shall enjoy.

SECT. IX. *Idle Princes seldom come to be able Princes. How much application to business imports them, for their own accomplishment and the good of their Government.*

INDOLENT Princes, such as love not business, or are kept from it, besides their being liable to be abused, scarce ever come to be men of great sufficiency, tho they may have good natural parts. It is by the continual exercise of the understanding that the understanding is enlarged. A man of much industry, with moderate parts, will be an overmatch for one who has the greatest, but never exerts them. Attention to business and the affairs of life, fills the mind with ideas and reflections, arms it against mistakes and surprizes, and uses it to judging and deciding. But to a spirit untrained and void of experience, every small matter proves a great difficulty, every small difficulty proves discouraging. A man practised in affairs is seldom startled or at a loss, and for every emergency will be apt to find some expedient; for he is used to emergencies and to provide for them. Every small Clerk will be apt to despise, every little Lawyer be able to outwit a man just come out of a College or a Cloister, tho he may make no mean figure there. Even very silly men will acquit themselves notably in business, where it lies in a road and method, and make dispatch where a very bright man not used to it would be strangely puzzled. I have seen a man of poor natural capacity, but well trained in business, triumph over a man of extraordinary talents destitute of experience. Such as are originally weak may acquire artificial abilities, as others of great genius, applying to nothing, will be good for nothing.

As the business of reigning is the most important upon earth, he who is invested with supreme authority, in order to make himself worthy of it, should be extremely careful to qualify himself for it. He should inform himself assiduously, exert himself diligently, and convince all men, that he who bestows every office, is able to discharge, and therefore fit to bear, the highest. It were indeed preposterous, that authority should be in the hands of one who ought to administer it, but cannot, and leaves it all to be administered by others. This was the character of many of the Cæsars, Idiots in Government, Heroes in Tyranny. So that PLINY had just cause to say, That
it

it seemed highly unworthy, that he should confer all dignities, who could sustain none.

IT is a misfortune even in a Country where the Laws govern, to have a weak, or which is the same thing, an indolent Prince; for the administration of an indolent Prince is generally weak; and where he does too little, those who act for him will be apt to do too much. But under a Government limited by Laws, such weakness or neglect in a Prince can do least harm, nor can his will or his folly be pleaded, as in arbitrary Countries, for the cause or cloak of enormities, since his will and his folly are repugnant to the Laws, and may be opposed by Law. All men know how far his power extends, how far others can extend it for him. In absolute Monarchies, not only his will, his fury, his appetites, are Laws and Laws irresistible, but so likewise are the appetites and will and fury of his Officers, who always alledge that, whatever they perpetrate he commands; and who dares doubt or deny it, or go to Court to enquire?

BUT let a Prince's power be ever so cautiously restrained, let the Laws which limit and direct him be ever so plain, he will still find an abundant call for all his industry, in chusing his Officers, in observing their Conduct, in applying his Revenue, in executing the Laws, in hearing Petitions, in attending to Treaties and Embassadors, in taking care of the Dignity and Tranquillity of the Nation, and even in governing his Family. What more extensive office would a Prince have, if he mean to perform it with conscience and care? Few men are equal to it; the ablest man cannot be too diligent in it.

HENRY the fourth of France had a great understanding, because he had made great use of it. From his childhood he was almost continually exercised in distress and affairs, and forced by the former into the latter. As he was a man of great pleasure, had his Kingdom fallen to him early and easily, 'tis certain he would not have had equal sufficiency; for sufficiency is to be acquired like a science. He was forced to be industrious, vigilant, inquisitive, and therefore was always improving. Thus he became excellently qualified for Government. HENRY the third might have proved so too, had he been obliged from his youth and for a long course of years to have struggled for his Crown. He had shewn what he was capable of, whilst yet very young. In truth so great was his reputation in the camp, such ability he had manifested as a Commander, and such hopes were conceived of him as a Prince, that he was chosen King of Poland before he was twenty years old. But through idleness, and sensuality, and flatterers, he became a most miserable Ruler, infamous and sanguinary.

PRINCES that do nothing, but leave all things to others, will always be minors, as was our RICHARD the second. Contemptible is that Prince who holds nothing of Sovereignty but the Pageantry and the Crown. Poor RICHARD lost even that: Nor can any Prince who takes no care to support his own dignity, be secure that his dignity will not fall. Men who are able and good will be kept carefully from him, at least from serving him. The selfish, the false, the mischievous will always be most numerous about him, perhaps exclude all others, at least will always have the most sway, perhaps the only sway. At last perhaps he will bear no

counsel but the worst. *Ita formatis principis auribus ut acerba quæ utilia.*

IN spight of any human sufficiency or virtue, that a Prince can exert or possess, there will be many abuses growing or creeping in, such as he cannot altogether remove or prevent. But where he is idle, where he is neglectful, disorder will prevail tenfold, corruption walk barefaced, truth and virtue and merit will be brow-beaten or banished, vice and insolence will flourish, the Laws lose their force, the Administration become loose and despised.

SUCH was the reign of HENRY the third of France, such that of RICHARD the second of England. They minded nothing but pleasure and festivity. Their Government by being neglected, grew corrupt, impotent, scandalous, at last fell to pieces. Yet the former was a capable Prince, indeed capable of great things, and only wanted application: but from his propensity to pleasure he disrelished business and fatigue, and by the pernicious flattery and soothing of Minions and Deceivers, came to drop the reins of Government into their hands, and reserved to himself only the name and danger. RICHARD the second had the same voluptuous bias, and the like mischievous Leaders. He was not a Natural, nor a Lunatic, nor seems to have wanted a share of sense; but having never been taught, or suffered, or inclined, to exert it, he continued in the state of childhood, simple by habit, foolish for want of industry and experience, and having never discharged the functions of Government, was at last unable to discharge them.

Sect. X. *The most wretched and wicked of all Princes are wont to account themselves most sacred, and to claim Attributes divine.*

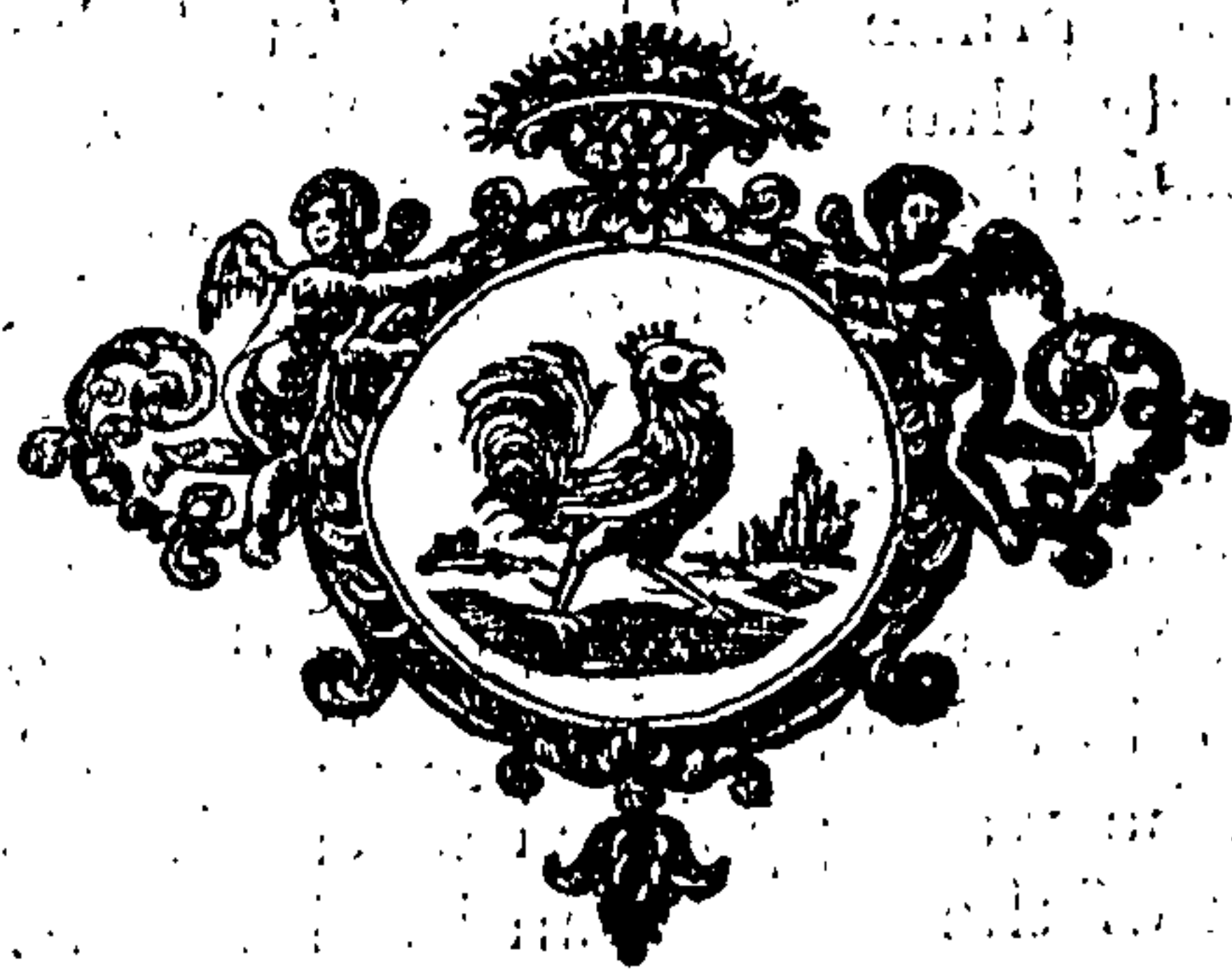
IT is remarkable that both the wretched Princes mentioned in the last Section were strangely conceited of their own power, had high notions of Prerogative, nay claimed Authority almost divine, and were extremely jealous of Kingship when they exercised none, but left themselves and their Realms to be abused and undone by the Parasites their Masters. This is the spirit of all wretched Princes, to be proud according to the measure of their folly, to be the sonder of power for being the less able to wield it, and to assume an alliance with the Gods when they are too vile or foolish to be accounted men. The Roman Emperors most signal for cruelty, frenzy and stupidity, never failed to be Gods, or akin to the Gods.

SUCH Christian Princes as have aimed at Titles and Privileges more than human, would have done well to have remembered, that they were but reviving the stale pretensions of ancient Tyrants and Pagans, and owning for their Predecessors Madmen, Idiots, Savages, the most detested that ever the earth bore. Nor indeed have any followed these Monsters in this profane and enormous vanity but such as in their other qualities too resembled them, the vicious, the prodigal, the false, the poor spirited, and the debauched, such

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as could not govern well or chose to govern ill, such as boldly called in Heaven to vindicate what Law and Conscience condemned, and alledged a deputation from above to blast and destroy all things below. When impious designs were entertained, when measures execrable and ruinous were pursued, solemn Oaths violated, Liberty extinguished, all the Laws overturned, Tyranny set up, then a Lieutenancy from God was always forged and pleaded, divine impunity for diabolical deeds, a right from the Father of Mercies, of Justice and of Men, to commit Cruelty and Injustice, to oppress and butcher.

VISIONS like these, wild and impious, are refuted by repeating them, and the dishonour of such as maintained and encouraged them, sufficiently exposed. Such too is the mean character of these Princes, such has been their reign and fate, as to vindicate the Deity from the blasphemous imputation of having avowed them.



DISCOURSE,

DISCOURSE V.

The same subject continued.

Sect. I. *The example of a Prince its efficacy: When good how advantageous to his People and himself.*

BY the actions of a Prince, the spirit of a Prince is discerned. If he do nothing, 'tis not he who reigns: If what he does be bad, he had better not reign. One upon whom the felicity of all depends, is under a continual call and obligation to see that none be miserable, that none be wronged or unredressed: and because his own example is of universal influence, beyond that of exhortation, or of precepts, or of preachments, indeed more cogent than Law itself, or penalties, or terrors, it behoves him to shew himself wise and virtuous. How glorious is it for a Prince, when it becomes the glory of all men to imitate him? How scandalous, when he is only their guide to baseness and debauchery? The goodness of his demeanour should vie with the greatness of his power. *Par omnibus, et hoc tantum cæteris major quo melior.* In vain will he cause vice to be punished, if he himself be vicious; even in his executing of just Laws, he will be accounted unjust, if he himself observe them not; nor will the frowns of Justice be found of such force, as the countenance and pattern of him who holds, or should hold, her scales.

IN Peru, during the Government of the Inca's, when any of the Royal Blood, or of the prime Nobles, violated the Law, they were punished more severely than a common Subject, forfeited all their Privileges, were degraded from their hereditary Honours, and accounted Traitors and Tyrants. It was thought reasonable to debase those who had shewn themselves base, and to make an example of such as by their great figure and credit were likely to draw others after their tract. Upon the like motives a criminal Magistrate there was punished according to his character and quality, rather than to that of his crime, from an opinion that in a Minister of Justice the least evil was not to be tolerated, since he was appointed to eradicate evils, and obliged to be more observant of the Laws than his inferiors. It was said of the *Inca's* that they took such an affectionate care of their Subjects, as to merit being stiled rather Fathers of their Country and Guardians of their Pupils, than Kings over Subjects: They were called by the Indians, *Lovers of the Poor*. Such should every Prince be and appear to be. His life and conduct are a perpetual standard: All men see it, most men follow it, and according to the course of his life will be the course of morality or debauchery.

VESPASIAN in a few years (for he reigned not many) by the practice of frugality made all men frugal, and in that short space stopped a torrent of profusion which had been flowing for a hundred years before. HENRY the third debauched all France, as did RICHARD the second all England. Manners as well as fashions beginning from the Court, the corrupt manners there became quickly universal. The Nobility, especially the young Nobility, perceived and

and followed the taste and pleasures of the King: The Gentry next, then the Commonalty, fell all into the fashion of their superiors. The reign of the great Queen ELIZABETH and that of her Successor, sufficiently shew, how far the example of a virtuous or a voluptuous Prince, can go towards making their People riotous or sober, as well as towards ennobling or debasing their spirits. The public Manners are best ascertained by those of public Rulers, and the surest cure for the irregularities of Subjects, is the regularity of Princes; since even Example alone without Authority goes further than Authority without Example. *Vita principis censura est, eaque perpetua* — *non tam imperio nobis opus est quam exemplo*; says PLINY to TRAJAN, who was indeed a pattern to his Subjects as well as to all succeeding Princes. He adds, that the fear of punishment is but an unsure guide to right morals.

NEITHER is the Virtue and Morality of a Prince of greater advantage to his People than to himself. Virtuous Subjects are always peaceable, nor will they fail to honour a virtuous Governor. 'Tis the debauched, the riotous, the idle, who are prone to sedition, love public changes and promote them. Whatsoever particular points a Prince may carry by debauching his People, it cannot be the stability of his Throne, whatever he may think. A People who have abandoned their Virtue will readily abandon their King; nor does he deserve any other, if it was he who first corrupted them. From a vicious People it is madness to hope for virtuous Principles, such as those of just allegiance and fidelity. Where no integrity is left, no honour can be expected; and when they are corrupted so far as to sell or throw away their Liberties, which is the highest degree of corruption, what other or lesser degree will they be ashamed of? Nor can one who has made them universally vile, complain, with a good grace, that they prove vile to him. 'Tis but a part of what he taught them.

IT is said of China, that when the Emperor proves licentious and bad, when he neglects his duty and the administration, and falls into enormities and vice, the face of the whole Empire becomes altered, and the People otherwise sober and wise, grow riotous, unruly, debauched, and tumultuous. So that for his own sake he is obliged to be sober and orderly, obliged to preserve at least all the appearances of innocence and virtue. Yet the Monarchy of China is the most completely framed of any that the world ever produced, supported by admirable orders and maxims, all settled into reverence and authority by the approbation and usage of numerous ages. But all their admirable maxims and orders are insufficient where the good example of the Prince is wanting to enforce them. The Chinese therefore maintain, that by the virtue of the King the People become virtuous, and that he is responsible to Heaven for the wicked manners of his Kingdom. They say, it is a small matter for a Prince to punish crimes; He ought by the example of his own virtue to prevent crimes in others.

THE innocence therefore of a Prince's life is the best guide to his People, and the surest guard of his Person and Diadem. This is what PLINY says to TRAJAN: *Discimus experimento, fidelissimam custodiam principis, ipsius innocentiam*. Many of the Princes before him, besides their own pestilent examples, had forced the People, and all orders of

men, by all the influence and terrors of Tyranny, to be debauched, dishonourable, contemptible, and wicked; that all men being corrupt, they themselves might not be seen worse than the rest, and no man have credit or virtue enough to be terrible to the Tyrants. Their policy was as absurd as it was abominable, and their fate proved a warning to Princes and all men, to avoid following their destructive example. Where God doth not bless, man will not, says Mr. SELDEN.

By the necessity of setting a good example, I do not mean that a Prince should be debarred from diversions and pleasure, but only from such as tend to corrupt the public Manners. With such pleasures of his as hurt not his People, the People have nothing to do. Most of the greatest Princes, as well as the best that ever reigned, were men of pleasure, which is almost universally the effect of much Genius and Fire. Nor does it avail how much they love it, if they pursue it with decency, and neglect not business and their duty. The Emperor TITUS, he who was called the delight of mankind, was a man of gallantry, but his gallantries never interfered with his occupations. It is true, says TACITUS, that his soul, youthful and amorous, was not indifferent to BERENICE; but from hence arose no neglect or relaxation in his conducting affairs of Duty and Trust. His father VESPASIAN had the same turn, loved gay amusements, but governed carefully. TRAJAN was addicted to wine and other delights, yet an able and faithful Steward of the Empire. ADRIAN loved diversions, but never neglected affairs. SOLON, a very wise man and worthy Lawgiver, never made any scruple to own his fondness for Ladies, Musick and Wine; nor even in his old age had he lost that taste, or was ashamed of it.

Sect. II. *The Character of a Prince to be learnt from that of his Company and Favourites, and his designs by the Opinions which become in fashion about him.*

FROM the Characters and Principles of the men whom a Prince promotes or favours, his own may be learnt or presumed. TRAJAN shewed what he himself was by the excellency of the persons preferred and countenanced by him. In all things unlike the preceding Emperors, who chose the worst and vilest of all men, he chose the best and most virtuous. Hence he manifested to the world what sort of men and pursuits pleased him best. About him were found no Informers, no Accusers, no Advocates for lawless Power, no Instruments of Oppression, no Flatterers, no Calumniators. The former Princes had chosen Ministers, not so much for their ability in managing affairs, as for their dexterity in administering to their voluptuousness or fury, not Statesmen to rule the State, but Buffoons and Pandars to humour the Prince, or Ruffians and Spoilers to rob and kill for him.

WHAT but wickedness, cruelty, continual excesses and misrule could be foreseen or expected from Princes perpetually surrounded with Parasites, Jesters, Harlots, powerful Slaves and Assassins? What else to be presumed of Princes, who caressed and advanced the most opprobrious, the blackest and most detestable of all Villains; but that they disliked, distrusted, and would probably destroy every able, every worthy man? Was it not natural to imagine that an Emperor
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who was daily told that he might do what he pleased, would do what he pleased, and grow lawless when he was informed that he was above Law.

ONE of NERO's Favourites, a hireling Orator employed to legitimate Tyranny and Murder by Law and Haranguing, to traduce innocent men by an invective before they were surrender'd to the executioner, told the Tyrant his Master, that " he did but tire himself and his advocates by proceeding so leisurely with the Senate, " in arraigning and cutting them off one by one, when he might, " by saying but a single word, have the whole Body destroyed at " one blow. For such slackness, this faithful Counsellor blamed the bloody Tyrant, as too gentle and over-deliberate. This advice was short and decisive, and not at all disgusting. NERO shewed by abundant liberalities and honours how highly he esteemed the man, preferred him to the Consular and Pontifical Honours, and recompensed him with a bounty of fifty thousand pounds, part of the spoils of such noble Romans as he had hunted down and worried for the Imperial sport of his sacred Sovereign NERO.

WHEN such men and such doctrines prevail, 'tis easy to guess what will follow, at least what is intended. No man will care to give pernicious counsel but where he knows it will be pleasing, nor will a Prince hear it unless he be inclinable to take it. He only who has a mind to do what he ought not, will like to be told that he may; and the will of the Prince is then preached up when Law and Liberty are to be pulled down. What means or avails the propagating of arbitrary Maxims, but to justify and introduce arbitrary Proceedings? They are too odious to be spread where no great design is to be served by doing it. Nor need any man desire a surer sign, that universal slavery is intended by the Court, than when universal submission to it is inculcated upon the People.

THIS consideration alone leaves no excuse or apology to be made for those reigns, when such slavish Tenets were every where maintained, and the vile Maintainers of these Tenets countenanced, hired and preferred: when from the public Tribunals and public Pulpits, places sacred to Law and Truth, it became fashionable, nay became the only and surest way of rising there, to assert that there was no Law save in the wild Will of one, who tho sworn to defend Law, might lawfully overturn it; to assert impious falsehoods manifest to all men, to father such falsehoods upon the God of truth, under his holy name to shelter outrageous oppressions, to bind up the hands of the oppressed; to maintain that the lives of men, which they held from God, their property, which was secured to them by the Constitution, the Constitution it self contrived by the wisdom of men for their own preservation, and defended through ages by their virtue and bravery, were all at the mere mercy and lust of him who was solemnly bound to protect all, but might if he so listed destroy them all, without opposition, nay all opposition was damnable. When all this was notorious, constant, universal, the language of Power, the stile of Favourites, and the road to favour, what doubt could remain whither it all tended? To prevent all doubts, arbitrary measures were pursued, whilst arbitrary principles were promoted. The persons of men were illegally imprisoned, illegal fines imposed, estates violently seized, and the Public robbed.

Sect.

Sect. III. *Doctrines in defence of lawless Power, and against civil Liberty, to be punished as Treason against the Public. How Princes discover their spirit.—They seldom take warning.*

THE Parliament of Paris maintained, that there were crimes which the King could not pardon, such as any great mischief or indignity done to the State. Pray what treatment is due to a deliberate opinion, declared and urged, that a State may be destroyed, all its Laws annulled, and all men in it made miserable slaves, whenever the chief Magistrate thinks fit? Can there be a greater crime, a greater indication of malice against the Public, or a higher evil intended and avowed? Or can the Authors of such horrible positions be acceptable to any but a horrible Tyrant, to a NERO, or one who would be as bad as he, one who hates his People, pursues an interest destructive of theirs, and is consequently their enemy. *Tempus fuit, et nimium diu fuit, quo alia adversa, alia secunda principi et nobis.*

AN English Prince, who longed for power unlimited, tho he made miserable use of what he had, was wont to say, "That a Crown was not worth having if he that wore it must be thus controuled by a parcel of fellows." He meant the Parliament, who must have been fellows indeed, and bad ones, if the worst of them was worse than himself. He had been trusted with vast sums of the public money for the service of the Public, had betrayed that trust, sunk the money, or applied it against the Public, and after so vile a fraud, instead of penitence and shame, had the face to complain that he was not entrusted with the whole without limitation or inquiry. He had Parasites enow to tell him that it was his right, and over the Kingdom there were Impostors more than enow to persuade People to believe and submit to it, men who for some preferment, or for better preferment to themselves, had the assurance to tell a great Nation, that they ought to bear bondage: Nor did ought but the power of sorcery and delusion keep the shameless deluders from being stoned.

SUCH dreadful doctrines, however, and corresponding practices alarmed all men who had preserved their honesty and their senses, and there ensued such a struggle between him and his People as soured and inflamed them, and made him miserable, fearful and insecure all the rest of his reign. By pursuing the like Politics, by countenancing the like arbitrary Maxims, his Father had come to be first disliked, then distrusted, at last undone. But he had not wisdom and virtue enough to profit by this example, no more than his immediate Successor, who made such an open claim of doing what he pleased with his Kingdoms, that his Kingdoms, to save themselves, drove him out. Even the holy men, who for many years had blinded him with a belief, that he might violate his Oath and Trust, with safety, as soon as they found the weight of his oppressive hand, which they had encouraged him to exert, turned fiercely against him and bid him open defiance. Too few Princes take warning. They

are often so blinded, by their own wilfulness and sovereign fortune, or by the soothing of flatterers, especially of such as flatter them in strains of piety, and mislead them in the name of the Lord, that their doom sometimes comes upon them, before they are apprized of danger.

KING ERIC, heir to Queen MARGARET who reigned over Sweden, Denmark and Norway, was deposed whilst yet exulting in his power, and security, and violence, and despising the cries of his People, whom he had barbarously oppressed. Yet his Successors proved not wiser, nor consequently safer. Confiding in their own strength, and too often instigated by the Clergy, they rioted in Oppression, Barbarity and Massacres, till the evil hour overtook them unforeseen, when they had quite forfeited all title to pity or assistance. The Emperor CHARLES the fifth was a Prince of sense, yet grew rash and wanton through good fortune, and was insolent to his captives, some of them great Princes, whom he carried about, from place to place, in a very injurious manner. Whence, says THUANUS, he gained not a Triumph by the victory, but the most inveterate hate by his Triumph. But amidst his glory and pride, sudden distress and fears overtook him: At Ausburg his soldiers mutinied with great fury, for want of their pay; nor was his dread and danger less from the citizens, who immediately took arms to defend their houses from being plundered.

NERO was diverting himself in the Theatre when news came of the revolt of Gaul, and VITELLIUS immersed in debauchery when VESPASIAN was proclaimed Emperor. CALIGULA and DOMITIAN were concerting more murders, at the instant that they themselves were pierced with the fatal knife; so was COMMODUS. When men have a while done evil actions with success, they begin to think either that they are not evil, or that they may be repeated with equal safety. They do not consider that punishment often comes the surer for coming slow, and that by proceeding in their crimes, they are but advancing to meet it. Wicked men cease to do wickedly when it is out of their power, and only necessity can reform them.

SECT. IV. *Of the Veracity of Princes—The folly of Falshood—The worst and silliest men practise it most—'tis inseparable from Tyranny.*

IF we consider the character of a Prince for Veracity or the want of it, 'tis certain that as he values his word or disregards it, he himself will be disregarded or valued. The same man can never be accounted honourable and false, nor is it possible for him to follow Falshood, but the fame of Falshood will follow him. To gain belief to words, actions must follow. Evasions and chicaning can never save him: by such shifts and meannesses he will be thought the more mean. When a man is once known to be a knave and a liar, what man of sense or honest man will trust him; and when a Prince is found to falsify and play low tricks, what Nation will trust him? For no man, nor Prince, was ever false or treacherous in many instances, without being discovered; and a treacherous tem-

per once detected becomes both hated and impotent. **TIBERIUS** in whatever he said was thought to mean something else, even when he did not.

IN Falshood there is no excellence or praise. Any Blockhead, any Lunatick can be a liar. **CALIGULA** who was really crazy, could be exceeding false, and though he owned himself above shame, yet practised craft. He was full of darkness and equivocation, and a great dissembler: a lesson which he had learnt early and carefully in the Court of **TIBERIUS**.

THE filliest people are the greatest liars, and the most gross and stupid Nations have been found deceitful and hollow. For deceit is not peculiar to Courts, though it may be much improved there, nor has any man cause to value himself upon an accomplishment common amongst Barbarians and Cannibals, indeed fit for none else. Tyrants who are worse than Cannibals, are always false. **NERO** was so in a sovereign degree, so by nature, so by education, and could kiss and wheedle such as he hated and meant to destroy. Thus he behaved to his Mother, thus to **SENECA**, treated them with much fondness, with many embraces, and caused them to be murdered. Even the stupid **VITELLIUS** could falsify and deceive, could cover the rancour of his heart under great complaisance and familiarity. **DOMITIAN** was as false as either, sudden and subtle in his cruelty; and whenever he was most implacable, appeared most moderate and merciful. I believe the same to be generally true of all Tyrants ancient or later, as well as of **JOHN BASILOWITZ**, **LEWIS** the eleventh and **MULY** of Morocco. 'Tis the first lesson that they learn, 'tis the most easy, and 'tis necessary that he who has an evil heart should hide it, and conceal or disguise his wicked purposes.

WHEN men are continually pursuing mischievous designs, they will be apt to practise continual hypocrisy; for no man will own his intentions to be bad: and such as are conscious of their own depraved inclinations will be prone to suspect others, will study to over-reach whomsoever they suspect, will hate those who are like themselves, as well as those who are not. Hence the constant commerce of insincerity amongst corrupt and designing men: when base motives govern their actions, guile governs their tongues, and fair words cover dark ends.

THIS is a terrible situation and wretched policy. He who deceives all men, will be deceived by all: For no man will trust, no man will love one who cheats every man. Hatred grows as naturally out of distrust, as love out of confidence. I do not find that **TIBERIUS** had one sincere friend in the world; for he had, or was believed to have had, a friendship for no man. So that as all men feared or suspected him, he was hated by all, trusted by none. It was dealing with him according to his own measure: Had he loved his People, he might have had their love, and been faithfully served had he acted faithfully.

Sect. V. *Princes of noble and good minds scorn to deceive: thence their Glory and Popularity.*

QUEEN ELIZABETH who regarded her Subjects as her Children, was by her Subjects honoured as their common Parent, and as such she lived with them, as did TRAJAN with the Romans. She never broke her faith with her People, never deceived them. They suspected her of no evil designs, as they saw she practised none, and were zealous for her glory, because her glory was for their good. They liked to see her great, since she sought no greatness which tended to make them less, none in which they had not a share. She retained their obedience by the strongest tie, that of their affections, their affections were engaged by the strongest and most natural bonds, those of their own interest; nor knew she what it was to have an interest distinct from theirs, much less an opposite interest. The greatest contest between her and her People, her and her Parliaments, was that of mutual confidence and zeal, as was said of the abovementioned Emperor and the Roman Senate.

MR. SELDEN says of her, that "to her People she committed her confidence under God, and they to her their chiefest treasure upon earth." He says, that she once refused a subsidy as too much, would take but one half, and thanked the People for the remnant; "a courtesy, says he, that rang loud abroad, to the shame of other Princes." I think it is the same Author who observes, that "to a Prince who spares them, the People will always be liberal, and a good Prince will spare a liberal People." It is no wonder that under her the Credit of the Exchequer was as high as that of the Change. These were ways to endear her Government to all men, ways to endear Monarchy when conducted by such a Monarch. In her days were seen no struggles for a Commonwealth, nor did her Subjects wish for a plurality of Rulers, when they were happier under one. Monarchy must grow terrible before it grows odious, oppressive ere people long to shake it off; nor will they have recourse to another form of Government, till driven to it for relief. Princes are censured when they bear insults and encroachments from one another, and blamed if they take not vengeance. Is not equal consideration, at least some consideration, to be had to the honour and preservation of a People when oppressed and worried by their Rulers, men whom they pay so dearly and support so nobly, to secure and protect them, an office which that illustrious Queen performed with such benevolence and wisdom?

HER glorious cotemporary HENRY the fourth of France, to his other great qualities added that of great Veracity, in this as in every thing else very different from the two Princes his immediate Predecessors. In the Court of CHARLES the ninth, Falshood and Treachery prevailed; and these vices were accompanied by all others, by cruelties, debauchery, poisonings and assassinations, by all sorts of oppressions, all sorts of misrule. HENRY the third was found to be so fraudulent and false, that his promises passed for snares, and by having deceived all men, could be trusted by none.

60 DISCOURSES UPON TACITUS.

For his known want of faith so often given and broken, he was abandoned by his subjects ; and even his oaths, even declarations under his hand, past for nothing but proofs that he would certainly violate them. At the same time the King of Navarre (afterward HENRY the fourth) who had never failed in his word, was trusted by every body. Even his enemies trusted him : When upon occasion he had offered them hostages, they refused the same, and desired only his word : Yes, his mortal enemies the Spaniards, upon coming to a treaty with him, refused hostages, and fought only his word.

THIS was Virtue, this was Wisdom, and what Prince who knows the value, the glory and advantage of it, would be without it ? A worthy Minister of his, the President JEANNIN, a man of excellent understanding, was famed for equal probity, and acted in Counsel, acted in Negotiations, and with particular men, without any refinings or doublings, or little artifices. These are what a man truly wise despises, what none but the apes of wise men practise. HENRY the fourth held his honour so sacred, as to declare, “ That he would lose his Crown rather than cause the least suspicion of breaking his Word, even to his greatest enemies.”

Sect. VI. *The consequences of Falshood in a Prince, Scorn and Impotence — 'Tis the mark of a poor and dishonest Spirit — Great and virtuous Spirits abhor it.*

THERE is a meanness, a deformity in tricking and lying, such as a great and a good mind scorns as well as detests. In truth the honour of HENRY the fourth and of Queen ELIZABETH, their steadiness and nobleness of mind, were so known and prized, that as far as their names were known, their persons were feared or revered. They despised that sort of *Kingcraft* so unmanly and pedantic, which a cotemporary Prince used to boast of, and by which he made himself little in the eyes of the world and of his People. His Falshood was so notorious, and he so notoriously decried for his Falshood, that the only fruit he reaped from it, was impotence and contempt. He had no kind of credit abroad, worse than none at home, his treaties were abortive, his mediations slighted, his resentments laughed at, and he who called himself the wisest King in Europe, was really the Dupe and the Jest of all Christendom. The only people who could depend upon him, were his Favourites, and these he durst not deceive : as often as he dared he did, and when he was about to part with one of them for ever, he could ask him after many kisses, “ for God sake, when shall I see thee again ? ” Then turn round and say, “ I hope in God I shall never see thy face more.” With foreign States his promises and his menaces were alike disregarded because alike unexecuted, and with his People their Prince had not so much credit as a Banker. He had so often, so shamefully, forfeited his credit, perverted the public trust, wasted the public money, that he was thought unworthy of all farther confidence. The most disgraceful of all Bankrupts, is a King bankrupt of his Honour.

THE Romans, the greatest People that the Sun ever saw, as they were great in their fortune and valour, were so also in their honour, which they observed with signal punctuality, and by it gained renown with all Nations, who whilst they could depend upon their faith, adhered with fidelity to their interest. Some of their allies were so obstinate in their adherence to the Romans, that rather than relinquish them they suffered the sword, famine and utter destruction, nay destroyed themselves. They held treachery in such detestation, that when a traiterous Schoolmaster in a Town which they besieged, offered to procure it to be surrender'd by betraying all his scholars, the children of the principal Inhabitants, into the hands of the Roman General, they abhorred the proposal and gave up the villain even to their enemies. The same noble courtesy they did to King PYRRHUS whilst yet desolating Italy: When his physician proposed to poison him for a certain reward, they rejected the execrable proposal and communicated it to his Master. Long afterwards, when they had lost their Liberty and with it too much of their virtue, they yet refused the offer of ADGANDESTRIUS a Prince of Germany, who undertook, "That if the Senate would send him poison, he would dispatch ARMINIUS;" the most terrible foe this that they had ever found in that Country. The answer of the Senate was very noble, "That not by snares and blows in the dark, but openly armed and in the day of battle, the Roman People pursued vengeance against their enemies." The Romans, Queen ELIZABETH, and HENRY the fourth, had great Spirits, great Honour, but were not accomplish'd in little falsifications, such as the above-mentioned Prince gloried in by the name of *Kingcraft*. It was well he had some cause of glorying.

SECT. VII. *Tyranny worse than Anarchy, or rather nothing but Anarchy.*

IT is usually said, that bad Government is better than none; a proposition which is far from self-evident. I am apt to think that absolute Tyranny is worse than Anarchy; for I can easily suppose popular confusion to be less mischievous than a settled active Tyranny, that it will do less harm, and is likely to end sooner. All tumults are in their nature, and must be, short in duration, must soon subside, or settle into some order. But Tyranny may last for ages, and go on destroying till at last it has left nothing to destroy. What can the most dreadful Anarchy produce but a temporary work of desolation and fury, what but violation of Law and Life? And can Government be said to exist, where all Justice is neglected, where all Violence and Oppression is committed, where lawless Will is the only reason, where the ravages of blind appetite, and of the blind sword, are the only administration?

If this be Government, what is Anarchy? Is obedience due to aught but Law and Protection? Is he a Governor who spoils and kills? Am I obliged to pay duty and reverence to my enemy, to a common robber? By doings and not by titles and names, is a Governor distinguished from an enemy; and less vengeance is due to a professed spoiler, than to a spoiling Magistrate. What have Soci-

eties to do with such a destructive Traitor, but to exterminate or destroy him, before he has destroyed society and all men? An Oppressor under the name of a Ruler, is the most detestable Oppressor, and, by such impudence and mockery, should but quicken universal resentment. I know of no argument for destroying Anarchy, but what is full as strong for the destruction of Tyranny.

SECT. VIII. *Bad Princes ought to be treated with severity and abhorrence, in honour and justice to the good — No worthy Prince offended to see a wicked Prince exposed.*

IN discoursing on Princes, I have treated the good with all possible reverence, as the tender Fathers of their People, as benevolent Guardians of Law and Righteousness, as Friends to human kind: A divine Character, which can never be too much prized, never too much extolled. If towards the bad I have shewn equal indignation, I hope I shall want no excuse, since it was equally just. They who honour worthy Princes, cannot avoid detesting Princes that are wicked; nor can such as hate not the wicked, ever truly love the worthy. *Neque enim satis amarint bonos Principes, qui malos satis non oderint*, says PLINY to TRAJAN, who I dare say believed him, and must needs find it a genuine complement to his own excellent reign, to see those of the preceding Tyrants well exposed, since the blacker theirs appeared, the brighter his must shine. To expose them was to praise him, and 'tis chiefly by such opposition of characters, that his friend the Consul adorns that of the Emperor, in his immortal Panegyric, a Master-piece of Eloquence, Truth and good Sense, and a continued Invective against DOMITIAN and the other Imperial Savages, who had stained and perverted the Sovereignty. 'Tis thus in a great measure that he applauds TRAJAN, and his method was just.

To reverence bad Princes is to rob and injure the good, as reverence is the reward and perquisite of well-doing. If no evil whatsoever can be entitled to respect, what claim to it have the authors of evil, they especially who commit the highest? Do the Indians well in adoring mischievous Demons? Were the ancient Pagans wise in their wild worship of fire, fevers and crocodiles? Was any beast of prey, were all beasts of prey, half so destructive as NERO? Were the ravages of a Conflagration or a Pestilence worse than his ravages? Are men bound to reverence the plagues, the tormentors and the consumers of men? To speak respectfully of bad men, Princes or others, is not reverence but flattery, and flattery is abuse. Before men can be brought to adore a hurtful being, they must be first (so far at least) divested of their senses, and struck blind by superstition, and then 'tis reverence without reason, consequently nothing. Who would value himself upon the trances of a mad-man, mistaking you for a Deity and adoring you?

A GOOD Prince should indeed take it amiss to perceive bad ones spared, as it will argue a presumption that he approves them, or will come to resemble them: An imputation which he should fear and abhor.

hor. He will therefore for his own sake encourage all freedom to examine and display their behaviour and memory. Nor can he discourage this as long as he means not to do as they did. *PLINY* asserts it roundly, as a matter of the utmost certainty: "That, when of an evil Prince posterity says nothing, 'tis evident that the present Prince follows his steps." When *COMMODUS* put one to death for reading the life of *CALIGULA*, freely written by *SUETONIUS*, what could the Public infer, but that he knew his own conduct to be like that of *CALIGULA*? *TRAJAN*, who was a virtuous Prince, cared not how contumeliously the name and memories of Tyrants were used: Nor was aught a greater proof of the excellence of his Administration, and the integrity of his heart, than that in his reign it was safe for all men to inveigh against evil Government and evil Princes, as the same *PLINY* observes; and elsewhere, still complementing that glorious Emperor; "We then shew how passionately we love good Princes, when we are seen utterly to abhor the bad." *TACITUS* says, to the deathless praise of this reign, that such was the rare felicity of the times, "That you might entertain what sentiments you pleased, and declare what sentiments you entertained."

In consequence of such true principles, these two noble Authors treat *NERO*, *DOMITIAN* and their fellows, as Monsters, Beasts, and Executioners; and thus must every honest, every rational Author treat such Princes. *Pliny* says, that *DOMITIAN* was, "The Spoiler, the Butcher of every excellent Person; a most treacherous Prince; a most rapacious Robber." With such bitter and terrible names did a Roman Consul treat a wicked Emperor, in presence of a good one, *PLINY* before *TRAJAN*, nay speaking to *TRAJAN*. *TACITUS* is not more tender: like the other, he loved virtue and hated vice too much to be so.



DISCOURSE VI.

Of Bigotry in Princes.

Sect. I. *The mischief of Bigotry in a Prince: Its strange efficacy, and what Chimera's govern it.*

TACITUS tells us, that OTHO was, in his designs upon the Sovereignty, violently instigated by the vain predictions of the Astrologers, who were ever confidently averring, that the Stars prefaged approaching revolutions, and a year of signal glory to OTHO. What else was this his absurd and greedy belief in the Astrologers but Bigotry to deceivers and false prophecy, where he was prompted to seize the Empire, murder the Emperor, and throw the world into war and convulsions? For with him these wretched predictions passed as uttered by a prophetic spirit, and as the propitious warnings of the Fates. My Author, according to his custom, accounts for OTHO's credulity in these by a fine observation, "That such is the visionary genius of human nature, ever most zealous to believe things dark and unsearchable." He adds, that PTOLOMY (one of the Astrologers most credited by him) confined not himself afterwards to predictions only, but having first flattered the ambition of OTHO, was now prompting him to the last bloody act of treason. His reflection upon this is just and strong, "That from the harbouring of such aspiring wishes to the forming of such black purposes, the mind is led with wonderful facility."

CROESUS, King of Lydia, was a bigotted believer in Oracles, and many and immense were the gifts and oblations which he made them. By their fallacious responses he was incited to a war with CYRUS, which ended in his perpetual captivity, and in the utter conquest of his wealthy Kingdom.

BIGOTRY in a weak Prince or in any Prince, is always one of his worst and most dangerous weaknesses, generally ruinous to his People, often to himself; as it subjects him to the blind controul of narrow spirited and designing Guides (for all Bigots must have Directors and Masters) who in managing his conscience seldom forget their own interest, and to that interest often sacrifice the Public and all things.

BIGOTRY has a kindness for nothing but itself, and to all the rest of the world bears at best perfect unconcern, generally perfect malice. Hence wild wars and persecutions, Countries oppressed and exhausted, Communities enslaved and butchered, all perhaps for names and garments, for postures and grimaces, for sounds and distinctions and nonsense. Corresponding to the design is the result; numbers are made miserable or destroyed that a few may flourish and domineer. For, that dominion is founded in Grace, and that the holy ought to inherit the Earth, is a position as old and extensive as roguery and enthusiasm. From this spirit Princes who are guided by it, instead of public Fathers and Protectors, often become public Pests and Destroyers; Nations are animated against Nations, and those of the same Nation plague and devour one another.

WHAT

WHAT human wisdom can restrain men actuated by divine fury? And when they think that the Deity commands them to spoil and kill, what avails any counsel or exhortation to protect and to save? SHESK EIDAR a Prince and Enthusiast of Persia, having made a reform of the Mahometan Religion there, declared it impossible to be saved without adhering to his system: And upon such as are to be damned in the next world, it is always deemed lawful, nay necessary and meritorious to inflict penalties and death in this.

THE Turkish Doctors, on the contrary, differing from those of Persia in some important niceties, hold it lawful for the true believers (that is, for themselves) to kill, destroy and exterminate the Persians. Those pious zealots even hope from the goodness of God, that at the day of judgment he will graciously change these Hereticks into Asses, and doom them to carry the Jews, as the most contemptible of all Nations, a full trot into Hell. For such cruel and unrelenting censures, certainly these sound Divines must have enormous provocation, and the Persians undoubtedly hold the most shocking opinions. They do so: For instead of washing the naked feet all over, as the orthodox Turks do, they satisfy themselves with only sprinkling the water lightly over them. Another of their damnable Doctrines is, that they do not trim their Mustaches, according to the pure doctrine and usage of these their antagonists, but cut their beards only upon the chin. What is yet more horrible, they hold it lawful to wear green about their feet, a colour sacred to the memory of MAHOMET; and as a further demonstration of their obstinacy and pestilent notions, they assert the lawfulness of wearing a red Turbant. What can be a more just, what a nobler ground for hatred and war between these two Nations; war and hatred never to have an end?

INCITED by such worthy causes as these, and openly avowing them as the motives of anger and hostility, their respective Princes have often conducted vast armies against each other, wasted countries, sacrificed millions. An Emperor of Turkey had it once in his head to have massacred all the Christians in his Dominions, though in several of his Countries they were by far the greater part. But this and all the Laws of mercy and policy are but weak considerations when opposed to religious impulse, and the instigation of Bigotry and Bigots. MAHOMET was to be humoured, he who was the Apostle of God, he who hated Infidels. Now who would, who durst refuse to oblige God and MAHOMET? Nor was such reasoning peculiar to the Mahometan Dervises, the good men who conduct the Consciences of Mahometan Princes. The professors of the best Religion cannot reason better, whenever they alledge Religion to justify violence.

Sect. II. How easily a bigotted Prince is led against reason and interest: What ravages he is apt to commit.

FOR such dreams and whimsies as those last recited, or for whimsies equally absurd, equally reproachful to men and societies, have Princes been brought to consume their People and risk their States. The Emperor JUSTINIAN, bent upon a War against the Vandals in Africa, was dissuaded from it by his first Minister, the

Captain of his guards, for solid reasons, but urged again to the same wild design by the credit and foolish reasons of a Bishop, who it seems had in his sleep seen a vision, which encouraged the Emperor by all means to exterminate those Hereticks. (They were Arians.) Who could withstand such an argument? And was not the expedition a wise one, worthy of a judicious Prince and of the Public-weal? It was at least worthy of him who advised it, and he dreamed or lied meritoriously for the truth, that is to say for his own opinion and animosity. In sanguinary, in wild and destructive counsels, none have ever exceeded, few have ever equalled, those who professed to be the Ministers of mercy and peace.

HENRY the second of France made a most scandalous Peace with the Emperor, even to the dismembring of his own Dominions, on purpose to make war upon his native Subjects, and to crush and butcher the Hugonots, who gave him no provocation, but that of praying to God in a manner which they judged most acceptable to God. This the selfish Bigots who governed his Passions and Counsels and dishonoured his Crown, represented as the most crying crime, and this crime he punished with the most glaring rigour. It was a fine pursuit in which these seducers had engaged a Prince, in himself truly magnanimous, that of cutting the Throats of his People. One of his Successors, a great aimer at Glory, with all his mighty ambition was cramped by the little spirit of a Bigot. He who aimed at universal Monarchy, was himself subject to the Empire of Bigots, and his Bigotry made his Country groan, made him an enemy to great part of his Subjects, the soberest and most industrious of them all, and produced oppressions and desolation utterly repugnant to the glory which he thirsted after without measure, and claimed without a title.

THE expulsion of the Moors from Spain, effected by the devices and instigations of restless and mischievous Monks, working upon the Bigotry of the King, and continually alarming his Conscience with the anger and denunciations of Heaven for his slowness and want of zeal, is another sad instance of the baneful nature of this sort of spirit, when found in a Prince or in those who govern him. In all places where it prevails, how different soever they be, and upon all occasions, how contradictory soever they prove, whatever it proposes or pursues, is still the cause of God: And who that once believes this will, by opposing it, venture to fight against God? There is afterwards no room, nor perhaps safety, to mention public good or public peace, or any temporal consideration whatever. For what are these in comparison? What signified the numbers and industry of the Moors, as long as they were Infidels? Where the harm of dispeopling and impoverishing Spain, when, with so small a loss, so great, so pious a point was gained, that of quieting the King's Conscience and making the Monks easy? No matter what became of the Bees so the Drones were safe, and the Bigot was appeased,

Sect. III. *A bigotted Prince, how subject to be drawn into Guilt and Folly—The dictates of Bigotry, how opposite to those of true Religion.*

AN Y folly, any chimera or punctilio, let it be as absurd, as mean and trifling as it will, when once it is pronounced sacred, grows instantly momentous and equal, nay superior, to all things. Whether it be a piece of earth, or piece of building, or a coat, or a cap, or a day, or an uncooth word; it is more important than the tranquillity of the World and all the rights of men, and for it all men are to be oppressed, or worried, or slaughtered. Nay the highest and most diffusive mischief which a Prince can do, shall be made his highest merit; and public devastation or a general massacre shall be recommended as a sure and pious atonement for his private vices and enormities.

HENRY the third of France was very debauched, very devout, a notorious Bigot, a notorious Oppressor. But by acts of penance all his acts of impiety were cancelled, his conscience calmed, and he free to begin a new score of iniquity. This was the repeated round of his life. Amongst the atonements exacted from him by the merciless Hypocrites whose property and instrument he was, the persecution of the Protestants was always one: The rest consisted in profuse bounties and donations to the Monks. So that the blood and spoil of his poor Subjects payed for all. He moreover rendered himself contemptible by descending to strange and ridiculous mortifications, and to all the foolish mummary of Friars, so much below a King or a Man, but so much conducing to the holy purposes of his ghostly Guides, who thus bewitched him and held him fast to their fraternity.

WHILST the late Pope, a well meaning man but a wretched Bigot, instead of attending to the Administration of his Principality, was bestowing all his thoughts and time in visiting Churches and Images, in consecrating Chappels and Altars, and the like pious and unprofitable fooleries, corruption and injustice prevailed in his Court, oppression and misery amongst his People. With the best intentions that could be, his reign was despicable and grievous. What PHILIP DE COMINES says, that a stupid Prince is the heaviest curse that God can send upon a People, is equally true of a bigotted one; for Bigotry is religious stupidity, pious craziness; and as folly, whether natural or spiritual, is of it self blind and always requires guiding, the Bigot as well as the Blockhead will be for ever a slave to Pedagogues and Seducers.

CARDINAL RICHELIEU, amongst the other implements of his Sovereignty over his Master the Monarch, was always provided with some able Divines to explain away conscientious Scruples, the impressions of Morality and the precepts of the Gospel, whenever the same thwarted his Passions and Politics. Nay the whole Assembly of the Clergy of France always proved his complaisant Casuists upon occasion, and accommodated their Theology to the drift of the first Minister. When he was engaging these his Sycophants to declare the

the marriage of the Duke of ORLEANS to be null, because he did not like it (and a better reason the Bible it self could not have furnished for illuminating these venerable Guides) the Queen Mother wrote to the Pope, to forbid the Clergy from meddling with that marriage: "For, she said, it was publicly notorious, that the Bishops were all Courtiers, and would say whatever the King or Minister would have them, and even contradict what they then declared, should a future Minister bid them." By the like management he brought the King, who like a good Catholic abhorred Hereticks, to protect and assist Hereticks, as he did the Protestants in Germany, yet at the same time to crush and oppress his own Subjects because they were Hereticks, tho by the Law and his Duty he owed them protection.

To believe in God, to trust in him, and to adore him, is the Duty of a Prince and of all men. But, for the love of God to hurt and distress men, is amazing wickedness and phrenzy. Conscience is the most sacred property, and has as just a right to protection from the Sovereign as have the lives and fortunes of his Subjects. If difference in Religion cause disputes amongst his People, so does difference about civil Property; and in religious controversies amongst them, it is his duty to hold as even a hand as in litigations about money and land. In one case as well as the other, he is to leave them to Law and Reason and Argument, and to prevent their deciding religious opinions, any more than civil suits, by force and violence.

Sect. IV. *Further instances of the great mischiefs occasioned by Bigotry in Princes.*

WHENCE proceeded the Croisades, those mad expeditions so often undertaken by Christian Princes to recover Judea out of the hands of the Saracens, but from the Bigotry of Princes and People inspired and managed by the Pope and the Clergy? For this, Europe was drained of her best Men and Treasures, and her strength wasted in the East, for no reasons of State or security, but only for the sake of the Rock where our Saviour's Body had lain for some hours. Neither he nor his Apostles had declared, that he had endowed this Rock with any sanctity or virtue, any more than any other stone or earth upon which he had chanced to tread. But the cheating Priests, they who always laid the first foundations of their Empire in delusion, by their noise, impudence and forgeries raised such frantic zeal in the minds of men as produced great armies, efforts, and slaughter for the recovery of a bit of ground just like other ground. It was apparent that neither God nor Christ nor the blessed Spirit concerned themselves about it, else they would have guarded it from the hands of Infidels. So far otherwise, that never did any warlike expeditions more miserably miscarry, never was so much valour and strength so uselessly thrown away. Indeed, the whole ended in misfortunes and disappointments, nor produced aught save the destruction of Christian blood and wealth abroad, misrule, weakness and poverty at home, and the establishment of Ecclesiastical Tyranny in Christendom. Yet, tho it was manifest that God
blessed

bleſſed not theſe extravagant rambles, which were likewise repugnant to all good policy amongſt men, the ſolemn cheats who deceived in his name, who would always be knowing his will in ſpite of himſelf, and who valued not the intereſt of men, failed not to preach up more, when all the former had ended in nothing but infamy and ruin. They cared not what became of the World ſo they could govern it, and with all their might, and frauds, and impudence, again and again excited Chriſtendom to deſtroy itſelf to humour them.

WHAT will not deluders dare, what will not the deluded ſuffer, when deluſion reigns and reaſon is ſubdued? When men have loſt the uſe of their ſenſes, they are not likely to be very circumſpect about their perſons and fortunes; nor will ſuch as rob them of their underſtanding, ſpare their lives or property; and they who belied God made no ſcruple of abuſing men. Still more Croiſades were preached up and undertaken. To carry them on men ſacrificed their perſons and eſtates, married women their jewels and rich apparel, maidens their portions, widows their dowries; he who had no property gave his life, and ſuch as were too feeble to travel and fight, hired others in their room. Under ſuch phrenzy the Impoſtors had brought them by an aſſurance of pardon for all their ſins, by an offer of the inheritance of the Saints to all who had the grace to act like madmen and periſh like fools. Paradise and Salvation, of which theſe Jugglers aſſumed to be the diſpoſers, coſt them nothing, and theſe they were always ready to traffic away for any ſubſtantial advantage and gratification preſent. Thus they abuſed the Laity with words and hopes, a ſort of payment which they themſelves would never accept: Nor in truth was ever any ſett of men ſo addiſted as they to ſecure all their rewards and eſtabliſhments in this life, whiſt, to diſguiſe their deſigns, they were all the while diſcourſing piously of another. They preached up the contempt of the world to others, and ſtill humbly accepted to themſelves whatever they had induced others to renounce. Nay, to engroſs all ſeemed to be the only drift of ſuch preachments.

ALL this was glaring and notorious to common ſenſe: But the Monks had vanquiſhed and baniſhed all common ſenſe by the dint of ghottly fears: And to combat any underſtanding that was ſtill ſtubborn and unbewitched, they were furniſhed with other weapons, with dungeons, ropes and faggots. Every one who dared to contradict the Monks, tho' in defence of the veracity and honour of God, and for the welfare of humankind, was an Atheiſt, at beſt a Heretic, fit to be conſigned to Satan and deſtroyed by men. So far had theſe enemies to the world gained the dominion of it with its property, and ſuch credit had the mockers of God obtained by boldly abuſing his name and word. What could be more ruinous, and had proved to be, than theſe Croiſades? Yet with what vehemence did the Clergy promote them, and how faſt and blindly did Kings and People run to deſtruction and ſhame at the cry and inſtigation of the Clergy, who had the craft and addreſs to throw all their works of zeal, all or the principal hazard and expence, upon the heads and pockets of others, and of making the Laity their dupes, property and drudges? P E R E DANIEL, the Jeſuit, in his late Hiſtory of France, is forced to own, that the Clergy there, after they had preached up a Croiſade with mighty eloquence and zeal, grumbled bitterly when they themſelves became taxed to carry it on. So rare, ſays he, it is to find any zeal that is

perfectly disinterested: This is a very merciful reflection. The truth is, that their zeal was nothing but interest, or, at best, frenzy.

THE Story of Saint BERNARD is remarkable. He was engaged by the Pope to exert his credit and eloquence in raising a Croisade. The warm Monk undertook it zealously and laboured in it with ardour. Even miracles were said to have been wrought in favour of his endeavours. He alledged a divine call and authority divine for that expedition, and prophesied certain success to the Christians, certain destruction to the Turks. Upon such assurances from Heaven uttered by one of its Embassadors, who sounded the Lord's trumpet to war, all men ran to enlist themselves, and whole Cities and Villages were left desert. A mighty army passed into Asia, most of that mighty army perished: The whole expedition was fatal, and God's Providence gave the lie notoriously to the promises of his Embassador, who yet kept himself in countenance by a pitiful subterfuge; "That these forces miscarried for their sins." Why did he not foresee these sins, he who pretended to divine light and prophecy? He had boldly promised success without exception or reserve; and the excuse which he made will equally serve any Quack-prophet that ever appeared or ever can appear in the world.

BESIDES the loss of men, which was often such as left the countries that furnished them little else but Widows and Orphans; (for the Monks who remained in safety at home, were to be accounted, not members, but moths of human Society) besides the waste of treasure, then very scarce in Christendom; the Administration of Government was every where neglected or abused in the absence of the Governors, men, who can never fail of finding business enough at home, if they will conscientiously perform it. Kings too were sometimes taken prisoners, and for ransoming them, almost all the money which remained in their poor Countries, always made poor by these pernicious enterprises, must be amassed and carried away to enrich their enemies.

WE now see clearly the folly and mischief of these wild adventures; we discern (in this instance at least) the danger of credulity, the pestilent influence of delusion. They who were under it perceived it not, and we wonder at their blindness. Succeeding generations will perhaps be finding cause, tho I hope not equal cause, of wondering at us, though they too may have their follies, but perchance not the same follies.

DISCOURSE VII. Of Ministers.

Sect. I. The choice of Ministers how much it imports Prince and People. Of what sad consequence to both, when bad. The bad only serve themselves, not their Master.

PRINCES cannot do all themselves, and must therefore appoint such as they can trust to act for them and in their name, men who are to apprize them of what is proper for them to know, to advise them what is fit for them to do. These are their Ministers and Counsellors, and upon the rash or prudent choice of these, the credit and ease, or dishonour and danger of a Prince, as well as the safety, or ill usage of his People, largely depends. As wise Princes chuse such as are like themselves, so do Princes who are weak or vicious. NERO's Favourite was TIGELLINUS, Queen ELIZABETH had a WALSINGHAM, TRAJAN a PLINY, HENRY the fourth of France a Duke de Sully.

IN a free Country, a Prince has a great advantage and assistance in chusing his Ministers, for if his intentions be righteous, if he mean to maintain the Constitution and the Laws, he will of course appoint men of name and ability: And this he may do without much ability of his own: He need only attend to the unbiass'd humour and opinion of the Representatives of the People, and he cannot fail of being furnished with the ablest men. Whenever you want to chuse, you are, by the general consent, directed to the person worthy to be chosen, said GALBA to PISO. Not unlike this is the observation of HELVIDIUS PRISCUS, when an Embassy of Senators were about to be sent to VESPASIAN. HELVIDIUS proposed, that they should be nominated by the Magistrates, for that by the judgment of the Senate thus manifested, the Prince would be as it were advised and warned, whom to fear and shun, whom to countenance and approve. He adds, that no greater support was there of a righteous reign, than righteous Ministers about the person reigning. If indeed a Prince aim at overturning the Constitution and setting his Power above the Law, he will find out tools proper for the wicked work, creatures of mere will, of desperate fortunes or designs, dreaded or contemned, selfish, enterprizing, or fool hardy, such as will humour him, such as must depend upon him. But a Prince who studies public good, will like men who are public spirited. Such as are known to love their Country and its Laws, can never be unacceptable to one who has no views but to preserve both.

WHILST NERO was guided by the counsels of SENECA and BURRUS, great hopes were conceived of his Government, because they were known to be worthy and able men. The Plan of his Reign conceived by them, and by him exhibited in his first speech to the Senate, was very just and fine. "He claimed not the judgment
" and decision of affairs, nor would allow the shutting up those who
" were accused in the same house with their accusers, and by it
" sustain

“ sustain the impotent Tyranny of a few. Nothing should be saleable
 “ within his walls, nor any access there to the crooked plots and at-
 “ tempts of ambition. Between his Family and the Republic a just
 “ distinction should be maintained. The Senate should uphold her
 “ ancient jurisdiction. Italy and all those Provinces which depended
 “ by allotment upon the People, should apply only to the Tribunal
 “ of the Consuls, and by them procure access to the Fathers. To
 “ himself he reserved what was especially committed to his trust,
 “ the direction of the Armies.” TACITUS adds, that these decla-
 rations of his wanted not sincerity, and by the Senate many regulati-
 ons were made, agreeable to their own good liking. For some years
 his Government continued very good, at least very plausible, and as
 far as they conducted it, was unexceptionable, nay reckoned a pattern
 to the best Princes, as the rest of it cannot be exceeded by the worst.

BUT when BURRUS and SENECA were dead, or their credit
 with NERO decayed, it was easily foreseen at what he aimed, and
 that he would break out into all the outrages of a Tyrant, especially
 when it was seen who held the chief sway about him. SENECA
 and BURRUS were therefore sorely lamented, the more for that TI-
 GELLINUS succeeded. As he had shewn himself unworthy of such
 a Ministry, he now found a Minister worthy of such a Prince, who
 promoted him only for his infamy and vileness. And as they had
 taken all care to form him to virtue and good government, it was
 the business and pursuit of his present director to draw him headlong
 into a course of abominations and cruelty. Infinite enormities he
 caused him to commit; many he committed of his own head, un-
 known to his Master. They were well matched, or rather very ill:
 NERO promoted him because he was a polluted and mischievous man;
 and he improved NERO into a most pestilent Tyrant, such a Tyrant
 as committed a power of tyrannizing even to his manumised slaves.
 HELIUS was one of them, and to his governance and disposal the
 Emperor surrendered the People of Rome and those of all Italy,
 with a sway so absolute and dreadful that, without once consulting
 his Master, he sentenced Roman Knights, nay Senators, to what
 punishments or penalties he listed, some to exile, some to death, ma-
 ny to confiscations. By the breath of this arbitrary and potent Slave
 capital doom was pronounced against one of the most illustrious Gran-
 dees of Rome, SULPITIUS CAMERINUS, as also against his son;
 and both were doomed to die, for no sort of crime, or other reason,
 save that they used the additional name of *Pythicus*, a name derived
 to them from their ancestors. The just Judge charged this as impiety
 against the Emperor, who had acquired that title by his victories in
 the Pythian Games. If the Freedman were thus mighty, what must
 be the first Minister, and one in such high favour?

TIGELLINUS at last acted as became such a Minister to such a
 Prince, proved a Traitor to his Master, whom he had made a Traitor
 to his trust, brought all men to abhor him, then deserted him.
 What other could be expected from him? Was it likely that he who
 was a villain to almost all the world, could be faithful to any man
 in it? It was but natural that a man who had acted so many villa-
 nies for him, or in his name, should act one against him, and save
 his own life at the expence of his Master's. Purely for his own sake,
 only directed to his own ends had been all the efforts of his Ministry,
 and

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and what NERO vainly thought to be the effects of duty and fidelity, resulted from treachery and selfish views. He meant nothing but the gratification of his own brutal spirit, and the aggrandizing of himself, purposes which could not be accomplished but by the favour and authority of NERO. He therefore did not serve NERO; he only humoured and deceived him, as does every Minister every Prince, when he encourages him in evil courses, or pursues them in his name.

Sect. II. A sure rule for a Prince to know when he is advised faithfully. The duty of a Minister to warn Princes with freedom. The interest of Princes to hear a Minister patiently. Few will tell them truth, when telling it is offensive. A wise Prince will encourage it.

HERE therefore is a rule for a Prince to judge of the fidelity of his Ministers, by considering whether their counsel be good or evil: If it be unjust, or cruel, or unpopular, tho it may be pleasing 'tis certainly faithless. No Prince is advised well, who is not advised honestly, and whosoever serves him wickedly serves him falsely; since no service is due to him, none ought to be done for him, and none will profit him but what is righteous and honourable. All the actions of a Prince, all his pursuits should tend to glory and popularity, and from just actions alone all genuine glory arises. AGESILAUS King of Sparta said well, when the necessity was urged of complying with the *Great King*, a title always given to the Monarch of Persia, "The Great King is not greater than I, unless he be juster." PLUTARCH who mentions this, adds, that he thus settled the true, the Royal Standard of Greatness, which is to be estimated by Justice, not by Force. What glory can follow wickedness in any shape, however disguised by art, or new named by flattery?

FROM the Governors of men nothing should be found but what is for the good of men; when that good is not pursued, but evil felt instead of good, the Governors are deemed infamous, because by them Government is perverted. When the sword given for protection, is turned upon the givers, and, instead of protecting, slays, he who wields it will be accounted unworthy to hold it. This is what all wise Princes know, what such as know it not should be told, and what honest Ministers will always tell. What else is the use of Counsel and of Counsellors? It is betraying a Prince to suffer him to do evil unwarned; how much worse to lead him into it? He will certainly suffer for it at last. Danger naturally accompanies wicked actions, especially wicked actions that affect the State. One danger surely attends such actions, the danger of infamy, of all others the greatest, such as a Prince ought to dread more than death. Now what is due to men who train and sooth a Prince into the worst, the most shocking doom that can befall him, that of being odious to the present and all succeeding generations? For the infamy of Princes is ever as immortal as their glory, perhaps more, as men are apter to reproach than to praise. Thus NERO is oftner mentioned than TITUS, CALIGULA than TRAJAN.

HENCE it imports a Prince to be patient of counsel, to court information, and prize men who tell him truth, to hate flatterers who always conceal or disguise it, and to submit his own opinion and pursuits to be examined, canvassed, and even contradicted. If he be peevish and imperious, wedded to his own sentiments, hate free speech, and discourage such as use it, he must expect, that his servants will utterly neglect their duty, when it is thus dangerous or fruitless to do it. When it becomes safer to deceive him than to counsel him, few or none will be apt to counsel him, many will be ready to deceive him: all his measures will be extolled, the worst perhaps most of all, because they want it most, and he may be fondest of the foolishest. Many reasons will be found to support that which is most against reason, and he may go on with great ease, because free from contradiction, boldly because blindly, and meet ruin with applause. Perhaps he will feel the blow before he knows it to be coming, and, just at the approach of death, learn that he has a disease. Too many are apt to flatter wantonly, but almost all men will flatter when they are forced to it. Few men in the world will venture a Prince's displeasure, fewer their employments, and scarce any their lives, to tell him uncourtly truths. When NERO had thrown off all shame and restraints, was already debasing his dignity in the face of the world, and engaged in harping and in singing-matches upon the public Stage, 'twas no longer possible or safe to admonish him of the ruinous course which he followed. So that what his worst Sycophants encouraged, his best friends seemed to approve. Even BURRUS joined in applauding him whilst his heart ached for him. He proceeded in his scandalous pursuits with such ardour as to destroy whomever he found to dislike them, hoping for applause from all men, not for Reigning but for *Acting*: The Theatre was his scene of glory, and in theatrical diversions he was engaged when he received news of the conspiracy formed to deprive him of empire and life. He was undone before any one was found bold enough to tell him, that he was undoing himself.

EXCEEDING singular and hardly ever to be expected is such resolute honesty as an Emperor of China once found in his Mandarins. He had given himself over to acts of Tyranny, and was proceeding in them. His Ministers modestly but truly represented to him the enormity and evil tendency of his conduct. He immediately caused these Ministers to be executed: Others made the same representations, and had the same fate. In the next the like stiffness and integrity was still found, and against them too the like bloody sentence pronounced. Yet more remained to bear a testimony equally virtuous and daring. By this their perseverance so steady and undaunted, his stubbornness was overcome; he relented, and yielding to conviction, changed his course of reigning.

VIRTUE so disinterested, so heroic, is seldom seen. In the beginning of the civil Wars in France, during the minority of the late King, when all things were running into confusion, a present remedy wanted, and a Council called to find one, out of seven or eight Counsellors who composed it not one was found who spoke as he thought, for fear of offending the Queen Regent; insomuch that, as the sure way to please her, all studied to deceive her. Fear is not wont to speak truth. When perfect sincerity is expected, perfect freedom must

must be allowed; nor has one who is apt to be angry when he hears truth, any cause to wonder that he does not hear it. A Prince of temper and sense, one who has patience to hear and capacity to distinguish, need seldom be deceived. Queen ELIZABETH, TRAJAN, and HENRY the fourth of France not only encouraged freedom in their Ministers, and took advice in Council, but abroad and from all men.

DE ROSNI, the great Confident of HENRY the fourth used to treat him with so much plainness, nay sometimes with such roughness, as none but a very wise King, who knew his value, and the use of plain speaking, would have borne. A foolish Prince (and such are always proudest) would have banished him for ever, perhaps done worse. That great Prince found cause to consult others besides his Ministers, when enquiring how to ease his People oppressed by the Farmers of the Revenue, he learnt that some of his Privy Council were so mean to be Pensioners to these rapacious Farmers, had share of their wicked gains, and thence supported them in all their rapine and oppressions. He discovered too, that all tricks and artifices were used to keep him from knowing the state of his Revenue, and the accounts perplexed on purpose to make it impossible, at least extremely difficult and tedious.

SECT. III. Ministers to be narrowly observed, as well as heard. They sometimes combine to nourish corruption and blind the Prince. How nearly it concerns him that all about him be uncorrupt.

HENRY the Great took the advice of his Ministers, as also care not to be misled by their advice: When MIRON, Lieutenant civil, and Provost of the Merchants, espoused the interest of the People whose property in the rents of the Townhouse of Paris the Court was about to seize, the Courtiers pressed to have him doomed to some terrible punishment, as an Incendiary, nay as a Blasphemer, because in his remonstrances to the King, he uttered some uncourtly truths, such as though they touched not the King, fell heavily upon some of his Counsellors. This they called flying in the King's face, and would have had him vindicate their honour as his own, nay their honour at the price of his justice. He was too worthy and wise to hearken to them.

A WISE Prince will profit as well by watching his servants as by consulting them. HENRY the Great saw in how many channels they had caused corruption to flow, nor could he with all his vigour and understanding stop all, nor even cleanse the seats of Justice. Of old the order taken in that Kingdom for supplying the Tribunals worthily was very good, by directing a Register to be kept of all the able Advocates and Lawyers. Out of these, upon a vacancy, three were presented to the King, for him to chuse one. But the Courtiers had advised the King to slight all such representations, as restraints upon Royalty, and to chuse one of his own meer will and finding. Thus it fell into the hands of the Courtiers to recommend, and they always recommended him that gave most. Hence base fellows

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fellows filled the Courts, ignorance possessed and polluted the sacred seats of Justice, and these scandalous dealers, who had found money more regarded than virtue and sufficiency, were seen to value Law and Righteousness less than money. Of this venality of places THU-ANUS justly complains, in the dedication of his excellent History to that King. Yet this evil, this establishment of corruption has been found scarce capable of a cure even by such Princes and Ministers as had the cure of it at heart.

INDEED all corruptions creep easily in, but are with great difficulty removed. In time they even grow fashionable, and then no man is ashamed of being in the mode; so that the greatest infamy upon earth ceases to be infamous when grown common, as every iniquity countenanced at Court will grow. When the shame of being vicious is banished, vice becomes established, nay virtue will then be thought singularity and founess, and be treated with coldness and contempt. So much it imports a Country, so much it imports a Prince who values common honesty, his own reputation, and the interest of his Country, that all about him have clean hands. It is not enough that his Ministers and great Officers be untainted and above the mean traffic of selling places: None that are near him, or approach his person should be suffered to dabble in that vile commerce. The disgrace and the danger will at last reach him, and when places are basely filled, when honours are unworthily bestowed, he will bear at least share of the blame. He should consider such infamous traders as Vulturs, that prey upon the very vitals of Sovereignty, the credit of the Sovereign, as creatures obscene that contaminate his Court, injure and provoke his People, alienate their affections, and dishonour his reign. When such venality prevails, it will certainly be known, as certainly create disgusts, soon spread to general murmuring. Some will be provoked because it immediately hurts them, others will resent it as it affects the Public, and all will dislike it as 'tis base. It may indeed happen that the man who has favour for money may deserve it without money, and then 'tis hard upon him to pay for what he merits: But generally speaking, the worst men rise when money is the way of rising. However that be, the thing it self is dishonourable and unpopular: and what hath a Prince more to fear than unpopularity and dishonour?

LET a Prince, the ablest Prince, take what care he pleases, he will still be in danger to be misled, if those in his confidence have an interest to mislead him. VESPASIAN who at first intended no oppression, was by evil counsel brought to commit many. QUEEN ELIZABETH confessed to her Parliament with regret, that she had been over-reached, her power abused, and enormities committed under her name. EDWARD the third suffered his reign, one of the most glorious that history can shew, to be stained by the Ministry of a Mistress, a rapacious Woman, who had a shameful sway over him and his affairs. The Prerogative, which in the hands of a good Prince is a rod of Gold, when exerted by evil instruments under him, becomes a rod of Iron; as I have seen it somewhere observed.

Sect. IV. *What selfish ends the Counsellors of Princes sometimes pursue, yet pretend public good. They gratify private passion to the ruin of the State. What a reproach to a Prince the corruption of his Servants.*

HENRY the Great, after gaining the Battle of Ivry, might according to the general opinion have had the City of Paris surrendered to him, had he immediately advanced thither. That he did not, was ascribed to the artifices of his Ministers agreeing to dissuade him from it upon different motives of their own. The Marshal de Biron was thought to dread Peace, for that by it his own great importance would have been lost or lessened. Monsieur D'O, Superintendent of the Finances, was believed to aim at the sacking of Paris, that thence the King's treasures might be filled and his debts cancelled. Others imagined that the Hugonot Ministers retarded him, from a jealousy of an accommodation with the Catholics of Paris about matters of Religion. The several conjectures are reasonable, that particularly concerning the Marshal de Biron, who was so fond of continuing the War, that he would not suffer his son to seize the General of the League, when he proposed it and had it in his power. "How, says the Marshal, wouldst thou send us back to plant cabbages at Biron?"

THE Marquis de Louvois, Minister to the late French King, acted from the same principle, and by it influenced his Master. He was eternally contriving to keep the King and his Kingdom involved in wars, because he himself was Secretary at War, and during war found that he was of most consideration. As further proofs of the power and prevalence of private spirit in public concerns, in the minority of that King, the Dutches de Longueville instigated the civil War with all her might, purely to avoid living with her husband the Duke, whom she had provoked by her conduct. The Duke de Nemours did what he could to promote it, on purpose to separate the Prince of Condé from the Dutches of Chatillon, a Lady whom they both loved. The Queen Regent studied not to prevent a civil War, since it might bring back her dear fugitive Cardinal. KATHERINE DE MEDICIS was continually stirring up commotions, conspiracies and even civil wars, even against her own son HENRY the third, with design to secure power to her self. She succeeded too well: She exhausted that noble Country, oppressed the Subjects, destroyed Liberty and Laws, to promote desolation, licentiousness and the consuming sword. Was this Wretch, this Pest of Society, the Parent of her Country? As the most comprehensive calamity that could befall a Nation, she kept it always divided, always engaged in war and blood. When the People, wearied and weakened with long strife and slaughter, had procured peace and a breathing time, she never ceased her wicked machinations, till she had broke it again, and, in spite of Treaties and public Misery, set their blood a running. Moreover, to drive all virtue out of a Country, from which she had already driven all security and concord, she carefully promoted all sorts of debauchery, and amidst the pangs and calamities of the State, encouraged every excess

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of voluptuousness and revelling. Nay, to gain and corrupt the Grandees with the fairest and most bewitching baits, she kept her Court replenished with fair Ladies well trained and fit to cajole Malecontents, and to soften Heroes. Those whom nothing else could influence, this did. By what name can we call these politics, this trade of hers?

MANY public designs, however admired and interesting, are sacrificed to private ends and personal piques. The Duke de Mayenne, that zealous Catholic, General of the League, the mortal enemy to Heresy and HENRY the fourth, postponed all his zeal for Religion, all regard for the League, all his hate of Hereticks, to the sole fear that his nephew the Duke of Guise would be declared King and set above him. Upon this apprehension he made a truce with HENRY the fourth.

IT is happy for Princes when their interest and that of their Ministers are the same, happy for the Public when both combine to promote the common good. But when such as conduct the Administration are drawn away by low pursuits and gains of their own, the Prince's reputation will be blotted, the public interest at best neglected, often marred or ruined. There are instances where a general War has been risked, rather than a few Courtiers would part with some private bribes and gettings, even from scandalous Villains and Banditti.

THE Uscoques, who were a nest of fugitives settled at Segna upon the Frontiers of Hungary, and there protected by the House of Austria, as a band of desperate fellows proper to repulse the encroachments and insults of the bordering Turks, became themselves Freebooters upon all Nations, and thence caused universal complaints from the neighbouring States, especially from that of Venice; and repeated applications were made to the Imperial Court for redress. This course of rapine, and consequently these complaints and expostulations, went on for many years. The Uscoques still robbed, the foreign Ministers still complained, no effectual redress was obtained, and therefore a War was threatened. Behold the true reason of all this. When the Merchants and Traders, despoiled by this band of Thieves, went to the Imperial Court to represent their losses and to beg relief, they saw their Jewels and Brocades upon the Wives of the Imperial Ministers.

THIS was a hopeful confederacy and commerce between great Ministers of State and a Den of Robbers. It was thus they were protected in robbing: They indeed paid so high for this protection, that though they had made infinite spoil, and acquired great wealth, they were still beggars, for they were suffered to keep none. One old Uscoque had in his time acquired by plunder to the value of eighty thousand Crowns, yet perished for want. The Robbers at Court seem to have been the more rigorous sort of the two, for they left nothing: Surely they were the most infamous.

WHAT a scandal upon the Imperial Court, to be thus bribed by a nest of Rogues and Outlaws, to suffer such depredations upon the innocent, to have such vile spirits at the helm of the State, and, for the sordid lucre of particulars, to venture a War in Europe. Much more honourable were the grounds which engaged ALONSO the ninth, King of Leon, in a War against another Prince, his kinsman, for that the latter owed him ten thousand *Maravedis*, about seven pounds ten shillings

shillings of our money. Upon the payment of that sum, DON ALONSO promised to make peace.

I THINK 'tis boasted of the Austrian Family, as a proof of their innate generosity and clemency, that in the space of three hundred years, they never punished any of their Ministers, their worst Ministers, with death or confiscation. So safe were those who maintained this honourable alliance with the Uscoques. This character of that August House, reminds me of what was said of CHARILAUS, a King of Sparta, remarkable for extreme gentleness, "that he was "so gracious as to be very good to the very worst of men."

Sect. V. Under a Prince subject to be blindly managed, a change of Ministers rarely mends the Administration. He often hates his Ministers, yet still employs them. Ministers most in danger where the Prince has most power.

IT is a heavy misfortune to a country, when a Prince is subject to the management and designs of whomsoever he happens to have about him; for then the change of persons rarely mends the condition of his country or his own condition. LEWIS the fourteenth was weary of the imperious humour of Madam DE MONTESPAN, and apprized that many of her demands were unreasonable and insolent; yet could refuse her nothing when face to face. So manageable was that great Monarch by those who had once got possession of him, Ministers or Mistresses, that even Mademoiselle FONTANGE, a stupid idiot but very handsome, domineered over him. He generally hated his Ministers, and almost always feared them, wanted to get rid of them, but was afraid to discharge them. In order to remove *Fouquet* Superintendent of the Finances, he used the most remote pretences, disguised his intentions, made feints, took a long journey, drew an army together, and made such mighty movements as if some great war had been on foot. Yet *Fouquet* was at all times in his power, nor does there appear any other cause for so many precautions and such a grand apparatus, but his own extreme timidity and causeless fear. He could not abide *Louvois* his first Minister, who had long managed him: The like aversion he bore to *Seignelay* and *la Feuillade*, two other of his Ministers: Infomuch that when he had taken *Mons*, he reckoned it amongst the other felicities of the year, that he was relieved for ever from these three great Officers. He had been weakly subject to them, then as weakly afraid of them. Had it not been for the King's dread or hatred, or that of some superior Favourite, it was thought that *Louvois* might have lived to have been an older man.

WHAT signifies the change of Ministers, without changing measures? What, when they who succeed are permitted to be as bad as their predecessors? Let a Prince hate a Minister ever so much, or dread him or destroy him; all this avails neither him nor the State, if the Administration be not mended. Without this any alteration or punishment is folly or mockery. 'Tis the grimace of Justice, like that in Turkey, where the Grand Seignor frequently cuts off a
wicked

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wicked and rapacious Bashaw, but never returns any of his rapine. He ought to correct or prevent foul dealings, to discountenance such of his servants as commit them, and to protect and encourage such as commit none against all clamour and malevolence; for clamours and malevolence there will be against Ministers the most virtuous and irreproachable, as long as there are Ministers or Men.

MINISTERS are only safe there where the standing fence of impartial Laws will be able to protect their innocence, when in spite of innocence the People think them guilty, and the Prince through pique or policy would punish them as such. The People may be misinformed, and often are, and passion may misguide the Prince. But the Laws are never angry, at least with the guiltless, and judge not but according to truth and evidence. There, as they cannot act by the meer command of the Prince, so neither can they suffer by his meer will. In arbitrary countries the Prince must sometimes destroy good Ministers, because 'tis known that he can; and to an enraged populace or soldiery he has no room to plead his inability. His overgrown power is a curse upon himself as well as upon his servants, and by having too much he has none or worse than none, none to protect and save, which is the office of a Governor and a Father, but only to kill and destroy, which is the work of an enemy and an executioner. Such a power is but the worst part of bondage, bondage to him, bondage to them, to be doomed to act, not to chuse it, doomed to the most terrible of all slavery, that of destroying or being destroyed. This has been often the situation of the greatest Monarchs upon earth. It was that of *отхо*. In *отхо*, says TACITUS, authority sufficient was not found to prohibit acts of violence; it was hitherto only in his power to ordain them to be done. It was that of VITELLIUS. To him, says the same Author, no power remained either to command or to forbid; nor was he any longer Emperor, but only the cause of War. And it was that of many of their successors. In Turkey it is common. Who can securely serve such Princes? They can put you to death if you do not obey their commands, however unjust they be, and cannot defend you when you do, nor save you however innocent you are.

Sect. VI. *Ministers trusted without controul, sometimes threatening and perillous to a Prince. How fatal this often to themselves, and to the State.*

EVEN Princes of parts, and naturally jealous, are sometimes subject to a fondness for Favourites, even to folly and their own danger, apt to heap so much grandeur upon them as to have none left for themselves; and when nothing of Sovereignty remains but the name, that too will soon follow, unless some chance or stratagem intervene to secure it and redeem the whole. TIBERIUS, the darkest and most suspicious Prince upon earth, was yet open to SEJANUS without reserve, trusted him without bounds. To this Idol every thing was made to bend, all knees to bow, and many noble lives sacrificed. By his power and artifices he destroyed most of the Imperial Family, nay effected the same by the co-operation

of TIBERIUS, whose passions he guided and enflamed. In all public honours done to TIBERIUS, SEJANUS was included, and shared in them with the Emperor at the Emperor's desire, at Rome, in the Senate, over the Provinces. In the City he had more Statues erected than the Year has Days. Men every where swore by the Fortune of SEJANUS, with the same solemnity as by that of the Prince, nor was the name of the Prince found oftner in the last Wills of the Romans than the name of SEJANUS. To him, in his absence, Embassadors were sent with the same form as to the Prince, Embassadors from the People of Rome, Embassadors from the Equestrian Order, nay Embassadors from the Roman Senate. His birthday was celebrated publicly, by a decree of Senate, as well as that of the Prince. For his health public vows were paid every return of the new year, as for the health of the Emperor.

WHAT else was all this, but to invest SEJANUS with Sovereignty, by paying him all the honours due to a Sovereign? Though all discerning men saw the consequence, saw his pursuits and whither they tended, no man durst inform or warn the Emperor, because by it he must have exposed his own life; so capricious was the Prince, so powerful his Minion. No wonder his intelligence was late and that his information and despair came together. SEJANUS swayed the State at the head of the soldiery, who were Masters of the State, and had in their hands the making and unmaking of Emperors: So that no more remained to be done to accomplish a revolution, but just to change names, SEJANUS for TIBERIUS, the latter long since imprisoned in an Island, the former already governing the Empire and adored by the Army. Nothing but the form seemed wanting, and that too was concerted, and the conspiracy settled. TIBERIUS at last illuminated, by wonderful wiles and dissimulation, and by the bold management and lies of MACRO, escaped this peril. Yet it was nine months ere he could accomplish the fall of this mighty Traitor, whose doom proved as destructive to the Roman State as had his flourishing Fortune.

No Tyranny was ever more signal than that of TIBERIUS both in raising that pestilent Favourite, and in pulling him down. Whomsoever SEJANUS disliked TIBERIUS destroyed, and by his favour or frowns all men prospered or perished. The Roman World seemed the Patrimony of SEJANUS. The Roman People were his vassals, the Grandees of Rome his dependents or victims, the Army his guards, the Emperor his shadow. But whatever mischief he had done whilst he lived, he did rather more when dead. As before, all who were obnoxious to him, had been murdered, or beggared or banished; so now all who had espoused him, and adhered to him, all who depended upon him, all who had favoured his fortune, or were suspected to have favoured it, were doomed to the like inexorable cruelty, to dungeons, to halters and the bloody knife. Nay progressive murders were too slow for the inhuman rage of TIBERIUS. *Non jam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu Rempublicam exhaustit.* Men, Women and Children must be butchered in the lump, lie dead in heaps, and barbarity be exercised on their carcases.

THIS general carnage is affectingly described in the sixth Book of the Annals. "His cruelty being but inflamed by incessant exe-

“ cutions, all those kept in prison under accusation of any attachment
 “ ment to SEJANUS, were by his command put to the slaughter;
 “ Exposed to the Sun lay the sad monuments of the mighty butchery;
 “ those of every sex, of every age; the illustrious and the mean;
 “ their carcases ignominiously thrown, apart or on heaps. Neither
 “ was it permitted to their surviving friends or kindred, to approach
 “ them, to bewail them, nor even any longer to behold them. Round
 “ the dead guards were placed, who watched faces and marked the
 “ signs of sorrow; and as the bodies putrified, saw them dragged to
 “ the Tyber, where they floated in the stream, or were driven upon
 “ the banks, no man daring to burn them, none to touch them. The
 “ force of fear had cut off the intercourses of humanity; and in
 “ proportion to the growth of Tyranny, every symptom of commi-
 “ seration was banished.” It was in court to TIBERIUS that most
 men courted SEJANUS: For this, TIBERIUS destroyed them, as
 he had before those who did it not. If the crime was so great, the
 old Tyrant should in justice have destroyed himself as the greatest
 Criminal.

Sect. VII. *The great mischief of exalting Favourites beyond
 measure, especially such as command great Armies.*

MUCH the like sway had PLAUTIANUS under SEVERUS, and much the like fate. He had enjoyed the same post, committed the same oppressions and excesses, and was put to death for having had the same treasonable designs. No man's fortune escaped his claws, and by trick or violence he shared in the estates of all men: Many of the most considerable he put to death. No Nation escaped his extortions, no City was unpillaged. The Presents made to him were larger and more frequent than those to the Emperor, and he could boast more Statues erected to him, in Rome, in other Cities, by private men, by public societies, and even by the Senate. The Senators and Soldiers swore by his Fortune, and for him made solemn vows. He commanded the guards, governed all things, did what he listed. Indeed so giddy and wanton his boundless power had made him, that having invited to his house an hundred Romans of good Families, he caused them all to be castrated. Nor were they boys only whom he thus abused, but men grown, some of them married men; and all for no other cause than to increase the number of his daughter's Eunuchs. DION CASSIUS says, that he had seen some of these men, so suddenly made Eunuchs, Eunuchs who had children, wives and beards. To this daughter, whom he married to the Emperor's son, he gave a fortune large enough for the daughters of fifty Kings.

ALL this power was too mighty to last in the same shape; nor did it. He must either cease his greatness, or be greater, or perish. Rather than do the first, he ventured the last in order to the second. He attempted to cut off the Emperor, and was himself cut off. Fortune saved SEVERUS, as it had TIBERIUS, and they kept their Diadem, when they had nigh lost it. So near sometimes is Treason to a Throne, and sometimes ascends it. PLAUTIANUS in the midst of his hopes and grandeur, he who was first Minister to the Emperor, Father-in-

law to the Emperor's son, and aiming himself at the Empire, was executed like a common malefactor, by the command of his daughter's husband, and his body thrown into the street. So strangely are the views of the greatest men baffled! This great match for his child, whence he hoped an accession of credit and might, hastened his tragical fall, and made it more tragical. With him too fell his Family: His son, born, as once seemed, to wealth more than Royal, his daughter more than royally portioned and married, were banished to an Island, where having for some time led a miserable life, destitute of common necessities, struggling with many miseries, apprehending yet more and heavier, they were relieved by the hand of an executioner in the following reign.

N E I T H E R does it appear that S E V E R U S had in the least foreseen such a reverse in the Fortune of his great Favourite, and for want of such foresight, caused it. 'Twas but the natural consequence of such a blind and unbounded Trust. The temptation was too great, and what was at first ambition in P L A U T I A N U S, grew at last to be necessity. This S E V E R U S himself afterwards owned, lamented the weakness of human nature, which in elevated fortune knows no moderation, and blamed himself for having raised him so high that he grew giddy. By the ruin too of P L A U T I A N U S many were endangered, several suffered a bloody doom.

W H E R E V E R there are great standing Armies, Revolutions are suddenly brought about, and therefore will be often attempted; for whoever has the Army, has or may have the State. Hence the danger of T I B E R I U S, hence that of S E V E R U S, and hence the danger and sudden fate of many Princes in almost all ages, as well as encouragement to ambitious men to set up themselves by corrupting the soldiery, a task not over difficult. It was the fate of most of the Roman Emperors, as to be made by their Armies, so to be destroyed by their Armies.



DISCOURSE VIII.

The same Subject continued.

Sect. I. Good Ministers often ruined and destroyed for their virtue by a combination of the bad. The spight and wicked arts of the latter. How ready to charge their own guilt upon the innocent.

IT is a matter of grief and concern, though not always of wonder, to see the best servants of a Prince often supplanted, often undone by the worst, to see his truest friends depressed, and the most pernicious Parasites triumph, to consider the vile lies and contemptible causes by which the bad undermine and undo the good. JUNIUS BLESUS was one of the most illustrious Romans, of a princely Spirit, and his Fortune like his Race, very noble. He was Governor of Lionese Gaul, and espoused the cause of VITELLIVS early and cordially, nay bore at first all the expence of his Imperial State and Train; for such was the poverty of VITELLIVS, that he could not as yet support the same himself. For such splendid instances of his zeal VITELLIVS returned him many open commendations and much secret hatred.

A MAN of so much esteem and merit the false and spiteful Courtiers could not bear. They bore him special enmity, for that, in a reputation glorious and popular, he so far surpassed themselves contaminated with every sort of infamy. A man so dangerous to the Tribe, by being so much better than they, and so much above them, must therefore be taken off, and as he was perfectly innocent, some fault must be forged, and the simple Emperor alarmed with the shadow of some terrible Treason. A terrible one indeed they found: BLESUS happened to sup with a Friend, whilst the Emperor happened to be out of order. This was aggravated to him, and this embittered him. Here was ground and encouragement enough to proceed to a direct charge; it was all that the plotters wanted, they who made it their business to dive with a curious eye into all the passions and dis gusts of the Prince. Instantly one of the body is dispatched to impeach him. The Impacher made a dismal, a weeping harangue, how "BLESUS was making merry, and the Emperor's life at stake, nor " could aught secure it but the death of such an insolent Criminal." The argument prevailed: The foolish Emperor ordered him to be poysoned, and as brutish as foolish, went full of glaring joy to see him in his agonies, nay boasted that he had feasted his eyes with the sight of an enemy expiring.

THIS was the unworthy, the tragical end of JUNIUS BLESUS, procured by the poysonous tongues of traducers; a man venerable for the antiquity of his House, signal for elegance of manners, signal for uprightness of heart; in his faith towards VITELLIVS obstinately firm, free from all vice, from all ambition and intrigues, so far from coveting any hasty honour, much less sovereignty, that he could hardly

hardly escape being judged worthy to be Sovereign. The truth is, he had been already tried by the Courtiers and false Friends of VITELLIVS, and by them tempted to desert him, but tempted in vain. This alone might prompt some of them to destroy him. 'Twas what many supposed to have occasioned the death of FONTEIVS CAPITO Commander in Germany under GALBA: CORNELIVS AQUINVS, and FABIVS VALENS, two Colonels of Legions, instigated him to rebel, and upon his refusal slew him, then charged him with Rebellion.

SECT. II. How hard it is for a good Minister to support himself with a Prince surrounded by Sycophants and Seducers, or to preserve him and his State. Their execrable Stratagems to execute their Malice. How such sometimes abuse the Prince, mislead him, distress him, and murder him.

AS no good Minister can be safe where such mischievous Minions prevail, so neither can a Prince nor his State. 'Tis not the honour of the Prince, 'tis not the ease and benefit of the Country that they seek and consider; 'tis only their own interest and advantage, and this they will pursue, though to the ruin of Prince or State. King JAMES the fifth of Scotland had a fair opportunity of establishing a lasting peace with England. HENRY the eighth his Uncle, then at great variance with the Pope, the Emperor and Spain, willing to strengthen himself at home, even desirous to settle the succession upon his Nephew, courted him to an alliance, nay to an interview and conference at York. Nothing could promise fairer for the advantage of Scotland, for many ages harassed and desolated by wars with England, nothing prove more honourable and beneficial to the Scotch King than the entail of the English Crown and the support of his Uncle. HENRY the eighth had then only a daughter, MARY, and she was declared illegitimate. King JAMES therefore by the advice of his Council declared his acceptance of the proposal; the English Embassadors returned highly satisfied, and highly pleased their Master, who made great preparations at York for the entertainment of his Nephew.

BUT the Scotch King had Minions about him of more prevalence with him than his Council, or his Honour or his Interest, if these two can be parted. To these Minions the Clergy apply, and with large bribes engage them to dissuade the King from keeping his word. Some of the Minions too were Clergymen, and in the name of all laboured to debauch and deceive the King. They frightened and cheated him with the word *Heresy*. And whatever offended the Clergy, be it man or thing, must surely be an enemy to God and the King, and consequently very bad and terrible. They said, it was grown up in England, and growing fast in Scotland, and shewed him what notable profit would accrue to him from suppressing it, and enriching himself with the estates of such as professed, and of such as favoured it. With this they gave him a list of their names, encouraging him to plunder and burn the best and richest of his subjects.

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THE King listened to the proposal too greedily, and communicated it to the Laird of Grange his Treasurer. This was an honest and bold Man, who freely shewed his Master the monstrous iniquity and mischief of such counsel, exposed the evil and rapacious hearts of the Bishops, their corrupt practices, unsufferable pride, ambitious designs and ungodly lives, with their utter unfitness to be trusted in Council, or with any civil concerns; represented, how rashly and perniciously one of his Predecessors, King DAVID, had stripped the Crown of its Patrimony to endow Bishopricks and Abbeys; whence his Majesty was now so poor, the Prelates so rich, so prodigal and assuming, that they strove to be Masters and Directors in all things. Thus he convinced the King, and recovered him to his first reasonable purpose of closing with England; inasmuch that his Majesty, next time the Prelates approached him, fell upon them with great bitterness, for having endeavoured to mislead him into such cruelties against so many Noblemen and Barons, to the danger of his own Estate. "Wherefore, said he, gave my Predecessors so many lands and rents to the Kirk? Was it to maintain Hawks, Dogs and Whores to a number of idle Priests? The King of England burns, the King of Denmark beheads you: I shall stick you with this Whingar." Wherewith, says Sir JAMES MELVIL (from whom I quote these words) he drew out his dagger, and they fled from his presence in great fear.

HE now fully resolved to keep his promise with his Uncle of England, as tending both to his advancement and honour. But his resolution held not. The Bishops were not easily baulked nor ashamed, nor wont to relax when interest, or dominion, or revenge was in view. Again they assail the Minions, particularly OLIVER SINCLAIR, with store of gold, promised him high honours by their weight and procurement, especially the command of the Army against England, could he bring his Master to violate his Faith and break with his Uncle. Their next step was to undo the Treasurer, by defaming him to the King: "He was proud, he was a Heretic (an imputation always powerful, however stale and foolish) he carried an English new Testament in his pouch, nay he was so arrogant, that he would not procure Women for the King, nor prostitute his Son's Wife to his Majesty's Pleasure." For this was one article of the charge against him, and urged by a venerable Prelate. It was usual for these Favourites to furnish the young King with Women, married or unmarried, thus to preserve their favour.

WHEN the King vindicated his Minister, as a plain, frank Gentleman, whom he loved well, and to whom he begrudged no reward; the Prior of Pittenween replied and said, "Sir, the heir (heiress) of Kelly is a lusty fair Lass; and I dare pledge my life, that if your Majesty will send for her presently, he shall refuse to send her to you." (The Lady was betrothed to the Treasurer's Son.) A godly proposal, and it took. The King signed an order for the Lady to be brought to him; nay the Prelates and their Faction contrived that a brother Prelate, the Prior of Pittenween, should carry it and return with the fair prize. The Treasurer refused to comply, for good reasons: amongst others, the reverend Envoy was his known Enemy, and a known Debauchee. The Prior however who had gained the main point, rejoiced in the denial, and by it enraged the King, nay

from him a Warrant was obtained to seize the Treasurer, and commit him to the Castle of Edinburgh.

HE was aware of their mischievous devices, and hastened to Court: The King lowered nor would speak to him. He boldly asked his Majesty, why such a change, so much displeasure presently after so much favour, and for what offence? The King replied, "Why didst thou refuse to send me the maiden whom I wrote for, and gave despiteful language to him I sent for her?" The Treasurer said, that he thought himself meetest to bring her, nor would he trust the Prior, as he knew him to be one infamous for rapes, a man the most notorious of any in Scotland for debauching of women, whether wives or virgins. Such failings, it seems, the holy man had, but was zealous for the Hierarchy against Hereticks and his Country. "Hast thou then brought the Gentlewoman with thee?" said the King. Yes, Sir, said the Treasurer. This softened him. "Alas," said the King, "they have set out so many leavings against thee, that they have obtained of me a Warrant to put thee in ward: But I shall mend it with a contrary order."

THE Treasurer answered with lamentation; "My life, Sir, or warding is a small matter: but it breaks my heart, that the world should hear of your Majesty's facility." For he had learnt, that in his absence they had made the King send to England to contradict his promise, and refuse to meet his Uncle. His lamentations availed not: The worst counsels had swayed him. The Prelates, and other Minions corrupted by them, and subservient to them, rule the King. HARRY the eighth rages, vows to revenge so much scorn, and sends away an Army to lay Scotland desolate by fire and sword. The Scotch King too raises forces, but forces without heart, as in a cause undertaken for the pleasure of the Prelates against their Country. This damped their spirits, but what quite finished their dejection and despair was, to see *Oliver Sinclair*, a Minion and Hireling of the Prelates, declared General of the Army.

THE Lords and principal Officers, through indignation that the Court and Country should be governed by such vile Instruments as the Bishops and their Creatures, refused to fight under such a worthless Commander, nay suffered themselves to be all taken prisoners. The whole Army was overthrown, the Kingdom defenceless, and exposed to the ravages of a victorious enemy, and the poor King to anguish and disgrace. Against the Bishops all mouths were open, all men enraged, to see the Country perishing to satiate their fury and ambition: The King heard the general outcry, his eyes were opened, and in the fulness of his heart he dropped some expressions of resentment against his ghostly and execrable advisers; for which expressions they soon took severe vengeance.

SUCH men never retract, never forgive. The Realm was under the spoiling hand of Enemies and Invaders, the Army routed, the Nobility provoked, the People miserable and murmuring, the King distressed and his Honour lost. Did all this soften the Bishops? No: to accomplish their malice and good services to the Public and their Sovereign, they murder him by poison. For, with their other politics and wholesome severities derived from Rome, they had learnt the art of making an *Italian Possét*, and with this, administer'd by some of their faithful villains about him, they shut up the days and reign
of

of JAMES the fifth, first deprived him of his Innocence, then of his honest Counsellors, then of his Peace and Honour, lastly of his Life.

WERE not these notable Directors of a Monarch's power and conscience? Nay even dying and dead they abused him, as well as they had whilst alive. One of them attending him at his death, dictated a Will for him, and what he himself caused to be written, when the poor King was expiring, he boldly declared to be the King's Will afterwards. To such an amazing power in wickedness and want of shame had the Clergy then grown by their enormous increase of property. But they were popish Clergy: The Protestant sort thirst not after wealth, and where they have it, are too meek to become proud and abuse it, too conscientious to neglect the cure of souls, and live in luxury, too modest to haunt Courts, too disinterested and sincere to flatter Princes, too just and impartial to preach selfish doctrines tending to raise themselves by the purse, or subserviency, or sufferings of others.

Sect. III. *Reflections upon the fate of King JAMES the fifth of Scotland seduced and undone by Minions, who withdrew him from the direction of an honest Minister.*

SUCH was the fate of JAMES the fifth, a Prince of spirit and good qualities, but debauched, abused and undone by wicked and crafty Minions, Pandars and Seducers; such the dismal issue of false and unjust Counsels, of forsaking honest and worthy advisers, to follow the deceitful, the selfish and corrupt; and such ample ground had Sir JAMES MELVIL for saying as he does of Princes, especially of young Princes, and their favour to those who misguide and ruin them. "They were carried away by the craft and envy of such as could subtilly creep into their favour, by flattery and by joining together in a deceitful bond of fellowship, every one of them setting out the other, as meetest and ablest for the service of their Prince, to the wrack of him and his Country; craving the Prince to be secret, and not to communicate his secrets to any but their Society. Thus the Prince's good qualities being smothered by such a company, were commonly led after the passions and particularities of those, who shot only at their own marks: Some of them continually possessing his ear, and debarring therefrom all honest, true and plain speakers; so that no more hope could be left of a gracious Government, nor place for good men to help the Prince and Country, where-through fell out many foul, strange and sad accidents, as may be afterwards seen and read: Princes misused, and abused, their Country robbed, their best and truest servants wracked, and the wicked instruments at last perished with all their high and fine pretences; others, ay (always) such-like, succeeding in their place, never one taking example to become more temperate and discreet, because of the destruction of those who went before them; but as highly and fiercely following their greedy, vain and ambitious pretences, obtained the like tragical reward."

HE afterwards quotes the complaint made by Monsieur DE BOUSSIE, when left and disliked by the Prince his Master. "Alas, wherefore should men be earnest to surpass their neighbours in worthiness and fidelity, seeing that Princes, who get the fruits of our labours, like not to hear of plainness, but of pleasant speeches, and are easily altered without occasion upon their truest Servants?"

Sect. IV. *Where Flattery is encouraged, Flatterers rule, and sincerity is banished. Ministers sometimes fall not through guilt but faction; yet always accused of guilt.*

WHEN a Prince will bear no Minister that tells him the truth, and only exalts those who soothe and flatter him, the best Flatterer is always sure to be the first Minister, and his Master will be pleasantly deceived instead of being faithfully and unacceptably served. The Marquis de VIEVILLE Superintendent of the Finances to LEWIS the thirteenth gained his favour and preferment by extolling the King's spirit and conduct, in commanding his armies in person. Though that Prince had no sufficiency in War, he liked to hear that he had, perhaps believed it; for what is more vain than power, what more credulous than vanity? At the same time his Chancellor de SILLERY fell under displeasure and lost his employment, for blaming these military rambles. His Son too, Monsieur de PUYSEUX, Secretary of State, was afterwards removed, on pretence, that the King could not trust a Man who was doubtless soured by the disgrace of his Father.

TO the disgrace of that Minister almost the whole band of Courtiers contributed, all from causes personal and distinct. The Queen-Mother hated him for his superior credit with the King; Cardinal RICHLIEU, for having opposed his elevation to the Purple; the Prince of Conde, for forwarding a Peace with the Hugonots, whence his own credit was lessened or lost in the Army; the Count of Soissons for retarding his marriage with the King's Sister; de THOIRAS for discrediting him with the King; the Duke de Bellegarde for opposing the resignation of his employment to a Kinsman. These were their true motives, though very opposite to those that they avowed. They charged him with insolence to the King, infidelity in his trust, and corruption. Whatever faults he might have, his faults had no share in his disgrace.

FAVOUR at Court is a brittle thing. That of VIEVILLE, the Superintendent, had its period and declension. Though he had flattered the King and lied for his honour, the King gave him up to the jealousy and displeasure of the Cardinal, a more terrible antagonist than the Monarch himself. Falling Ministers are always faulty and must be: It would be preposterous and unjust to pull them down, yet own them innocent. VIEVILLE was accused of many heavy crimes, "with deciding great affairs of his own head; with altering the King's orders; with sending directions to Embassadors, without communication with the King or Council; with doing acts of injustice, and throwing the odium upon the King, and with gratifying his pride and passions at the expence of the King's honour."

To the honour of that Minister it must be owned, that upon trial, all the uproar and pompous charges against him for malversation and corruption in the Treasury, appeared groundless. In truth, in all the efforts of faction and rivalry men do not study to publish Truth, but Reproach. The Cardinal wanted to ruin him. It is so probable that men in office may be guilty, that if such guilt be but boldly charged, it will be readily believed. When the suspicion is once well raised, it will hardly fail of being well received. This serves the turn, and proves a good warrant for disgracing an innocent man once thought guilty. Indeed when prejudices subside, and popular heat cools, 'tis probable his innocence will begin to appear and be credited, but first he is disgraced or undone, and his Competitors already triumph, till perhaps they meet with the same measure from others.

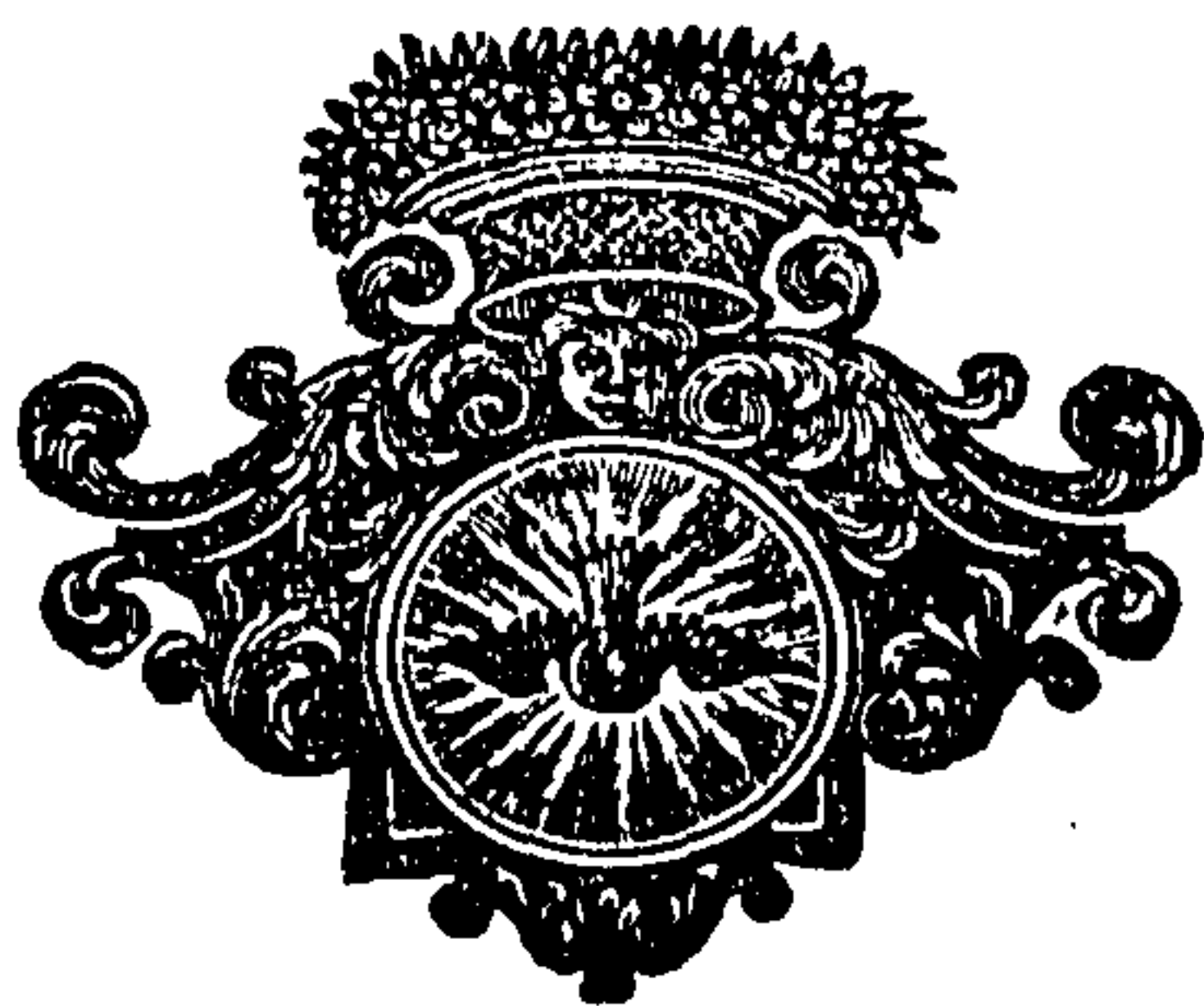
THE Eunuchs of SCHAH HUSSEIN falsely charged the first Minister behind his back with a conspiracy, and produced a forged Letter to support it. By that Letter it was to be executed in a few hours. The Emperor was frightened, and gave immediate orders to arrest him. The Emperor considered the Eunuchs as his guardian angels, who by their vigilance had saved him, yet would needs be so just as to hear that great Man in his own defence. He defended himself gloriously, exposed their execrable fraud, and manifested his own innocence. But what signified his innocence or the Emperor's conviction, for his eyes were put out? Of this the cruel villains had taken present care, that he might never stand in their way in the same post or any post again.

Sect. V. *A Minister may be disgraced for his Virtue, and Fidelity to his Prince. Mercenary Courtiers certain enemies to upright Ministers. Justice done to both by time and history.*

IN the reign of RICHARD the second, Sir RICHARD SCROOPE was promoted to be Lord Chancellor of England, a Person reckoned so accomplished and just, that he was raised to that Great Trust at the request of the Parliament, both Lords and Commons. He was indeed too just to hold it long. He would not serve the turn of the Favourites, and the Favourites would not let him serve the King and Kingdom. They had begged Grants of diverse Lordships lately fallen to the Crown: But what the King had weakly granted, the Chancellor honestly refused to confirm. He alledged "the King's wants and debts, with the necessity of satisfying his creditors; that no good Subject should prefer his own advantage to the King's interest, private lucre to public good: Already they had received from his Majesty abundant Largeesses; and it was but modest to ask no more." This repulse fired them, and to the King they went with grievous accusations against the Chancellor: "He was obstinate, he contemned his Majesty's Commands; he must suffer exemplary punishment for his disobedience and scorn of the Royal Authority, which would otherwise fall into public contempt."

THIS was enough to incense the undiscerning King, who sends in a fury to demand the Seal. Doubtless it was from pure tenderness for the King's Honour (whom they were cheating and robbing) and with no eye to any interest of their own, that they arraigned the Chancellor, and asserted the Prerogative. Nor is it to be imagined, that they did not represent him abroad in ugly colours, as proud and insolent, engrossing all favour to himself, injuring the King's best friends, nay acting the part of a King himself. Nor were all these imputations more than what others had deserved, and therefore likely enough to be believed of the Chancellor, who was thus severely censured, thus ungratefully dismissed, for his uncommon faith and integrity.

THE good Chancellor reaped one advantage of which neither Malice nor Power, nor Time could deprive him. He is recorded in the History of his Country, as a glorious Magistrate, an upright Minister, a faithful Patriot: whilst his supplanters bear such a Character as they deserve, that of Sycophants, public Robbers, Enemies to King and People. Thus it is that virtue triumphs over vice, and for ever triumphs; this the immortal reward of men who faithfully serve their Country, who worthily discharge public Trust. The fruits of base actions perish; their infamy only is sure to remain. It is a dreadful lot, that of being hated to all following generations. How amiable is the contrary lot, to be beloved and praised whilst there are Men and Letters in the World? Such are the different and lasting lots of a *Chancellor Jefferies* and a *Chancellor Cowper*.



DISCOURSE IX.

Of the People.

Sect. I. *The variable Character of the People: very good or very bad, according to their education and government. Hence the improvement or depravation of their manners.*

CONCERNING the People 'tis scarce possible to lay down any general proposition. If we say, that they are greatly disposed to evil, it is true: If we assert, that they have a fund of goodness in them, 'tis true. They are cruel and merciful, constant and fickle, fond of their benefactors, ungrateful to their friends, very patient, very furious, unmanageable, and easy to be governed, greatly given to change, greatly afraid of it, apt to love extravagantly, apt to hate implacably. They are indeed just what they are made, formed by habit and direction: They take the impressions that are given them, follow the opinions of such as lead them, the example of those who govern them, and are capable of being very virtuous and modest, very vitious and turbulent, according to the lessons and pattern of their Guides and Rulers.

THUS the Romans from a band of Robbers, became a civil Community, at first rough and rude, afterwards regular and sociable, then polite and elegant, always brave, fond of Liberty and Glory, impatient of Servitude. Such was their beginning, alteration, and improvement, still in proportion to the influence of their Leaders and Laws, fierce and warlike under ROMULUS because he was so, tamed by Religion or Superstition under NUMA, addicted to civil œconomy and regulations of State under SERVIUS TULLIUS, who made such institutions his care; zealous Republicans under a republican Government; full of reverence for Arts and Learning when Arts and Learning came to be favoured and introduced by the Magistrates. Afterwards when they were corrupted by evil and ambitious men, they became extremely corrupt, and intirely changed by the change of their Government; and in order to make such a change or to continue it, such corruption was carefully promoted and perpetuated. Their spirit, their honesty, and even their discernment were vitiated, sunk and banished, to qualify them for misery and chains. Whilst they had courage, integrity and eyes, usurpation could not prosper nor vassalage be established. Thenceforward the Roman People grew utterly debauched and spiritless; their Virtue which rose with their Government, fell with it, and they were as unlike what they had been, as Servitude is unlike Liberty.

NOR was such a revolution of Manners peculiar to the Romans, but in all places will follow such revolutions of State. It is not so much by the genius of the Clime, by the heat or coldness of a Country, that the characters of the Inhabitants are to be known and estimated, as by the nature of their Government, and the wisdom, or defect, or corruption of their Laws. 'Tis thus that men from Savages and Banditti, become just and humane, or from virtuous and free, abject slaves and barbarians.

A T T I C A

ATTICA, the Country of the Athenians, was over-run with violence, feuds, robbery and murders, till THESEUS reformed the Government; and by it civilized the People, who by virtue of their Liberty and Laws, afterwards corrected and improved by SOLON, came to be the masters and standard of politeness and learning over the world. Thus LYCURGUS reclaimed the licentiousness of the Spartans, and established such an institution, and such wise orders amongst them, that for courage, patriotism and every kind of virtue, they were the envy and wonder of all Nations. As the Liberty of these two famous Cities decayed, so did their Valour and Probity, and perished when that perished. They seemed afterwards another race of men, tho' their blood and climate were still the same. The Grecians, once Conquerors and Masters of universal Empire, are now spiritless Slaves, sunk in unmanly superstition, drunken, ignorant, barbarous.

THE Nations in Peru lived nearer to the condition of beasts than that of men, till taught the Laws of Society by the *Inca's*: For, these Princes did not so much subdue them, as instruct and polish them. So that these Clans of Savages, many of them Cannibals, dealing in human sacrifices, and practising abominations scarce credible, were brought by the mere force of good usage and good Laws, to be sociable, discreet and humane: They who were strangers to agriculture, they who went naked, were destitute of houses, lived upon rocks and hills, and knew not what it was to dress their food, dropped all their wildness, formed regular habitations, fell into present industry, cultivated the ground with care, and altogether grew a mighty People, sober, ingenious, orderly, and formed an Empire above two thousand miles in extent, an Empire which continued for eight hundred years happy and flourishing.

'TIS chiefly by education and the exercise of the understanding that some men come to surpass others; for by nature men are alike, all made of the same materials; nor greater difference is there between the Lord and the Slave, than that which proceeds from chance or education. Many men great in title have the spirit of Slaves; many men mean in fortune have greatness of spirit: Many a Cicero has kept sheep, many a Cæsar followed the plough, many a Virgil foddered cattle. Government is public education, and as the national discipline is good or bad, Nations will be well nurtured, or ill. In all civilized Countries, the people are generally harmless and manageable, where they are not misled or oppressed. Oppression is apt to make a wise man mad, nay the wiser he is the more he will feel the oppression, because he will the more readily discern it to be unjust: And when men are misled, they discern not justice from violence.

SECT. II. *The People under good Government apt to be peaceable and grateful: often patient under Oppression: often moderate in opposing Oppressors: inclinable to Justice when not misled.*

THE Roman Commonalty quarrelled not with the Nobility, 'till the Nobility insulted and oppressed them; nay they bore it a good while without complaining, complained long e'er they proceeded to an insurrection, even their insurrections were without blood, and

they grew calm and content upon every appearance of redress; for, their redress was seldom compleat, and what was undertaken seldom made good. In the struggle, particularly about the Agrarian Law, a Law so necessary to the State, so necessary to preserve equality amongst Citizens, without which they could not be long free, they were perpetually injured, disappointed and abused. The Law was eternally violated, they eternally the sufferers. Was it any wonder that a grievance so notorious and heavy, so much affecting the Public and the People, was felt and resented by the People, any wonder that they contended for its removal, or that when it was not removed, they had recourse to violence to procure justice, and were guided by their Tribunes, who sometimes under the name of that Law and a colour of espousing the Populace, pursued very ambitious and dangerous designs.

Who were the aggressors? The Nobility surely, they who had so long deluded the Plebeians, that these could no longer trust them. The Plebeians had indeed shewn much more faith and patience, than the other had honour or justice; and where between parties, treaties are always broken, enmity will be always reviving. Yet it was many years, rather many ages ere that enmity had recourse to the sword or produced hostility and blood. The People preserved a strange steady reverence to the Patricians, whilst these were daily scorning, daily aggrieving the People. In the City, says L I V Y, the violence of the Fathers was daily increasing, and so were the miseries of the People. When they had gained admission to the public Honours, which had been long accounted things sacred, and thence inaccessible to the Populace, who were reckoned unworthy and prophane, they were very tender and slow in exerting that glorious privilege and power, and for many years continued to confer all the great Offices upon the Nobility. So that they seemed to have given back again that right for which they had so long contended before they gained it: *Possessionemque honoris usurpati modo a plebe per paucos annos, recuperasse in perpetuum patres viderentur*: says L I V Y.

THE People are very apt to be deceived, yet as often to their own wrong as to that of others; and when through mistake they have hurt others, they are sorry for it as soon as made sensible of it. Their pity generally follows their severity, and is more lasting than their anger. If their wrath be immoderate, so is their commiseration; and what mischief they do in their fury, they are inclinable to repair when their senses return. When the popular Orators at Athens had before the People falsely represented some of their brave Officers as criminal, the People doomed the innocent men to die, but repented as soon as they were undeceived, and discharged their vengeance upon the Orators.

THE People too are very grateful to their benefactors, and their affections generally lasting whenever they are well apprized that the object is very deserving. The Athenians ever adored the memory of THESEUS and SOLON, ever honoured their descendents. The same respect the Lacedæmonians always paid to the name and posterity of LYCURGUS. That of LUCIUS JUNIUS BRUTUS was affectionately revered by the Romans, so was that of POPLICOLA, of the GRACCHI, and indeed that of all their great Patrons and Heroes. QUEEN ELIZABETH is never mentioned by an Englishman but
I
with

with affection and praise. The name of ORANGE is popular in Holland, though some who bore it pursued very unpopular measures there. Does not this shew that the love of the People is stronger than their disgusts? They rather remember him who first founded their Liberty, than him who attempted to take it away.

IN Countries where the race of their Princes has proved rather bad than good, nay exceeding bad, yet the People are generally bent to honour, generally averse to change that race, but retain a fondness without cause or merit, nay against reason and interest. This is foolish, but it is good natured folly. The Roman People were fond of the Cæsars, the Parthians of the Family of ARSACES, the French of that of CHARLEMAIN, tho most of each line proved contemptible or tyrannical, often both. When any of the blood grew quite intolerable, and for his cruelty or insufficiency was deposed, another of the same blood was placed in his room. The Lineage was still beloved and supported, tho the men were often changed and abhorred.

Se&t. III. The People generally fond of old Names and Habits. The difference between the same People under different Governments: How generous and friendly when free; how vicious and false when enslaved.

THE People are indeed subject to change, but it is chiefly by fits, when they are angry, or seduced. Left to themselves, they usually go on in the old way, or return back to it again. Old Habits and old Names seem to please them most, nor do they readily desert the same till forced or deceived. CAESAR and AUGUSTUS were so sensible of this bent in the People to ancient Customs and Institutions, that when upon enslaving Rome, they had in effect dissolved the force and essence of the Roman Magistracy, they left the Magistrates their old Names and all the appearances of power and dignity. They are likewise inclinable to be quiet and harmless, where no provocation rouses them: but when they are enraged, they are very terrible and very cruel. Yet their outrage is not apt to last. They soon cool, and when their rage subsides, remorse is apt to follow: They will then embrace the man whom just before they sought to murder, and love him the more for having intended him a mischief. *Diversa pari certamine postulantibus*, says TACITUS.

BETWEEN the Roman People under the Commonwealth, and the Roman People under the Dominion of the Emperors, the difference was as great as between different Nations, and they only resembled each other in language and dress. They were indeed as different, or rather as opposite, as men uncorrupted and free are to debauched Slaves. In LIVY you find the People brave, generous, temperate and just, especially for some ages after the rise of the State: TACITUS represents them as false, flattering, spiritless and debauched: Yet neither of these Authors is chargeable with contradiction or falsifying. By Liberty they were inspired with virtue and every good quality: To fashion them for Tyranny, all their virtue was destroyed, all baseness and debauchery encouraged, and they were taught not to consider

consider the Roman State, but only the Roman Emperor. Their zeal and allegiance were to be manifested by obsequious fawning and a torrent of flattery. This was all their lesson and duty, and they learnt it notably. They adored, they extolled every Tyrant, the worst generally most: Whether he committed murder or incest, or folly, drove chariots, or sung songs, he was still divine, still invincible. Their acclamations were to sound not with what was just or true, but with what was deceitful and pleasing. Their praises were no proof or effect of their affection, but of their falsehood and servility: Whether they hated or despised him, they were sure to magnify him, nay ready to use the same stile towards his enemy and destroyer on the very same day: *Quippe illis non judicium aut veritas, sed tradito more quemcunque principem adulandi, licentia acclamationum, et studiis inanibus.* They were loud in behalf of GALBA at noon, vehement in calling for the blood of OTHO: Before night they were as loud in the applauses of OTHO, as vehement in traducing GALBA, who was then murdered, and his carcass the sport of the Rabble.

How unlike this to the spirit and behaviour of the Roman People under the free State, when any great man, and their benefactor was sacrificed? After the murder of the GRACCHI the People failed not to reproach and even to insult the authors of it, tho the greatest men in Rome. They charged SCIPIO NASICA, upon all occasions, in the streets, and to his face, as a Tyrant and Murderer. In-
somuch that to save him from their indignation, the Senate contrived to send him into Asia, under the pretence of an Embassy. Nor durst he ever return into Italy, tho he was chief Pontiff, but wandered abroad under discontent and anguish, and soon died of grief, according to the account given by PLUTARCH. Nor did the celebrated SCIPIO AFRICANUS, a man as great, as popular, and as much admired as any man that ever lived at any time, escape much better, for having shewed his approbation of that murder. This provoked them so, that notwithstanding his extraordinary character and the reverence always paid him, they treated him with despatch publicly, and interrupted his speeches with hissing. To the memory of the GRACCHI, the Roman People amply manifested their fondness and reverence, caused their Statues to be made, erected them in public, consecrated the Places where they were slain, there offered first fruits and oblations, there performed worship and devotion.

Sect. IV. *The People when deceived by names and deluders, how extremely blind and cruel yet mean well.*

THE People are so sincere in their friendship, that they are often fond of their false friends. CAESAR was popular whilst he was undoing the People; so were the Dukes of Guise; so is the Inquisition. That execrable Tribunal, bloody and treacherous as it is, a reproach to Christianity, destructive to men, is revered as the bulwark of Religion, tho it be only so to the pernicious Impostors who are the pests of Religion, enemies to Society and human Happiness. This cruel band of the People's servitude and misery, the People would venture their lives to defend. So profoundly are they bewitched,

witched, so effectually bound and blinded by ungodly Sorcerers, spiritual Fortune-tellers whom they hug and enrich for cheating and enslaving them. When once their faculties are thus darkened or dead, 'tis not surprizing that they fiercely reject all relief and illumination, that following the impulse or nod of their powerful seducers, they are ready to fight in defence of their blindness and chains, ready to sacrifice and butcher all who would enlighten and release them.

CAN there be a greater instance of the power and mischief of delusion, a greater warning to guard against it? Superstition is apt to creep in and gain force, even without the aid of art: But when art, and industry, and interest combine to promote and increase the infirmities of Nature; when all helps, all tricks, all terrors are applied and exerted to mislead, frighten and deceive; nay when power, and penalties, and punishments, might and magistracy, rods and axes, combine in the cause of delusion and deluders; when all inquiry is forbid, all inquirers executed and damned; what can ensue but thick ignorance and barbarity, the triumphs of fraud, the exile of common sense? Can infatuation and hardness of heart go further, than to rejoice in using a man cruelly, in torturing him till he is almost dead, and afterwards recovering him on purpose to burn him alive, for an opinion perhaps very innocent, perhaps very just, by himself esteemed sacred, at worst hurtful only to himself? Yet at such shocking acts of inhumanity there are people, there are women and infants, and whole Nations that can rejoice, though in other instances not ungenerous nor cruel. They can sorrow for the just execution of a thief or a murderer, and exult to see a conscientious man thrown quick into the flames, for daring to be rational, for consulting truth, or endeavouring to make himself acceptable to the Deity.

THE Deities are hungry, the Priests of Mexico were wont to cry in the ears of their Emperor. He took their word, and in submission to such holy warning, butchered thirty thousand of his Subjects in one year, to humour the Priests and to feed the Idols. What else is the language of all men who prompt any Prince to shed blood and plague his Subjects in defence of Bigotry falsely called Religion? For, religion itself disclaims hurting any man for any opinion. *The Deity is angry*, is the stile of all persecutors; and by the force of that cry, more blood has been shed in Christendom than ever was in Mexico, or by all the human sacrifices since the Creation. What else is persecution, but human sacrifice? What but destroying men to please the God-head? MONTAGNE says with reason, "That the Savages do not so much offend him, in roasting and eating the bodies of their dead, as do they who torment and persecute the living."

SECT. V. *The power of delusion further illustrated. The dreadful wickedness and impieties committed under the name of Religion. Religious cheats surpass all others.*

WHEN the Reformation was gaining ground in Sweden, by the secret countenance of that extraordinary Prince, GUSTAVUS ERICSON, the People enraged by the Clergy, made an insurrection, and advanced towards Stockholm, with fury and menaces. The King sent to the multitude, consisting chiefly of Boors (for the

more stupid the men, the stronger the zeal) to know their demands. In answer they insisted, "to have all the Heretics burnt, and the bells restored again." For it seems some of these sacred utensils had been dislodged. Here is an instance of a People's furiously opposing the greatest good that could befall them, the light of the Gospel, and redemption from their thralldom to Popery, nay venturing a rebellion and their lives to defeat that good, and to procure the destruction of their friends and neighbours for being wiser than themselves: Nor is it the only instance. The like happened in many other Countries upon that same occasion. To shew however that the People are capable of being mended and undeceived, when the Government is wise and just enough to rescue them from their deceivers; King GUSTAVUS having abolished Popery, and proved himself an able and upright Prince, lived to see his Person and Government so well beloved, and the People so changed, that the same Nation who once took up arms against him, would have ventured their lives for him.

THE People generally mean good, when they commit evil. The Swedes thought that there was no Salvation out of the Church of Rome; so their Priests told them, nor would they or dared they disbelieve their Priests: And who would not be tenacious of the means of Salvation? They had the same false assurance, upon the same holy authority, that Heretics were enemies to God. So that in fighting against Heretics, they only fought God's battles; in burning of Heretics, they did but execute God's vengeance upon God's enemies.

WHO is it that would not obey, when he is convinced that the Almighty commands? Hence the power of Impostors who speak, and govern, and cheat the People in his name; and hence the frenzy and wickedness of the People when under the influence of such Impostors. Who will be deterred by the dread of the block, or checked by the ignominy of the gallows, when he considers the gallows or the block as the means of martyrdom, and the way to glory. Have there not been men who by the merit even of murder, the murder of Kings, sought to gain a place in Paradise, and immortality amongst men? Was not JACQUES CLEMENT, who assassinated HENRY the third of France, deemed a Martyr? And when his impious fraternity the Monks, had roused the bloody Bigot, to perpetrate the detestable deed, was he not said to have been inspired by God? 'Tis plain that the wretch was persuaded that he had a call from Heaven. JEAN DE CHASTEL, a youth who attempted to murder HENRY the great, shew'd not the least sign of remorse at his execution; so strongly was the Enthusiast possessed that the murder of an Heretic and one excommunicated by the Pope, was a service acceptable to God. RAVILLAC afterwards accomplished the murder of that incomparable Prince, many years after he had ceased to be a Protestant, and been formally reconciled to the Church of Rome. The ghostly deceivers persuaded the gloomy Villain, that the King was a Heretic in his heart, for that he did not persecute and kill the Protestants.

THOMAS A BECKET, a mischievous assuming Priest, as this Island ever saw, turbulent, rebellious, forsworn, was entitled a Saint and Martyr, a fellow that really deserved a halter, was complemented with a crown of glory, and for many centuries had more worship paid him than Jesus Christ. He was indeed a greater advocate for power ecclesiastical. So enchanted were the People by the cant and

charms

charms of Impostors, so utterly bereft of understanding, as to adore their deceivers, their enemies, and oppressors! Can these People be said to have been rational, they who were for exalting such as had a manifest interest to keep them blind and humble, an interest to get all their property and to leave them none of their senses?

It is enough to mortify and grieve any candid spirit, who wishes well to humanity, to see human nature so pitifully debased, human understanding suspended, lost or turned into a snare; taught to be angry at common sense, and to submit to the nonsense of sounds; to learn folly as an improvement; to bear slavery as duty and happiness; to bestow their wealth upon those who inveighed against wealth, yet were ever and insatiably pursuing more; to encourage them with great revenues to perform functions which they performed not, but left to others whom they hired for poor wages; to persecute truth, and fall prostrate before falsehood; to worship names and garments, common earth, common food, and common men, with many more absurdities alike disgraceful to reason, alike pernicious to society. Such is the sovereign force of delusion, and such was the character of the English Nation, such that of the English Clergy, in the days of the great English Saint, THOMAS A BECKET, and till the Reformation, when the use of reason and conscience was restored.

Sect. VI. The People not turbulent unless seduced or oppressed: slow to resist Oppressors: sometimes mild even in their just vengeance: brave in defence of their Liberties.

THIS owing to the arts and industry of seducers, that the People are sometimes uneasy and discontent under a good Government; for under such a Government they are naturally inclined to be quiet and submissive, and it must be very ill usage that will tempt them to throw it off, when they are not first notoriously misled. There were insurrections against GUSTAVUS ERICSON, so there were against Queen ELIZABETH, all animated by the same spirit, superstition managed and enflamed by Priests. But when a just Administration is once settled, and become familiar to the People, and where no violent innovations are attempted, they will not be apt to disturb it, nor to wish ill to it. They are in truth very slow to resist, and often bear a thousand hardships before they return one. The Romans long suffered the encroachments, insults and Tyranny of the last TARQUIN, before they drove him out, nor would they have done it so soon but for the rape and tragical fate of LUCRETIA. The Dutch endured the Tyranny of Spain, till that Tyranny grew intolerable. When King PHILIP had wantonly violated his solemn oath, destroyed their ancient Liberties and Laws, shed their blood, acted like an implacable enemy, and used them like dogs, it was high time to convince him that they were men, and would continue free men in spite of his wicked attempts to enslave them. They did so to some purpose, to their own immortal glory, and establishment in perfect independency, to his infinite loss and lasting dishonour.

THE People of Swisserland groaned long under the heavy yoke of Austria, sustained a course of sufferings and indignities too many and too great for human patience: so insolent and barbarous were their Governors; so tame and submissive the governed. At last they roused themselves, or rather their oppressive Governors roused them, so as not to be quelled. Yet they carried their vengeance no further than was barely necessary for their future security. They spilt little or none of the blood of their Tyrants and Taskmasters, the Rulers from Austria, who had so freely spilled theirs. They only conducted these lawless spoilers to the borders of the Country, and there dismissed them in safety, under an oath never more to return into their Territories. What could be more slow to resist, what more meek in their resistance than that brave and abused People? They were indeed so brave and had been so abused, as to resolve never more to submit to the Imperial Power. Thenceforth they asserted their native freedom, and asserted it with amazing valour. With handfuls of men they overthrew mighty hosts, and could never be conquered by all the neighbouring Powers. Their exploits against the Imperial Armies, against those of LEWIS the eleventh, then Dauphin, against CHARLES the bold, Duke of Burgundy, are scarce credible. Three hundred and fifty Swiss routed at one time eight thousand Austrians, some say sixteen thousand. An hundred and thirteen vanquished the Arch-Duke LEOPOLD's Army of twenty thousand, and killed a great number; an hundred and sixteen beat another Army of near twenty thousand, and slew him.

IT was no small provocation, no casual mistakes, or random fallies of passion in their Rulers, that drove the Dutch and the Swiss to expell theirs. No; the oppression, the acts of violence were general, constant, deliberate and increasing. For such is the nature of men, especially of men in power; that they will rather commit two errors than retract one; as Lord Clarendon justly observes. Sometimes they will commit a second, to shew that they are not ashamed of the first, but resolved to defy resentment, to declare their contempt of the People, and how much they are above fear and amendment. Some of them have delighted to heighten cruelty by mirth and derision, like him in Swisserland, who having long insulted and abused the poor People, and still thinking their servitude imperfect, set up his Cap in the market-place, and obliged all that passed by to pay it reverence; nay to punish one for failing in duty to that Cap, he caused him to place an Apple upon his son's head, and at such a distance cleave it with an Arrow. Was there not cause, was it not high time to exterminate such instruments of cruelty?

DISCOURSE X.

The same Subject continued.

Sect. I. *The infatuation of Men in power: they are much apter to oppress, than the People to rebel. People oppressed rejoice in public misfortunes. In disputes between Magistrates and People, the former generally to blame.*

IT is a miserable infatuation of men in power, to push that power and the People's patience as far as either will go, and leave no room for a retreat. Those of this spirit finding the People tame and patient to a certain degree, conclude that they will or must be so to every and the utmost degree, and so never think of taking off their heavy hands, till the People grown desperate throw off them and their power, and having found no mercy, may be tempted to shew none. Promises of amendment will then be too late. They will not trust to the faith and good usage of one, who had dealt faithlessly and barbarously with them, even before they had exasperated him by opposition. His remorse and promises however sincere, will be thought false and ensnaring; and even of his good actions unkind constructions will be made. *Inviso semel principe, seu bene seu male facta premunt.*

UNDER an evil Administration, or one suspected and hated (a misfortune that seldom comes without cause) People will rejoice in the public distress, suffer themselves to be invaded, submit to be vanquished, bear national dishonour and private loss, rather than assist their Governor to prevent it. Thus the Romans behaved under the Decemvirate. That People of all others the most brave, of all others the most signal for public spirit, refused to fight, and bore a defeat; because rather than not be revenged upon that usurped Magistracy, they chose that the public enemy should execute that revenge, and to obtain it, ventured the worst that could befall themselves and their Country. Under TIBERIUS, People received with joy any news of revolts and invasions. In the Year 1639, the English Nation was pleased that the Scots had seized the four northern Counties; and in the Reign of CHARLES the second his Subjects hated the French because the King loved them, as a Droll pleasantly told him, when he was wondering what might be the reason.

THE People are sometimes long patient under unjust usage, where it is not altogether violent and severe. The Romans under the usurpation of the Decemvirate, continued peaceable whilst the exercise of that power was tolerable; nay they suffered many efforts of Tyranny, oppressive enormities, murder, arbitrary imprisonment, lawless decrees, and lust passing for Law, before they had recourse to resistance and self defence. At last they roused themselves, driven to outrage by outrageous oppression. This their proud Oppressors might have foreseen, had not power and pride made them altogether blind. APPIUS CLAUDIUS, the chief of them, had hardened his spirit against all reason and tenderness: So strangely was he intoxicated with the possession

of his enormous power, says L I V Y. Yet with all their provocation, they hurt no man's person. They at first threatened high, and sufficient cause they had: But by a few reasonable words they were soon softened, upon assurance of seeing the usurpation abolished. These Usurpers were like most others: They had their authority from the Law, would keep it against Law, and stretch it beyond Law. I could mention a Commonwealth, in which the People have seen themselves for many years, daily divested of their rights, and instead of chusing their Magistrates themselves, according to the very fundamentals of their Constitution, see their Magistrates chuse one another, their Government changed, and an Aristocracy grown out of a popular Government. This public abuse, corruption and breach of Trust, the People see, complain of it indeed, but bear it. Their patience too may have a period: I wish that they may never be prompted to seek a violent remedy, such as may shake or overturn their State.

G O V E R N O R S are apt to censure the People as restless and unruly, the People their Magistrates as unjust and oppressive. It is generally very easy to decide who are most to be censured. There are many Countries where arbitrary oppressions are felt every day, yet not one insurrection or rebellion known in an age. Power is an incroaching thing, and seldom fails to take more than is given. Men in limited authority are apt to covet more, and when they have gained more, to take all. The People, who aim chiefly at protection and security, are content to keep what they have, nor seek to interfere in matters of Power, till Power has attempted to rob them of liberty and right: When these are seized by those who are bound to defend them, are the People to blame for expressing resentment, and seeking redress? It is but the natural Law of self-preservation, a Law that prevails even amongst Brutes; and is the effect of Reason as well as of Passion. In the first sallies of their wrath, they sometimes discharge it violently and shed blood, and when justice is denied, seek redress from force: but their wrath lasts not, and when they once have recovered their usurped rights, they even spare the Usurpers.

Sect. II. The gentleness of the People in their pursuit of Justice against oppressive Magistrates. How readily Men who have oppressed Law, seek the protection of the Laws. The People not revengeful: they shew mercy where they had found none.

R E M A R K A B L E was the modesty and innocence of the Roman People after all the violent oppressions of the Decemviri. Even they from the Camp marched peaceably through the City under their arms, and when they might have fallen upon their domestic enemies, the ten insolent Tyrants, and destroy'd them at once, they preserved their temper and civil behaviour, hurt no man's person, no man's house or fortune. They only desired to be reinstated in their ancient Liberties, and left those who had usurped their Liberties to the chastisement of the Law, an indulgence which they who had destroyed Law could not reasonably have claimed. 'Tis indeed remarkable, that A P P I U S C L A U D I U S, the Ringleader of these Usurpers, and the

the most obnoxious to popular vengeance, he who had abolished all appeals to the People, appealed to them himself when he saw himself reduced to the condition of a Subject, saw himself impleaded for his enormities and lawless rule. Could there be a more mortifying declaration of a man's own guilt? He who had destroyed all the privileges of the People, had the confidence to implore the People's protection. As a free Roman Citizen he claimed and prayed an exemption from bonds, after he had imperiously bereft the free citizens of Rome of that just immunity.

THE Story is beautifully recounted in the third book of LIVY. APPIUS has had his fellows in other countries, men who would not submit to the decision of Law when they thought themselves above Law; and afterwards, upon the abatement of their pride, were glad to seek its protection; men who promoted arbitrary imprisonments without allowing legal relief from the Tribunals of Justice, then claimed that relief when they came to be imprisoned. Such men are for equal Justice, not when other People want it, but when they want it themselves. Surely if any man ought to be denied the benefit of Justice, it is he who will do none. A consideration which was urged against APPIUS; *Unum Appium Claudium et legum expertem, et civilis et humani fœderis esse.*

I BELIEVE that upon research, it will be generally found, that the People have used their Rulers with much more tenderness than their Rulers have used them; that merciless Usurpers have found mercy, and barbarous Tyrants, when deposed, have not been treated barbarously. That mighty man of blood SYLLA, he who had wantonly massacred thousands, usurped the Government of Rome, filled its streets with carcases, as well as all Italy with murder and lamentation, a monster of cruelty, an enemy to his country and all men, lived in safety after he had resigned his power, lived in the midst of Rome, a City which he had usurped, oppressed, and caused so often to bleed and mourn: He who by so many violent deaths had made his Country thin, died in peace. So gentle and forgiving were the Romans, that tho he walked daily and publicly amongst them without any precaution, they made no attempt upon his life, however hateful and guilty. Doubtless the Athenians might have slain their Tyrant PISISTRATUS, during so many years as he lived privately in exile after they had expelled him, if their vengeance had prompted them: They suffered him to live in quiet, let him live to enslave them again. Towards DIONYSIUS the younger, the Syracusians manifested themselves equally mild and unrevengeful. When they were released from that filthy Tyrant, saw him a necessitous vagabond, reduced to teach boys, they offered not to disturb him, so far were they from seeking his life, but left him an opportunity of enslaving them once more. Nay to an Aunt of his, sister to the Tyrant his Father, they always paid the respect due to a lawful Princess, even after the abolition of Tyranny, supported her in princely sort, and buried her magnificently.

THE Romans however they regretted the usurpation of CAESAR, regretted his death more. He had done them the highest evil that Man could do, and they grieved for his loss. The People of Isfahan, upon the late Revolution in Persia, shewed more grief for the misfortunes of their Emperor SCHAH HUSSEIN than for their own,
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tho theirs were as great as could befall human nature ; and though from his evil Administration all their numberless calamities flowed, first all their long pillage and oppression, next war, invaders, and desolation, then famine and a siege, lastly their subjection to the will and sword of a foreign enemy, fierce, jealous and sanguinary. Yet their chief concern was for their old Emperor, the author and inviter of all their fore afflictions, when they saw him about to resign a crown which he was never worthy to wear.

Sect. III. *The People not hard to be governed, nor unconstant, nor ungrateful, at least not so often as they are accused.*

I AM inclinable to think it so far from being true, that the People are hard to be governed, that I am afraid the very contrary will prove true, namely that they are too easily to be oppressed: Neither is this to their praise. Is it not sufficient for the character of any Nation, sufficient for their duty and glory, to submit quietly to just and humane, to equal and certain Laws, to which their Governors themselves submit? Surely, yes. Is it not infamy rather than loyalty, for People to yield tamely to the wanton will of Usurpers and Traitors, whose duty 'tis to protect them, whose practice it is to rob them, who will submit to no Law, who execute cruelty instead of Justice, oppress men against Law, or act lawlessly under the name of Law? What else can it be? Here therefore is the difference between Freemen, who obey righteous Laws, and Slaves, who must obey the worst and any.

I KNOW not in the world very many Governments that do not make a shift, and some of them use not very good shifts, to supply themselves with as much power as they well want, and as much revenue as the People can spare. Nor do the People usually refuse or envy them a competent portion of either, nor even some excesses and extravagance in both. But when nothing will suffice less than a power to destroy as well as to protect, nothing less than beggaring the Subjects instead of taxing them; when the Laws are annulled or despised, and their birthright seized; are they unconstant and ungovernable, because they feel wrong and seek right? Who can be easy under distress, or thankful for barbarous usage? When men are made great in order to do great good, those who made them so and for whose sake they are so, will murmur, if they are disappointed, especially when instead of great good they are repaid with great evil.

SUCH as become enemies to their benefactors cannot wonder if they find that their benefactors resent ingratitude so glaring, and so faithless a return. Violence, especially violence from men who owe us good usage, will sooner or later be returned with violence, and ought to be. Not meer power, but protection is entitled to duty and gratitude, and whoever sets up for governing without protecting, must not be surprized to meet with detestation instead of affection, contempt instead of honour, opposition instead of submission. Good Government makes a good People; nor will the good complain of the good. Where the People are bad, 'twill be presumed that their Rulers have made them so: And then who has most reason to complain?

plain? Perhaps the People are accounted bad for adhering stubbornly to their Liberty and Laws: To rail at them for this, is to make them a high complement, and a severe contumely upon their Governors; namely, that they would be Oppressors, but their People are too virtuous and brave to let them.

THE State of GENOA had recourse to the French King for protection against her enemies. "No; said the King, the Devil may have that People for me; they are only fit for such a Governor." A speech which has been repeated as a Satyr upon them ever since, yet was really a very great Praise, whatever he intended. He had once before undertaken their Protection, and sent them troops, who indeed relieved them from the former enemy, but proved a worse. To repay themselves for saving the Republic, they wanted to destroy it, to enslave it, because they had delivered it from slavery. For such heinous Treachery and Tyranny the People drove them out, and provoked that Prince by preserving themselves. For this he gave them to the Devil, as a proper instrument to revenge his quarrel. What would he have had of them? to have been thankful for changing their condition without making it better? to have grown presently easy, because they had changed their Oppressors, but were still oppressed? to have kissed the Iron rod, only for that it was new, tho as heavy as the old, and been humbly satisfied with whips and racks, chains and rapine, beggary and death? Could they take cruelty to be mercy, could they reverence the blackest treachery, and submit tamely to servitude from those whom they employed and paid to abolish it? Did they belong to the Devil for refusing to sacrifice their Freedom and Property, their Families, Lives and every human happiness to the lusts and spoil of enemies, or to such as were worse than enemies, faithless friends?

Se&t. IV. The People falsely charged with Fickleness and Ingratitude and Rebellion in resisting Oppressors and Tyrants. All Tyrants, all who assume lawless rule, are Rebels, and the greatest.

JUST such cause of anger had King JAMES to the People of England, &c. of whom he was wont to make the same complaint, that they were a fickle, giddy and rebellious People: A slander that turned wholly upon himself, who had alienated their affections by using them like slaves, by governing them without and against Law, and, for a limited English Monarchy, setting up a boundless Tyranny. It was not enough to be trusted with the power of protecting them, the noblest Trust that mortal man can possess: No; he must have a power also to destroy them, which none but a Destroyer can want. Three great free Nations could not, would not bear to be tyrannized by one trusted and sworn to protect them. If a man whom I take for a guard become an assassin, and turn upon me the arms which I gave him to defend me, am I blameable for discharging him? Will any but assassins blame me? If King JAMES was not satisfied with the conditions of the Monarchy, he might have declined accepting it: No man would have taken him by force and made him a King. In receiving it he received a Trust for the benefit of the People, at-

tended with all reasonable advantages, with all possible glory to himself. This Trust he ingloriously perverted, and applied it treacherously to their subversion. When he ought to have made the Law his rule, according to his duty and his oath, he made his Will his Law, or rather the will of his bigoted Queen and of his hot-headed Priests. Against the Constitution he set up the sword, his outlawed Priests against the established Church, Romish Superstition against the Protestant Religion, and an Army of Papists against a Protestant People. This was such absolute Treason against the Public, that the People must have been fickle and wicked indeed, had they given up the ancient Laws, their Property, Lives and just Rights into the jaws of this violent, this enormous and upstart Power, calculated always to destroy, never to save.

WERE the People fickle for adhering to their old Constitution? were they changeable in not submitting to a change, an avowed and violent change of their ancient Government? Were they ungovernable, because they rejected misgovernment? ungrateful for defending their Lives and Estates against the Usurpation of those who owed them all gratitude? Were they Rebels in maintaining the Law against such as were open Rebels to Law, and insolently professed to be above Law, though vested with power to protect Law, the only just end of power? People that will not be oppressed, will always be reckoned ungovernable by men who are, or who would be Oppressors, and enemies to Oppression will be stiled enemies of Government. It will be seditious to blame the excesses of Power, insolent to mention the insolence of those who abuse Power; it will be the sign of a turbulent spirit, to distinguish between public right and wrong, between Government and Tyranny, nor will it be enough to own all good Government to be irresistible, but the worst and the abuse of the best must be likewise irresistible: To complain of Tyranny, will be Faction; to throw it off, Rebellion. They who oppress are the first and greatest Rebels; and for the oppressed to turn upon them, is but to resist Rebellion, is but to do a just and a natural action. Whoever violates the Laws of reason, equity and nature, whoever violates the Laws of his Country, whatever station or name he bear, is a Rebel, subject to the Laws against Violence and Rebellion. Tyrants, therefore, and lawless Oppressors are the highest and most consummate Rebels in the world, capital Traitors to God and Man, and punishable by all the Laws of God and of Reason.

Sect. V. *People who are slaves love not their Prince so affectionately, nor can defend him so bravely, as those who are free.*

WEAK and poor is that loyalty which results only from force and fear, nor can it last longer than does the slavish passion which creates it, but goes with it, as it comes with it. Whenever the dread is gone so is the loyalty, or follows him who causes superior dread. From a People that are slaves, no Prince can expect steady duty and adherence. Let who will master them, they can be but slaves, and therefore have small reason to oppose one who cannot well make their condition worse, or to abide by him who has made it so bad, and would not make it better. Nor have they spirit to defend him, though they were willing. They are in the field what they are at home, pusillanimous, abject, cowardly. Hence most of
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the great Monarchies have been overturned, at least always beaten, almost as soon as attacked, especially when by Freemen the attack was made. Thus DARIUS fell before the Greeks, who in all encounters, and with few men against multitudes, had been long accustomed to vanquish the Great King, and at last seized his many Kingdoms, as long before they would have done, but for their own domestic jealousies and strife. Thus too ANTIOCHUS fell before the Romans, and thus TRIGRANES. LUCULLUS said well, that "the Lion never counts the number of the Sheep," when he, who led but fourteen thousand men, little more than two Legions, was told what myriads he had to encounter. It was indeed an encounter between Lions and Sheep, nor found his men so much occasion for fighting as for laughing, to see such a vast host frightened and flying before a handful of men. From the little free State of the Samnites, the Romans found more danger and opposition than from all the absolute Princes in the world. Such is the mighty difference between the spirit of Freemen and of Slaves, between men who live and fight for themselves, and men who breathe and act at the meer mercy of another.

IN the East the servitude of the People is as blind and compleat, as Tyranny, and Art, and Superstition can make it. Does this Slavery in the People, Slavery the most stupid and abject, secure the Prince and fortify his Throne? So far otherwise, that the Eastern Kings, they who are such absolute Masters of the lives and fortunes of their Subjects, are thence the more unsafe, and thence their Thrones the more unstable and wavering. The higher he is, the more violent and probable is his fall. The People indeed profess to adore him: Yes, because they are forced; or whether they do it through fear or superstition, their adoration is not accompanied with personal love; and the nearer he approaches to a God, the less affection he has from men. Where the distance is so vast, there can be no intercourse of mutual kindness, nor can aught which causes only awe and terror, ever cause love and tenderness. He who would gain his People's hearts, must not set himself too high, nor them too low. Between persons who would continue cordial friends some equality must be preserved, whether they be private men, or Kings and People.

Sect. VI. *The weak and precarious condition of the greatest Prince, who is not beloved by his People. No Tyrant can be, and why.*

PEOPLE who possess no certain property, nor establishment in their Country, are under no tie to their Country, nor holden by any obligation to their Prince. So that, as LA LOUBIERE observes in his historical relation of Siam, since they must bear the same yoke under any Prince whatsoever, and since 'tis impossible to bear a heavier, they never concern themselves about the fortune of their Prince. He says, experience shews that upon the least trouble or attempt, they let the Crown go quietly to him, whoever he be, that has most force or most policy. A Siamese will readily die to discharge private hate, to be released from a wretched life, or to escape a cruel Death: but to die for their Prince and Country, is a virtue unknown there. They want the motives which animate free men: they have no liberty,

no certain property, consequently no attachment to their native soil. Infomuch that those of them who are taken captives by the King of Pegu, will reside peaceably in that Country, at a small distance from their own frontiers. They soon forget their native abodes, where they knew nought but servitude, and bear the present because no worse than the past. The Natives of Pegu too, when carried into Siam, shew the same indifference to return home, and for the same reason. The Kings of the East, says he, are regarded as the adoptive Sons of Heaven, their souls believed to be celestial, in virtue as much transcending other souls, as their royal lot appears happier than that of the rest of men. Yet if once their Subjects revolt, the People begin presently to doubt which of the two souls is most valuable, that of the lawful Prince, or that of the rebellious Subject, and whether the heavenly adoption be not passed from the King to the Subject. Their Histories are full of such examples. He likewise quotes Father MARTINIUS, who says that the Chinese are often persuaded, that in changing their Sovereign they follow the will of Heaven, and have sometimes preferred a common Robber to the reigning Prince.

BUT besides, says he, that such despotic authority is almost destitute of defence, the exercise of it centering altogether in the Prince, is weak for want of spreading and communication. Whoever would dispossess the Prince, has little more to do than to take upon him the spirit and person of a Prince; because all the authority being confined to one, and exerted but by one, is presently transferred, for want of many employed and interested to preserve it; and there is none but the Prince concerned or able to defend the Prince. He adds, that it appears, that in the ancient rebellions in China, whoever seized the royal Seal, presently rendered himself master of all; for the People always obeyed orders wherever the Seal appeared, without inquiring in whose hands it was. Such too is the jealousy and care with which the King of Siam keeps his, which he trusts with no man, as to make it credible, that the obedience of the People there also follows the Seal. So that the chief danger of these Princes arises from things whence they hope their chief security, whether it be from a great Army, or a Seal: Whoever gains these, is presently King. The same is true of a great Treasure, the last resource in arbitrary Governments. The People there are under a continual state of ruin and poverty, and being constantly drained cannot furnish any sudden supply upon sudden exigency. The Prince therefore must trust to what he has, and that likewise being liable to be seized, may be turned against him, may serve to exalt the Usurper. Upon this LA LOUBIERE remarks justly, that besides the exhausting and spoiling of the People, by drawing from them great sums to fill his treasure, it frequently helps forward the ruin of him who has gathered it, and as it was collected to preserve him, it is employed and dissipated to undo him. This is the substance of what that Author says in the latter part of the fourteenth Chapter, Part the third.

So much does a Prince gain by boundless power, by enslaving his People, and having an interest and purse different from theirs. They have no ability to support him, nor any reason: They have no money to give him, because he has taken all, or too much; they have nothing of their own to defend, and why should they defend him, since by losing him, they lose nothing?

DISCOURSE XI. Of Nobility.

Sect. I. The political cause of Nobility. They are readily respected by the People: apt to oppress. Nobility without Virtue, what. The Spirit of Nobility, what it ought to be.

AFTER so much said about the People, it may not be improper to add something concerning the Nobility. As by the People I mean not the idle and indigent rabble, under which name the People are often understood and traduced, but all who have property, without the privileges of Nobility; so by the latter I mean such as are possessed of privileges denied to the People.

IN a State no man ought to rise above the rest, without giving the rest some equivalent for such superiority; and for all public distinction there ought to be some public merit. As it is wise in a Prince or a State to employ men of virtue and capacity, it is but just to reward them. This was the natural rise of the Roman Senators, chosen for their ability and experience to direct the State, and dignified with the title of *Conscript Fathers*, as were their descendents by that of *Patricians*. Their duty arose from their dignity, and their dignity recompensed their duty. Thus they merited their preheminance and popular estimation; nor did the People ever fail in reverence to them, till they failed in their respect to the People, and hardly then. So natural it is for power to encroach, and so much apter are men in authority to depart from moderation, than the People from subjection. As property begets power, so does power property: The Senators, they who swayed the State, engrossed the riches of the State. The People were poor, and kept poor by the Nobility, who oppressed them by excessive usury, and when they could not satisfy the debt, seized their persons and kept them in bonds. The violence was too great, the usage too ignominious to be always borne by a free and bold People, who therefore in their own defence forced the Nobility to allow them Magistrates and Protectors of their own. Thus began the popular Tribunes, Officers who frequently mortified the Nobility, taught the People to aspire in their turn, and to assert a right to all the highest Honours. This was the effect and punishment of Patrician Pride. The People were content to be governed, but when their Governors insulted and oppressed them, they assumed a share in governing themselves.

THE People are the materials of Government, their protection its end, nor can it have any other; and that Government is a Monster where the People have no share, such a Monster as nature produces not, a Head unconcerned for the Body and Members, and, instead of nourishing, devouring them. In Society no man should be higher than others, but for the good of others; when that good is not obtained, when he considers himself only for himself, and pursues his own advantage to the hurt of others; his elevation is preposterous

'tis against justice and nature, and better he descend than all men sink. Nature produces no Nobility, nor do the greatest when they come into the world, surpass the meanest in features, complexion or strength. The difference is created by civil establishment, which confers Nobility for political ends, but cannot convey a great soul with a great name, any more than stature or strength. It would be well, if, when the best men are thus raised, their descendents would continue to resemble them. When they do not, their degeneracy is a scandal to themselves as well as injurious to the Public, and thence the more scandalous. For being elated none of them have any cause, since it is incumbent upon them to surpass others in Virtue as well as in Title.

NOBILITY without Virtue is but exalted infamy, and the severest thing you can say of a great man, is to call him mean, and mean he is if he do mean things, let his name be ever so sounding; nay he is mean when his behaviour is not great. The absence of good qualities is abundant reproach, but where he has many evil and none good, he becomes a disgrace to his Country, ought to be the scorn of his order, and consigned to the rabble, as he is already one of them in masquerade. His spirit ought to be noble like his name, full of private benevolence, full of public zeal, abhorring corruption, despising little personal advantages, doing justice to every man, seeking the good of all men; his example illustrious as his title, above falsehood, above lucre. 'Tis thus he deserves superiority and praise, and were he not noble, has a claim to be so. He honours a great station more than a great station can him. Greatness of soul is above the gift of man; a Crown cannot convey it, but only distinguish it, and does honour to it self by honour so bestowed. Little to be valued is that reverence which is paid only to title and rank; nor will a wise man much regard that respect which would be paid to his footman, were his footman in the same station. True esteem is always personal. What men pay to fortune and accidents, is only flattery or fashion, and in it the heart has no share.

Sect. II. *The Duty of a Nobleman to his Country. In Virtue and public Spirit he ought to surpass others.*

A MAN of great title with a little and evil mind, is worse and more despicable than the lowest of the vulgar, who are often bad through mere necessity and ignorance, as well as through a vicious education. Even poverty cannot excuse the base actions of a man of rank. He who has a worthy mind, will not act poorly even in poverty; he will consider his Duty and Honour preferably to his wants, and bear calamity rather than reproach. All Noblemen should be the ornaments of Society, else Society cannot esteem them nor ought; for their integrity is of great concernment to the Public. According to the measure of their Virtue or Corruption, the State often thrives or decays, especially where they have a large share in making the Laws and in directing the Administration. It is but common honesty to be just to their Country, to consult and promote its interest; 'tis no more than the duty which all men owe it; and upon public men, men of eminence and title, this duty is
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DISCOURSES UPON TACITUS. III

more particularly incumbent: They are of most consideration, they are better qualified ('tis to their irreparable shame if they are not) and they are already possessed of their reward, by being what they are.

WHOEVER is indifferent about the interest of his Country, let his condition be ever so low, is unworthy to live in it, and it ought to drive him out; for he who is not its friend, is its enemy. Tho he may have no fortune, he has still something valuable to engage him; he has a life to lose or to be protected, and by being protected by the Public, he is bound, nay he is paid to wish it well and to defend it. Besides this, common humanity, the interest, and distress, and preservation of his acquaintance and neighbours, or relations, are powerful calls upon him to love and promote the good of the whole. He who has no public Virtue can hardly be thought to have any other; since out of a complication of private virtues public Virtue arises, out of tenderness and mercy, out of generosity and goodness of spirit, out of friendship and justice, out of love for Liberty, and Right, and Peace, as likewise from an aversion to Intrusion and Violence, to Usurpation and Servitude.

A PASSION for the public Weal is the noblest passion that can possess the heart of man, and he who has it not can have little else that is good or laudable there. A benevolent heart interests it self even in the concerns of remote Nations, and in Revolutions which befell many ages ago. Who can read of free Nations falling into bondage, of Virtue depressed, of Villany exalted, without sympathy and commiseration? Who, even at this distance, or a thousand ages hence, can behold the divine BRUTUS perishing in defence of the most righteous cause upon earth, behold the debauched ANTHONY, the faithless OCTAVIUS, triumphing in the worst, without being touched with indignation, touched with sorrow? Or see, without emotion and heaviness, these and the succeeding Tyrants mowing down with settled fury whatever was good and glorious amongst men?

IF public Spirit be the duty of all men, the duty not only of the middle, but the lowest order, how much public Spirit is to be expected from the Nobility, from them upon whom their Country has poured its highest favours, upon whom it should rely for the last zeal and services? What can be so just, what so dear, what so noble and comprehensive, what so much a duty, as to love and maintain what gave us not only birth but fortune, honours and distinction? It is but gratitude to a generous benefactor: and if we are ungrateful, so sovereignly ungrateful, what good quality have we? Against Ingrates the ancient Persians had an express Law, very penal and rigorous. They considered ingratitude as the source of all enmities amongst men, and an indication of the vilest spirit, nor believed it possible for an ungrateful man to love the Gods or Men, or his Friends, Parents, or Country. Surely he that loves not the last, can love none of the rest, and ingratitude to one's Country implies universal ingratitude.

Sect. III. *A Nobleman void of good Qualities, or possess'd with bad, a miserable Character. The Baseness and Corruption of the Roman Nobility, its fatal consequence.*

A NOBLEMAN and not a Patriot, is a wild contradiction, at best a pitiful and depraved character. What is he? Surely not worthy to bear any trust for his Country, or to shine in her honours, if he make no conscience of his trust, if he betray it, or be indifferent about it, or want public faith and zeal, uncorruptible faith and affectionate zeal. As public Honours should be given for public Spirit, public Spirit should ever accompany public Honours: nor without that has any man a right to these, either to obtain them or to keep them. By such an essential defect and disqualification he degrades himself, and forfeits what he has no capacity to enjoy. He is afterwards to be considered as an Intruder, a Mimic who indeed acts a part, but sustains no real Dignity. Nor can the ornaments and prerogatives of his Order serve for aught but to expose him to constant ridicule and despight; like many of the Nobility in the time of SALLUST, who says of them, "That they were like so many Statues, and besides their pompous name had nothing to recommend them."

THE stupidity of the Roman Nobility was far from being their worst quality. They were corrupted, debauched, oppressive, insolent, venal; mercenary men who betrayed the Public, who debased themselves to make vile traffick of their voices and power in the State, sold Justice, sold Countries, gave judgment against the Innocent for money, or neglected to do it when the Innocent had none: For money they protected public Enemies, for money authorized domestic Oppressors. Whoever would see a true picture of them, need only read the story of the War against JUGURTHA finely told by SALLUST. By their Corruption they hastened the downfall of Liberty, of which in truth corrupt men are never worthy. What they afterwards suffered in the civil War, from the rage of Usurpers, was a just punishment upon them for such shameful degeneracy and corruption. Thenceforth they served for continual sacrifices to succeeding Tyrants. They might thank themselves: Had they been just and uncorruptible, they might have saved themselves and the State. By their Corruption and Venality, by their Pride and Oppression, they had lost their power.

WHENEVER Government becomes corrupt and oppressive, it grows from that moment hated and weak. Hence ambitious men find temptation and opportunity to overturn it. They will find enough to say against it, and enow to hear them; what they say will be greedily swallowed. The lot that is disliked, is generally believed the worst that can happen, another is desired, and a remedy hoped from a change, which seldom brings one. Whenever the present Governors are hated, their Competitors are sure of being admired, though perhaps much worse. But the evil which is immediately felt is thought heaviest, and to get rid of it, a heavier is often incurred. Besides men will venture a mischief to themselves, if by it they can afflict their enemies. The Roman Nobility had provoked the Roman People, so that both pursuing separate interests fell naturally under the Dominion of one. The like happened in Denmark: All public burdens and

taxes were laid upon the People, nor would the Nobility bear any part, but treated them with scorn and oppression. The injured People took bitter vengeance, made the King absolute to make the Nobility Slaves. These made once a great figure: At present a small Officer in the Army is of more account than a Nobleman of Denmark.

Sect. IV. *The beginning of public Corruption generally from the Nobility: How ruinous this to the Public, and to themselves.*

THE first great blow that was given to the Liberties of France, was given by the Nobility, who consented that the Court should raise money upon their Tenants, for the venal consideration of having share of that money to themselves. “*A cecy consentirent les Seigneurs de France, pour certaines pensions qui leur furent promises, pour les deniers qu'on leveroit en leurs terres;*” says PHIL. DE COMINES, speaking of CHARLES the seventh. He adds that by this that King brought a heavy sin upon his own soul and upon that of his Successors, and gave his Kingdom a wound which would continue long to bleed. Upon this occasion, I cannot forbear quoting another passage from that good Frenchman, that honest Politician, worthy Historian. “Is there, says he, a Prince upon earth, who has power to lay a single penny upon his Subjects, without the grant and consent of those who are to pay it, otherwise than by Tyranny or Violence? —No Prince can levy it, unless through Tyranny, and under the penalty of excommunication. But there are those who are brutish enough not to know what they can do or omit in this affair.”

THESE impositions grew monstrous, almost as soon as they grew arbitrary: CHARLES the seventh, who began them, never raised annually above an hundred and eighty thousand pounds. His Son LEWIS XI. almost trebled that Revenue; and since then all that the Kingdom and People had, even to their skins, has hardly been thought sufficient for their Kings. All this might have been easily foreseen; but a little present lucre blinded the French Nobility.

By money got with their consent, the Court could maintain Armies without their consent, and it was too late to defend their public privileges, when they had given away the public purse, the first and greatest privilege, the bulwark of all the rest. They afterwards found, by dear experience, that nothing which hurts their Country could in the issue benefit them, and that in betraying the rights of the Public, they had betrayed their own. By flattering and exalting the Crown, for some present gratuity, some poor personal advantages, they brought themselves to a slavish dependence upon the Crown for all the advantages of honour and life. Neither could the Crown be blamed for giving them money, if it was true that they would not do their duty, would not serve their Country without money. By it however they gained little. Besides the meanness and disgrace of it, what they got corruptly, they wasted prodigally, and ruined their posterity without mending their own condition. It was moreover a temptation to the Crown to grasp at all, since whatever it coveted, it knew how to accomplish.

WHAT the Nobility did, others were too ready to imitate, and the Court took advantage of the venality of all. So that MEZERAY had too much cause to say what he does of the States-General holden in the beginning of the reign of CHARLES the eighth, that the President of the States, many of the Ecclesiasticks, and several Deputies, sold themselves to the Court, and betrayed the public cause. It must be owned that whatever the Court acquired this way, was but a poor acquisition, not the hearts of the People, but the venal mouths of their Deputies. Nor can a Monarchy be ever strengthened by any acquisitions which weaken the People. It is at best but the strength of a man in a frenzy and convulsions, mighty for a time, and supernatural, but ending in miserable faintness, languor and death.

Sect. V. The advantages of public Liberty to the Nobility. How fast Tyrants destroy them. The strange degeneracy of the Roman Nobility: contemptible yet proud: subject to be degraded for base Morals or Poverty.

IN a free Country the Nobility have room to exercise all their virtues: Under an arbitrary Prince what virtue they have they must hide; since if it be signal, they may find it fatal. It is certain that by most it is marked with a jealous eye, and such jealousy seldom sleeps or forgives. *Promptissimus quisque sævitia Principis interciderat*, says TACITUS. The Politics of almost all the CAESARS were nothing else than bloody devices to murder every man of quality signal for any virtue military or civil, or for wealth and family. TACITUS is full of such examples, and I have elsewhere referred to them. It was treasonable to be Noble; capital to be rich; criminal to have borne honours; criminal to have declined them; and the reward of worth and virtue was quick and inevitable destruction: says TACITUS. So that men of character, possessed of great qualities, were, for safety, obliged to disguise them, and to appear against nature, mean, fawning, debauched, and even stupid, like the first BRUTUS under TARQUIN. The natural heaviness of GALBA was supposed to be assumed, purposely to escape the deadly suspicion of the several Tyrants under whom he had lived. Such was the splendor of his race, and such the terrible spirit of those times (which he had escaped) that thence colour was ministered for bestowing the name of real wisdom upon that which in him was real heaviness, as the same Author observes. Through this fear and precaution, under the Tyranny of DOMITIAN, TACITUS says, men were so careful to conceal their faculties, that they lost a great space of their life in silence and non-existence, inso-much that they had survived not only others but themselves. Now where was the advantage, where the honour of being Noble, when such as were Noble were obliged to act meanly, and to seem mean? It was all mock-honour, and a misfortune to possess it. Under such pressure and terrors could virtue rise or flourish, a thing too rare even where 'tis encouraged?

IN fact most of the Nobility were what they seemed, corrupt, base, servile, void of spirit and virtue, destitute of accomplishments, in name only and fortune distinguished from the Rabble, and therefore worse than

than they. Ridiculous is a noble name without noble qualities. Is a fruit-tree to be regarded, which bears no fruit? The reasoning of MARIUS is unanswerable: *quanto vita illorum præclarior, tanto horum socordia flagitiosior*. The illustrious virtue of the founder of a family, is but a perpetual reproach upon his descendants, if they want virtue. The merit of our forefathers derives none upon us, no more than their crimes do guilt. Is it any praise to a coward, that he had an ancestor who was brave? He has much cause to be ashamed, none to glory, yet probably will glory in spite of shame. The less merit generally the more pride, and nothing is more common than to find in very worthless, in very corrupt men, notable stateliness and insolence. I have known men of the most fastidious spirit and confident mien, do actions little and base, known them false, sordid, unjust. What can be more odious than such men, what more contemptible? Do not Titles and Honours, if they have any, render them more contemptible, more odious? For a great man to be dishonest and corrupt, is infamy in abundance; but when to corruption and dishonesty he adds insolence and disdain, he is compleatly infamous, and claims abhorrence from all men.

It was part of the office of the public Censors at Rome, to weed the Senate, and to degrade unworthy Senators: Nor could that illustrious dignity be gained or kept without a suitable fortune. It was not thought honourable or safe, that any one with an ill character and no estate, should act and vote amongst Magistrates and Lawgivers; that a man of bad morals should direct the public manners, and dispose of property yet have none. Nor was aught more just, than that they who had the spirit of the worst Plebeians, as well as the poverty, should be reduced into the class of men whom they resembled. A Senator was at first no more than a Plebeian well accomplished and therefore ennobled; and it was but reasonable, that Senators, who wanted accomplishments, should be declared Plebeians again, when in effect they were so before. Nobility was the price of worth, and without worth, reckoned Usurpation. It was thought equitable usage, as to raise men of merit, so to pull down men who happened to be raised without it. The worthless Nobility were a scandal to the worthy, as well as to their own ancestors; nor was it just that the worst should be ennobled, when the best could be no more. Great qualities were accounted natural Nobility, such as no favour, no power could bestow; and the power which exalted worthless men, was thought rather to debase it self than to honour them. Besides it was disgraceful and dangerous to the State, that men unqualified, corrupt, venal, infamous, should be allowed any share in the sway; that an Ignorant and a Mercenary should have equal weight with the ablest Senators, and upright Patriots.

SECT. VI. *Public Virtue justly due from the Nobility to the Public. They ought to be zealous for Liberty upon their own account.*

IT is but just to the Public, for men to merit the stations which they hold in it, to render themselves worthy of the privileges and emoluments which they enjoy from it. To take a reward without deserving it, is a sort of robbery, especially when to that reward
public

public Service and Duty are annexed. The Nobility of a Country have more advantages from it than the rest of the Natives, and are therefore more bound in honour and conscience to serve it. 'Tis for this only they are or should be Noble. For their own sake also they are bound to study its prosperity, and to guard its Liberty and Laws. Where these are precarious, so will be their dignity, which can never be safe where liberty is not so, unless in an established Aristocracy, of which I do not now speak. By such righteous conduct, a conduct so worthy of public Leaders, so incumbent upon the Protectors of their Country, they entail security upon their families, and glory upon their own name. For under Tyranny even the memory of great Men is denied Justice. ARULENUS RUSTICUS was condemned for having published the life and praises of THRASEA PAETUS, a glorious Patriot murdered by NERO, who hated him for his virtue, which the Monster laboured to extirpate from the earth. HERENNIUS SENEIO was put to death under DOMITIAN, for doing the like justice to the virtuous memory of HELVIDIUS PRISCUS. Even the books were doomed to the flames; so zealous were these Tyrants to destroy the name as well as the life of every excellent person. But in spite of the Tyrants, in spite of all their power and rage, those precious names are still preserved, still praised: So will be the names of all great Men remarkably good; and, to heighten the glory of these, the infamy of great bad Men, will be never suffered to perish. Here therefore is the choice, to be immortal in Praise, or in Reproach.



DISCOURSE XII.

Of public Teaching and Teachers.

Sect. I. *Whoever is head of the State ought to be head of the Religion of the State. The force of early impressions, with their use and abuse.*

TACITUS says, that no Government was ever sufficiently powerful to repress the turbulent sallies of a people, who were once brought to sanctify and defend the evil doings and devices of men as real parts and acts of Religion. Never was any observation more true; and it shews of what importance it is to Government to take care how the people are nurtured, that the public education be rational and just, and that subjects be not taught to reverence any authority in the State more than the civil authority, or indeed to behold or feel any other whatsoever. Where the public Teachers depend not upon the Magistrate, his subjects will no longer depend upon him, but upon their Teachers, nor obey him when taught disobedience by them. It is dangerous to the Magistrate to have his people believe, that any man, or set of men, has more interest with God than he has, since then, the same man, or set of men, will of course have more interest with his people. Every Magistrate therefore who would rule with proper awe and in proper security, must be at the head of the Church as well as of the State. This was the just policy of the Caliphs in Arabia and Egypt, this the policy of the Sophi's of Persia, and this is the policy of the Crown of Great Britain. The great Turk assumes not the name, but he exercises the power by making and unmaking the Mufti at his pleasure.

IN discoursing of public Teaching, I do not mean to consider the course or method of education in schools and universities, but to examine the effects of ignorance or understanding in the people, and how much it concerns a State what notions are instilled into them concerning Religion and Government.

I BELIEVE it will be allowed just, that such impressions as are most wise and virtuous, and worthy to last, should be first made, not only because they are most important, but because the most early impressions are likely to abide longest, especially when the understanding finds afterwards cause to approve and retain what the mind had already imbibed. Upon our spirits whilst, yet young and tender, any ideas whatsoever may be stamped, however foolish, however mad, or even pernicious. Nay, such are very easily infused, though very hard to be removed. This is exemplified in the eminent stubbornness of religious errors. What is more monstrous than some of these, what more repugnant to all common sense and human happiness, what more dishonourable to the attributes of God, what more disgraceful to the reason of men, or more baneful to society? Yet what upon earth is maintained with such fondness, with such zeal and obstinacy?

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Whence comes all this ferocity for the support of folly, often in defence of misery, but from hence, that these reveries are for the most part very early sucked in, besides that they are confirmed by superstition, which teaches men not to reason, but to fear, not to see, but to believe? I know not that thing which human minds may not be taught to adore, let it be ever so absurd, ever so deformed, or destructive, whether Crocodiles and Serpents, or Impostors and Demons. Nay what they often adore does not even exist, but is only fancied, like the imaginary Deity mentioned and ridiculed by CICEERO, called *Aius locutus*, the *Voice that spoke*, or like the Idols mentioned by St. PAUL, who of them says truly, “that they were nothing in the world;” that is, they were only statues and names.

OF this openness of the soul to receive impressions readily, and of its fondness for impressions early received, excellent use might be made, though it has happened to be generally misapplied and abused. The mind may be taught true propositions as well as false, such as tend to its honour and advantage as well as those which tend to its hurt and disgrace. People may be brought up with an high opinion of their own reason as well as with a low, and learn to exercise it as well as to lay it aside, to consider and prize it as a gift and guide given them by God, as well as to rail at it and to distrust its guidance. As in some countries (alas too many) they are educated to love delusion and to adore deluders, they might in others be instructed to despise deluders and to abhor delusion; here to love liberty and right, as there to bear bondage and misrule; to love God without being cheated and impoverished in his holy name, to honour Governors but to own no allegiance to Oppressors; to know that the wise God cannot command fooleries, nor good Magistrates rule violently.

Sect. II. *The ignorance of the People no pledge of security to their Governors. The ignorant Rabble always most tumultuous.*

GOVERNORS are not the less secure because their subjects have sense and discernment; I think they are much more so, and that from the stupidity and blindness of their people they have constant danger to apprehend; as blind men are apter to be misled than men that have eyes. The ignorant and foolish are eternally subject to misguidance, eternally apt to be inflamed by Incendiaries, to be deceived and drawn away by Demagogues. Such as have no understanding of their own, will be ever at the mercy and command of those who can gain their admiration and esteem, and will ever follow the man who can best seduce them. Thus the causeless mutinies in Armies, thus unprovoked tumults and insurrections in Cities and Countries, generally consist of the ignorant and brutal Rabble, excited and conducted by wretches often as low as themselves, only of superior craft, and the bad are chiefly guided by the worst. Such was the sedition of the Legions in Pannonia, in the beginning of the reign of TIBERIUS.

“IN the Camp, says TACITUS, there was one PERCENNIVS,
“formerly a busy Leader in the embroilments of the Theatre, and
“now a common soldier; a fellow of a petulant, declaiming tongue,
“and

“and by inflaming parties in the Playhouse, well qualified to excite and infatuate a crowd. This Incendiary practised upon the ignorant and unwary. He engaged them in nightly confabulations, and by little and little incited them to violence and disorders, and towards the evening when the soberest and best affected were withdrawn, he assembled the worst and most turbulent. When he had thus ripened them for sedition, and other ready incendiaries were combined with him, he personated a lawful Commander, and harangued them.” His harangue was artful and vehement, and by it he quite fired the credulous multitude. All licentiousness followed and terrible outrages, especially when VIBULENUS, another incendiary and common soldier, had inflamed them with fresh fury by an impudent lye, as if his brother had lately perished for promoting the common cause. Infomuch that, had it not appeared that the Impostor never had any brother, to atone for that imaginary murder their General was in danger of suffering a real one. Now during all this insurrection and uproar of the common herd (for of such only it consisted) the General was still dutifully obeyed by the Centurions, and by all the soldiers of any merit.

INDEED all sudden disorders are raised, all furious and unjust revolutions are accomplished, chiefly by the gross and undistinguishing crowd, nurtured in no principles or bad ones, ready to take every impression and alarm, to love or to hate by impulse and direction, and to be guided not by justice and sense, but by passion and names and cries.

ONE tumult is generally the picture of all others; and reason, which is a calm and orderly thing, can scarce have part in any, but instead of it rage and wilfulness bear sway: Like the uproar in Ephesus against St. PAUL, stirred up by the Shrine-makers to DIANA. A terrible insurrection there was and a hideous clamour. The whole City was filled with confusion, yet the greater part of the multitude knew not wherefore they were come together. They only agreed in their common phrenzy and in a common cry, that *great was Diana of the Ephesians*; and this cry was the only argument which they continued to urge for the space of two hours against what the Apostle had declared; namely, “that they were no Gods which were made with hands;” a most self-evident and saving truth, if ever there was any. But this manly and benevolent doctrine served only to provoke, not to convince, a rabble nurtured in blind error, and therefore furious to defend it.

SECT. III. *The untaught vulgar, how liable to be seduced.
The great Power of their Teachers over them.*

IT does not at all follow from the ignorance of the people, that they are thence the more likely to be peaceable subjects. The more ignorant they are, the more easily they are deceived; and such who depend, not upon reason, but upon authority and men, are the surest dupes of Ambition and Craft, the certain materials for every public combustion. A few loud, or solemn, or even senseless words artfully pronounced and applied, are sufficient to raise their passions, to present them with false objects of love and hate, to fill them

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them with foolish pity or foolish indignation, and to harden them against all sense and peace. 'Tis likely they may be even so blind and bewitched, as to think all their outrages and cruelties so many acts of justice, nay of piety and merit, especially in Countries where they are wickedly taught to believe, that violence and barbarities are well pleasing to God and warranted by his will, provided that, for their justification, his name be boldly used. Whoever can persuade them, that their lawful Governors are enemies to God, has it in his power to make them enemies to their lawful Governors; and then the next step will be to rebel against their King, in order to shew their obedience to the King of Kings.

NEITHER is it any certain security to their Ruler, that they may be also taught to consider him and his power as altogether irresistible and sacred, though he should even degenerate into the most pestilent Tyrant; since, besides that such doctrine is utterly against nature, which when thoroughly incensed, will prove often too stubborn to be bound by any doctrine; there can be no constant dependence upon the operation of any principle which is itself founded upon nonsense and falshood. Whatever is absolutely absurd admits of infinite uncertainty and latitude in reasoning from it, and a contradiction once granted generally involves a man in a train of contradictions even to that contradiction and to one another. Moreover the reception of an absurd position implies such blindness in them who embrace it, that the same men who taught them, (for example) that they must never resist upon any pretence whatsoever, may afterwards teach them to resist even upon the very pretence of defending non-resistance.

SUCH inconsistencies we have seen in our own time. They who teach nonsense, claim likewise a right to declare the explanations of their own nonsense, and these they take care to accommodate to their present temper and views, and to the several variations of their views. Nor from such as they have instructed in folly have they cause to apprehend any discoveries to their disadvantage, or that any inconsistency will be charged upon them. Men who submit to be blind, have no right to see; and he who sees for them, will hardly suffer them to perceive any faults or errors in himself. So that he may persuade them to one thing to day, to another to morrow, yet scorn to own any contradiction in his conduct, or in their practice. He will still be sure of their adherence, so long as they have not light enough to see that they want light; nor, whilst they delight in darkness, can they dislike him who keeps them in it.

SECT. IV. *The deceitfulness of Doctrines which are against Reason and Nature.*

THERE can hardly be found under any Government ignorance more gross than under that of Turkey; nor can the power of the Sovereign there be possibly carried higher, either in the minds of the People, or in the principles of their Religion. Yet where upon earth is sovereign Power more precarious than there, where more perillous? and where is the life of the Sovereign so often sacrificed? All men profess to adore his person, all men own his

his authority to be without bounds; no man pretends that it ought to be limited: Nay, to dispute the doctrine and prerogative of his absolute Will, would be as penal, as to call in question the Attributes, and even the Being of God, nor did it ever enter into their hearts to circumscribe his Sovereignty by any law. They profess passive obedience even unto death, though he command whole armies to precipitate themselves from a rock, or to build him a bridge with piles of their bodies for his passing of rivers, or to kill each other to afford him sport; nor is he ever accountable for any action or excess whatsoever, though he destroy wantonly, and without all cause, a thousand of his subjects in a day. These are flights worthy the grossness of Turks, worthy the gross flattery of Turkish Divines; nor have any Divines exceeded them in stretching this slavish Doctrine, except some of our own who have held it unlawful to resist even for the salvation of human kind. As they had thus improved upon the Turkish Casuists, so in another instance they wronged them, by asserting that this doctrine was the peculiar characteristic of their own Church, when it was that of the Mahometan Church many hundred years before.

BUT this doctrine, however savage and gross, and however by it flatterers may please undiscerning Princes, has been found so opposite to nature (as indeed it is to all common sense) that it has proved too barbarous even for the barbarity of Turks; and of all Princes who have died violently, none have died more tragically than theirs, none have found so little respect and obedience. These Gods upon earth; these shadows and images of the Almighty; these brethren to the Sun; these givers of all earthly dignities and crowns, are, with all these their divine titles, often the sport and victims of the vilest rabble.

THUS it is to carry submission beyond reason and nature. As every thing human is limited, so of course is human patience; and what avails theory against the bent of nature? You may bring people by teaching and ghostly fascination, to say any thing be it ever so absurd, ever so hurtful, perhaps to believe it too. But there is difference between saying and hearing, between assenting and suffering. When the trial comes, passion will prove stronger than opinion.

THE most ignorant people, though they cannot reason, can be angry; and anger, whilst it lasts, is their guide. Their other guides may dictate to them, and argue for them, but cannot feel for them, may govern their ideas, but not their rage. All schemes which presuppose the continual rest or suppression of the passions are foolish and fantastical, let the restrictions which they propose be ever so awful. What can be more so than the dread of hell, of everlasting torture and burning; a penalty denounced by some, particularly by the Turks, against resistance, and by many believed? Yet has this dreadful terror, even when corroborated with numerous guards and mighty armies, secured the thrones of Princes? No: Such as have trusted to it, have fallen in spite of it, perhaps because they trusted to it. They who rule righteously want no such deceitful support; for such it is, at best: and he who relies upon it has generally no other to rely on, and therefore deserves not a better. It is not just that falsehood should support misrule, or the holy name of God serve to shield an Oppressor. A good Prince confides in the laws and in

his own upright administration, and has no occasion for recourse to lies and frauds, since he is sure of the favour of God and man: and he who reigns wickedly, ought not to wonder if his wicked hopes perish.

Sect. V. The foregoing Reasoning further illustrated. How much it behoves Rulers that their Subjects be well and rationally taught.

HOW little passive principles, and unlimited power, and mighty armies secure a Prince against public disgusts, the Revolution at Constantinople the other day, is a signal proof and example; and many such examples have happened there. This is the second within the space of seven and twenty years. A Prince whose authority knew no bounds, one by whose breath all men lived, and the greatest men perished, one whose height of power could only be expressed by titles taken from the Almighty, is in a moment tumbled from his proud throne into a prison. Had he not been raised so unnaturally high, his fall would not probably have been so immediate and violent. Where there is only one man to be changed, the change is soon made, let the nature of his power be ever so pompous, let his name be ever so solemn. Titles the most lofty signify nothing, when all reverence for titles is gone; and his despotic power, which he holds from his armies, must leave him whenever his armies do.

AN angry faction, or a tumultuous soldiery, or even one desperate fellow, can effect a Revolution, where 'tis to be effected by removing a single person, since upon a single person in all arbitrary countries, the whole Government rests. But, to remove a Parliament, or to destroy all them who chuse Parliaments, is a far different task. Here therefore is the security of a Prince ruling over a free people. The States of the Country are a wall about him. Whatever burthens the subjects bear, as they are laid on by public consent, cannot provoke them against him: Hence his safety from popular tumults. As he relies not upon armies, at least but in part, even the revolt of an army can but in part distress him; and he has a resource amongst his people, where he has not provoked them by oppression. It will moreover be a constant check and discouragement to any design against him, that though it should succeed the Government would not be altered, and severe vengeance would be sure to follow.

SINCE therefore neither gross ignorance in the people, nor the possessing them with the most slavish tenets, can secure their Rulers against insurrections and revolt; 'tis the interest of their Rulers, as well as duty, to provide that the public education be rational and virtuous, and the public morals be sound, that the people have just notions of right and wrong, that they be not taught slavery instead of subjection, delusion under the name of religion, and folly for devotion. Where they are taught to be honest and sensible, they will be certainly dutiful to their Governors as well as just to one another; but if they be left to folly and corrupt dealings, their reverence to magistrates will be precarious, and may be as well too little as too much, since without a share of sense, especially a sense of honour and obligations, they

can have no sure rule of conduct and obedience, and are more likely to follow evil than good, to be turbulent than peaceable.

EVERY departure from just liberty is an approach to slavery; every advance towards slavery is a step to brutality, which is then compleat when no liberty is left: And the nearer men are to beasts, the sooner they are enraged, the harder to govern. Wild beasts, however managed and muzzled, often destroy their keepers, as the most abject slaves have sometimes destroyed their proud tyrants. Men who know how to exercise their reason and to watch over their passions, will be quiet under good usage out of choice and interest, whereas such whose faculties are vitiated or suppressed, know not when 'tis proper to sit still, or when 'tis right to rouse: They may be persuaded, by those whom they trust with the management of their senses, that the best condition is the worst, that the most equal Government is Oppression, that the most legal Title is Usurpation; that a Prince, provided his name be JOHN or JAMES, may do whatever he pleases, be it ever so wicked and tyrannical; but if he be called THOMAS or WILLIAM, let him be ever so just and wise, he is an usurper. For, to the stupid and intoxicated herd they do not, they need not give the true reason, or a better reason, or any reason at all, for this their partiality and aversion. Neither is it likely that they will own, that in styling Rulers the Ordinance of God, or Apostates from God, they are generally, almost eternally, guided by their passions, to fawn or clamour, flatter or revile, bless or curse, be obsequious or rebellious, just as they find themselves courted or neglected.

Sect. VI. *Power in the hands of the public Teachers how dangerous to Rulers; and how ill it suits with Christianity.*

A PEOPLE led by delusion, especially by religious delusion (the most powerful of all others, and thence the most practised) are the subjects, not of the civil magistrate, but of the deluders, who may incite them against him, as well as engage them for him. Insomuch that for his own safety and for the repose of the State he must be beholden not to his People, but to the Leaders and Pedagogues of the People. To them he must pay all his court, and leave them to domineer, nay assist them in domineering, that they may suffer him to reign, though only to reign in name. Constant distress and restraint is the least that he can expect, nay, if he continue not sufficiently tame, they will perhaps arm his own subjects against him; perhaps, not content with putting him under due fear and chastisement, they will even depose him, perhaps butcher him, or oblige him to butcher himself. Even this last folly of their pride and power is not new, as the others have been very common. The Egyptian Priests of old had gained such absolute sway over all men, especially over the King, that as often as they found themselves prompted by any offence from him, or by any caprice of their own, they were wont, by a short order, to command him to die.

OTHERS, since, have acted with equal scorn towards Princes, and deposed and murdered them with as high a hand. Nay, in most of their struggles with their Sovereign, they have proved too hard
for

for him; a superiority which they at first gained through his own blindness and ill policy, by giving them himself, or suffering others to give them such mighty revenues, that by the strength of these, and by their influence over the consciences of men, which with equal weakness he had surrendered to their will and blind guidance, they were become so potent and imperious, that he was glad to compound with them for the quiet possession of his Throne, to comply with all their demands, to be still augmenting their privileges and power, and thence to weaken and give up his own; nay, to be their daily and common executioner, and to inflict death and vengeance wherever they shewed displeasure. Nor did all this complaisance always save him, if he manifested any uneasiness or reserves, or the love of mercy rather than of cruelty, or refused chearfully to kill or distress all his subjects, who in their devotions used not the words and tunes in fashion, though the fashion was daily changing.

THE speech of the Bishop of *Nismes* to the French King the other day is a curious specimen of the spirit of those men. He tells his Majesty, "That his Monarchy is founded upon Catholicism," that is, upon whatever they, the Bishops, shall think fit to call so; for they are the Judges. So that, whenever he falls from Catholicism, that is, whenever he provokes these Judges of Catholicism to declare that he does, he falls of course from his Monarchy. In the mean time they modestly expect from his Majesty, that he should persecute and undo all who refuse to submit blindly to their authority and dictates, in spite of conscience and conviction. 'Tis the usual reasoning of such men. Whoever opposes or contradicts them, never fails to be an enemy to God and the King.

CHRISTIANITY, which was certainly propagated without the aid of wealth or power, never has, never can receive any assistance from either. Like all other institutions civil and sacred, it must subsist upon the same principles from whence it began, or cease to subsist. Nor can it enter into the heart of man to conceive, how Religion, which is a conviction of the soul produced by the grace of God there, and without that grace can never be produced, should result from force or gain, things which naturally cause only pride and the fear of man, and other worldly passions quite repugnant to Religion. Nor was any thing ever more evident than that, when secular authority and secular riches are contended for in behalf of Christianity, 'tis done not by the voice of Christ nor for any purposes of his, but by the voice of interested men, and for apparent ends of their own.

WE will readily allow them to be holy men, who call men to Christ, and labour to convert souls from sin: but surely they are not also holy when they are employed about things which have no share of holiness in them. They are not holy in offices and pursuits which are purely civil or natural. No man can be said to be holy in eating, sleeping, or in growing rich: neither is he holy even in preaching or praying, if in these functions his soul be corrupt or insincere. If his sermon be about secular things, 'tis not a religious sermon, no more than any other speech prompted not by grace but by passion; or, if he pray without faith and the spirit, his prayer is no longer holy. We must distinguish between the occupation and the man, between his holy occupation and his other occupations. Were every

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thing which a holy man does, to be accounted holy, even his sin would be holy, his acts of frailty would be acts of holiness. In his preaching and teaching the same rule must be observed; else his mistakes must be swallowed as instruction, and he may preach you into sin and folly as well as out of it.

Sect. VII. *The absurdity of implicit belief in any sett of Teachers, with its mischievous and monstrous consequences. The natural progress of Persecution.*

WHAT is said above shews the monstrous nonsense of submitting blindly to any sett of Teachers, and the matchless assurance of such as claim it. The condition of the countries where this wicked point is gained, their shocking ignorance and misery, are abundant warnings to Nations who yet possess the privilege of private judgment and conscience, to be zealous in preserving a privilege so precious, the inestimable gift of God and Nature, that divine ray issuing from the Deity, and the true characteristic of a rational creature.

'Tis human reason more than human shape, that denominates a man to be a man. Indeed such as part with their reason, have in a great measure renounced their species, and are to be ranked with creatures that are not rational, nay, in some sort, to be ranked below them; for, dumb beasts part not with their instinct. After this fatal surrender of their chief faculty, what other faculty, or which of their senses can they claim a right to exercise? They have indeed small pretence to any reserve, nor is any reserve allowed them such as may interfere with their spiritual bondage. They are even doomed to renounce their eyes, their taste and their smell, to disown the taste of bread in bread, and the flavour of wine in wine, to see the one God, who is indivisible and fills heaven and earth, cut out of a loaf into numberless human bodies intire, yet still, to maintain that he is but one though thousands of mouths are eating him, and each eats him whole.

AFTER swallowing this infinite lie, what other dare they dispute, especially when it comes from men armed with double terrors, those of Hell and those of secular Power? 'Tis then too late to assert our senses, which perhaps are already bewitched and given up; 'tis too late to alledge, that it implies an absolute contradiction and impossibility, for any man to bind and govern the involuntary motions of my soul, which I my self cannot direct, nor hinder, nor alter. From the assuming of a power over the mind of man, every other power will follow of course; and civil servitude is the sure result of spiritual.

FROM hence men should be exhorted to examine before they assent. To order men to believe in their hearts what the heart of man cannot conceive, is such a stretch of assurance and impiety, such a mark of malice against truth and sense, such an assault upon natural candor and veracity, such a sure way to harden men in lying and hypocrisy, such an apparent inlet to all delusion and every ungodly dominion, that all men should rise up against it. It may begin with negative penalties, but, if suffered to go on, will end in an

Inquisition ; for, a small punishment infers the necessity of a greater, where the first answers not the end, and consequently of the highest, when none but the highest will do.

How few consider this, with the danger and natural tendency of punishing for opinions? Many would rejoice at the whipping of a man for having notions different from theirs, yet be sorry to see him burned: whereas the same arguments that justify the use of the lash will justify that of the faggot, and were that man as strong as his persecutors, he has an equal right and pretence for whipping or burning them. So that, if this spirit were universally let loose, before persecution ceased men must cease.

Sect. VIII. The Will of God not deposited with any set of Men. The use of public Teaching, with the Character necessary to public Teachers. How much they are corrupted by Pomp and great Wealth.

WHEN the Will of God is matter of record, it is monstrous absurdity to depend for the knowledge of it, upon the authority of men; and 'tis an open affront to the divine Being, to stile it his revealed Will, and yet to call it obscure or hard to be understood. What can be greater mockery than to suppose, that the omnipotent God should impart to some men only, certain great secrets which were of the utmost importance to all men; that all men were to be eternally taxed for having these secrets eternally communicated to them; that he should publish these secrets in his revealed Will to remain always concealed though always preached; that they are still to be secrets, still hid, though thousands are publishing and explaining them every day, and have been for many ages? Is it not more worthy the idea of an all-wise, of an all-merciful God, to believe that he lays open to all men whatever is necessary for all men to know?

NEITHER does this reasoning affect the being of national Churches. It is my opinion, that a parochial Clergy are of infinite use, where they take pains by their example and instructions to mend the hearts of the people, where they teach them to love God, and their Neighbour, and Virtue, and their Country, and to hate no man. As corrupt as men are, though more prone to evil than good, I believe it possible for a wise and diligent and upright Clergyman, to shame vice and dishonesty out of his parish, to make virtue amiable to all his hearers, to convince knaves of the folly and deformity of knavery, and to persuade them to be honest even for the sake of interest, as well as for quiet of mind, and for reputation, and the love of their neighbours. By the same means other evil habits might be cured, such as drunkenness, lewdness, lying and idleness. People might be even made fond of all the genuine duties of Religion, which are really but few in number, and all capable of demonstration to the meanest capacity.

BUT it is absolutely expedient, that they who profess to teach truth, be themselves men of veracity; that they be virtuous and sober in order to recommend sobriety and virtue, and shew by their behaviour, upon all occasions, that their duty, that the instruction and happiness of the people, is dearer to them than their own interest. If the conduct

duct of a Teacher be contrary to all this, his character is contrary to that of a Pastor. If he set out with a great and solemn falshood, and say that he came from God, whom he never saw, if he alledge the call of the Holy Ghost, when his call was apparently interested and human; these are the marks of every false prophet, and he doth not teach but deceive: Or if he be debauched, or false, or idle, vain will be his attempts, if he use any, to cure these vices in others. If he have a great or considerable revenue for the cure of souls, and surrender that important cure to a worthless hireling retained at a small price, can he be thought to love souls so well as money? Nor can he pass for an Ambassador of Peace, if he revile, or curse, or teach his people to hate and injure, such as differ in speculations from him.

NEITHER can he be thought a messenger of truth, or an instructor of men, if he puzzle them with curious and fanciful notions irreconcilable to probability and human apprehension, yet to be embraced as necessary duties. This were to represent the wise and good God as delighting to mock and perplex his creatures with riddles and contradictions. And, for men to own their belief of any religious proposition, which they cannot possibly conceive, is to mock God in their turn; since to embrace with our understanding what the understanding cannot comprehend, is absolutely impossible. I can easily conceive, that a just God must love righteousness and hate iniquity; and this must be obvious to the conceptions of all men. But, I cannot conceive how the God of truth should delight in sophistry, how he who would have all men come to the knowledge of truth, should desire to have all men confounded with inexplicable niceties, or to have that made true in systems which in reason can never be true.

NEITHER can a Teacher ever edify others whilst he preaches up himself. If he contend for power, and dominion, and worldly pomp, how is he a spiritual guide? The blessed JESUS and his holy Apostles had nothing of all this, claimed nothing. And 'tis amazing that others, who evidently want the spiritual endowments of the Apostles, should venture to demand, as successors to the Apostles, what it is plain the Apostles never had, nor sought. Other arms than persuasion and prayer, they have none, and power is incompatible with either. It was natural for MAHOMET to plant a false Religion by troops of horse. But CHRIST and St. PAUL took no such ways, nor allowed others to take them.

NOR has it at all appeared, that our Religion ever flourished in proportion as Churchmen grew wealthy. I doubt its spirit will be found to have constantly sunk as their pomp increased. The People, indeed, have ever been most ignorant where the Clergy have been most powerful. The more the latter had, the less they taught, and, when under the name of Religion, they were become masters of all things, they quite abolished Religion to set up frauds and superstition. To what gross ignorance, to what misery and barbarity they had brought Christendom before the Reformation, I leave Historians to declare. In what a horrible state of stupidity, dread and desolation, they still keep the parts of it yet unreformed, all travellers see, and all that read travels may learn.

So much the poor People got by giving these their Teachers all, or too much, and by believing their commission to be from God,
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when they were acting like the most depraved of men, full of revenge; though professed followers of the meek JESUS, who when he was reviled, reviled not again; nay, confidently glutting their avarice under his name, though he himself had not a place where to lay his head.

ALL this was natural, and in all places upon earth, the like causes will produce the like effects, to the end of the world. The people who had been long deluded, grew first blind; when they had parted with their reason, they were easily brought to part with their property, and where all the property was, there all the power followed.

Sect. IX. *Public Teachers have no Power, no Creation but from the State. Their Folly and ill Policy in claiming any other.*

IT becomes the wisdom of all Governors so to fashion and regulate the public Teachers, as to let them know, and all men see, that they are the Creatures of the State, appointed by the civil Power to a religious office. This was the wisdom of England at the Reformation. They were then obliged to swear, that they derived all power of all sorts whatsoever, from the Crown; nor could they after this, without express perjury, claim any antecedent or independent power. They were by this cut off from the profane nonsense of their predecessors, that of representing JESUS CHRIST, and of succeeding the Apostles; a source from which the Popish Clergy had drawn all their gain and fairy dominion, and with which they had covered and hallowed all their wicked pretences and frauds.

YET for several reigns after the excellent Queen ELIZABETH, though the same law, and oaths and subscriptions continued, many of the Clergy, in defiance of the constitution, of conscience and of shame, adopted all the antichristian and corrupt claims of the Popish Clergy; and through the monstrous policy of the reigning Princes, this their lawless behaviour was connived at, nay supported. For, the Court, where all arbitrary schemes were on foot, in order to gain its own pursuit, humoured and assisted the Clergy in theirs; and tho' both Court and Clergy became thence notoriously unpopular and obnoxious; tho' both Monarchy and Church suffered a terrible Catastrophe, for aiming at more than belonged to either, the same restless spirit possessed both upon their re-establishment, and both arrogated a power to be lawless and forsworn, by divine right.

THIS spirit met another severe check afterwards, yet revived again with equal confidence; but the times since bore it worse than ever: Inasmuch that all the contempt of which Churchmen so much complain, has been brought upon the Clergy by many of the Clergy themselves. Their claims were so ambitious, extravagant, indeed so false and wicked, and have been so well exposed, that no man of common sense could reverence the persons who made them.

WHAT they are, the Law certainly makes them; what they have, the same Law certainly gives them. Why would they be falsely aspiring to a higher creation, and a title divine? Why be deriving from God what all the world sees to come only from the bounty of societies

cieties and of particular men? Why be broaching doctrines destructive of Liberty in a nation of Freemen, why assert an extraordinary, even a divine power to do certain actions, and pronounce certain words, which any man who has hands and a tongue could speak and perform as well, if the civil Magistrate appointed him? Why would they shock all men of any discernment or piety, by fathering all their most selfish, all their most earthly and sordid opinions upon our blessed Redeemer and his holy Gospel, all their notorious falsehoods and contradictions upon the word of truth? Why cover apparent ambition and avarice, manifest vengeance and anger, with these sacred names?

THESE were not ways to gain reverence; and had they gained any, it had been all false reverence, not worth gaining, indeed worse than none. Truth wants no false decking, nor any help from falsehood, but is often lost or injured by such unnatural company. Whoever speaks truth and does good, is sure of a warrant and approbation from heaven, whatever be his habit or his title; and, if he utter falsehood and do mischief, he may be assured that God will disown him; and no name, however solemn, no habiliment, however grave, or gorgeous, can in the least justify him.

THE Apostles had no power, no revenues, nor even the countenance of authority. All their credit, all their reverence and success flowed from their heavenly doctrine and behaviour. I hope the world, which has been so long illuminated with the light of the Gospel, is not worse than it was then. The Gospel has been many ages planted amongst us; nor could the Clergy be said to be still planting it over again where the people already believed and received it. The business therefore of the public Teachers was, by continually urging its precepts upon the consciences of men, to improve them in practical holiness, to purify their lives in this world, and thence fit them for another. For this purpose they have encouragement and support from the State; and as a designation and maintenance from the civil power is all that they can desire, it is likewise all that they want. They have all possible scope to propagate every divine truth, to enforce every social and civil duty: And whilst they are thus worthily employed, no man will envy them, no man can condemn them; nay all men will, for their own sakes, pay them all due countenance and respect.

IN this glorious pursuit they might be of excellent use to others, and gain great esteem to themselves, by making people good and government easy, for good men will be good subjects. But it will be a great obstacle in their way to esteem, if they aim at too much, and would derive it only from their name and function, however they neglect or pervert their duty, and however worthless they be in their persons. Too great a fondness for themselves, will make others less fond of them, and by deriving their pedigree too high, many will be provoked to set it too low, or even at nought; like vain men who boast the greatness of their race, when their descent is known to be ordinary, and their rise late and sudden.

Sect. X. *The fatal and ungodly consequences of allowing force in matters of Religion and Conscience; how inconsistent with the nature and end of religious Teaching. The contempt of public Teachers, whence it arises, and the cry of Priestcraft how founded.*

FROM all temporal power the public Teachers ought to be carefully debarred. This is what neither agrees with the Teachers of Religion, or with the nature of civil Government, which admits not of partnership. For the same cause that any degree of spiritual power is claimed, the highest degree will be claimed, till at last the civil power is either swallowed up in the ecclesiastical, or becomes only its tool and machine, as in Spain and Italy, where the Clergy claim a jurisdiction independent upon the Magistrate, which also infers a right to excommunicate and depose him. This is at best a two faced Tyranny, a lame and uncertain Government, constrained to do too little or too much; a monster with two heads, each aiming at the chief direction of the body, each furnished with a sett of limbs moving opposite ways.

THEY who deal with the soul, if they meditate its conviction, must avoid all force, which can only teach it to lie. Indeed the exercise of power in matters of Conscience has produced such tragical effects, always and every where, as to be sufficient warnings to every country and generation to prevent kindling a flame that would consume all things. Whenever this power has been once gained, the public Teachers have then done teaching, and begun to command. Instead of arguing, they then imprison, and silence gainsayers by a halter, or a faggot.

IT is wonderful how a man of this spirit, can have the face to attempt the conversion of any man or nation of men. How can he pretend to reason me into his opinion, when if I embrace it, I must never leave it, though I dislike it, nor follow my reason afterwards, though my reason satisfies me that I have been mistaken, and that my present profession is impious and absurd? Would it not be madness to embrace the opinion of a man, who professes to persecute or kill you, if you ever afterwards change your mind, let your conviction be ever so full, your conscience ever so uneasy? I would fain know how such men can set about the work of conversion, unless they play the hypocrites, and hide all their terrors, their daggers and their flames, till they have once made sure of your person. This were a fraud unworthy the Christian name, and yet I cannot see how such men could avoid such a fraud. They are obliged either to forbear conversions, or to deceive their converts. Their principle is antichristian and must lead them into antichristian practices. Whoever would preach the name of Christ, must renounce all persecution, all severities.

SUCH of our Clergy as disown all spiritual independent power, all chimerical claims to a divine right, and honestly derive all their distinction and privileges from the Law of the Land, have acted a wise as well as an honest part, and are the only men who can pre-
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serve the Church and Churchmen from contempt, by giving up all ghostly craft, all restraints upon Conscience, and by declaring for reason against force. Such men can never be charged with Priestcraft nor be obnoxious to the scorn that follows it. That such craft has long prevailed in the world, done prodigious mischief in it, and proved always baneful to private Conscience and to public Liberty, is too manifest to be denied. Indeed, to raise a cry of Priestcraft where there is none, would be foolish and unjust; and 'tis as foolish and unjust to complain of the cry where the thing subsists. I doubt the thing only began the cry, and continues it where it is continued.

EVERY claim of the Clergy's, which is irreconcilable to the understandings, to the freedom and interest of the Laity, is Priestcraft, such as any power to domineer, to damn or to save, to know hearts by confession, to change the qualities of persons, and places, and matter, by prerogative and words, &c. Surely the impartial God, the Father of mercies and of men, is not influenced by the persons of men; nor can the same words be effectual with him out of one man's mouth, and ineffectual out of the mouth of another. This would not favour of infinite wisdom, but of infinite caprice; as it would be infinite cruelty to make the happiness and eternal welfare of men depend upon habits and postures, upon names and forms, and to leave the salvation of one man, or of many, at the option of another, or of a few. Yet this doctrine, as false and impious as it is, has been maintained; and a power to oblige all men to submit to it has been contended for.

Sect. XI. Power in the hands of any public Teachers leads naturally to Popery and is Popery. How apt they are to differ amongst themselves, yet claim conformity from all others. Persuasion and good example their only province; the sanctity of their doings their only sanctity.

SUCH principles as these mentioned in the last Section, constitute the genuine spirit of Popery. This is the spirit, these the principles which make Popery terrible. For, as to the meer whimsies of Popery, its ridiculous tenets and worship, they are of little moment in themselves. If a man pay adoration to a piece of paper with a picture upon it, or to a bit of rotten wood, or to a rusty nail; he is to be pitied for his folly, but by his folly he hurts not me. It is the power of the Clergy, 'tis their long claws that constitute Popery, render Popery terrible, and are Popery, real Popery, whatever else it be called. A Clergy who may do whatever they please in behalf of themselves against the Laity, will ever be popish Priests; that is, they will do what popish Priests have always done, every thing to depress the Laity, every thing to exalt themselves. Other difference there will be none save in names and trifles.

WHEREVER the power of Popery, that is, an unbounded authority in the Clergy, is established, all the visionary follies, all the idolatry and extravagant superstition of Popery, are likely to follow. The ignorance and panicky fears of the vulgar, and the cunning and selfishness of their guides, will in time introduce all the rest. The

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amazing positions and absurdities of Popery were not immediately settled with the monstrous power of the Popes, but gradually and naturally followed it.

CALVIN was a Protestant, and a Reformer, and occasioned great good by weakening Popery: but, in the proceedings against SERVETUS, CALVIN was a Pope, nay a popish Inquisitor, if it be true, that he was the author of these proceedings. Was SERVETUS a Heretic to JOHN CALVIN? So was JOHN CALVIN to the Pope and the Monks, who had as much right to burn him, and were as little vouched by the Gospel in their trade of burning, as was he in burning SERVETUS.

WERE every man who differs from another in religious points, especially in points owned to be not only curious but even inexplicable, to be executed, but one man in the world would remain alive, since all men differ more or less. No men differ more about Religion than Clergymen, or with more acrimony. They are subject to dispute about things of the least and of the greatest moment, and to mix much passion with all their disputes, be the subject every so important, or ever so trivial: I wish I could say, that they never manifested any unchristian want of charity towards each other, and towards all their opponents whatsoever. However that be, 'tis matter of wonder, that they, who are so different and opposite, nay so endlessly divided in their sentiments, can so boldly exact conformity from all men, can contend that all men should agree with them, who cannot agree with one another.

UNDER all the darkness, and uncertainties of Paganism, did the Philosophers (the Teachers of those days) differ more widely, or quarrel more fiercely than the Teachers under a clearer dispensation have differed and quarrelled? Or did the wrangling of these old heathen Sages ever produce such furious ferments in the world, such merciless wars, such public desolation, as the everlasting contention between Fathers and Fathers, between Doctors and Doctors has produced? 'Tis strange, that they who professed to be guided by eternal verity, and to guide all men to it, should maintain eternal strife about it. If this be owing to their own various conceits, to their passions, errors and particular interests, with what certainty, or satisfaction, or safety, can we rely upon such disputing and contradictory Leaders? How is it possible to be determined by judges who vary thus infinitely in their judgments? Will they tell us, that they agree in the thing, though they differ in explaining it? This would be too great mockery, when it seems we must assent to the thing as they explain it; else there is an end of all their pretended authority and guidance. If they say, that the thing cannot be explained at all; this is still equally absurd, since the assenting to what admits no explication, is to assent to nothing; and why do they dispute about what they can never clear?

IT, in truth, looks as if the providence of God had thus ordered it, on purpose to baffle the vanity of such men as would dictate to others, and attempt to make his word clearer or darker than he himself has thought fit to make it. It looks as if he meant to warn us, by these their perpetual wrangles, to depend upon our own eyes and reason for understanding his will revealed in his word, which to the meanest capacity discovers what is sin, and what is duty. What

more is necessary? Has curious doubting and learned discord ever mended the world? I wish the contrary were not too tragically true.

THE province of public Teachers is persuasion. Other force than that, and the force of good example, 'tis monstrous, 'tis contrary to the Gospel, to require any, or any respect at all but what results from their usefulness and the piety of their lives. All men will be ready to reverence them according to the measure of their integrity and virtue, and of the good that they do. What would they have more? This is reverence upon a solid foundation, such as will last. But to demand high respect to meer shew and names, to the sanctity of their characters, however little there appear in their persons, or to their mighty prerogatives from Heaven, when their pursuits are altogether worldly, is the direct way to bring themselves under public ridicule and even public indignation.

IT is only sanctity of actions that makes a sanctified character; and whoever does those actions has that character, as he who does them not cannot have it, though he may boldly assume it. A Clergyman who is a prosecutor, an oppressor, a drunkard, proud, unjust, licentious, must with an ill grace talk of his sacred profession, or pretend to the Holy Ghost. Much more conceivably it is, much more likely and natural, that the Holy Spirit should influence and accompany any Layman who is peaceable and merciful, just and sober. That Spirit can never surely be supposed to dwell in evil and vicious men, be their titles ever so specious and celestial. He whose ways are not apostolical, can never be esteemed a successor to the Apostles: whereas he who lives like an Apostle, though he bear no particular habit or name, is an apostolical man.

IT is not reconcilable to common sense or any sense, that holiness or the power of holiness can adhere indelibly to a man of an idle, or profligate and impure life, merely by the force of ordination, of being ordained according to the prescription of the Law and Forms of man's devising, to perform an office which he performs not, but neglects or dishonours. Can it ever accord with reason, or with the idea of God and his Religion, that those lands, which are once possessed by one sort of Churchmen, though acquired by the most impious frauds, to maintain the luxury of infamous and cheating Monks, must still continue appropriated to the use of another sort of Churchmen, and can never be alienated without the sin of sacrilege? That the holy Church of Jesus Christ, who possessed no wealth himself, nor left any behind him, can crave or bear an endowment acquired by robbery and frauds, or refuse to make restitution to such as have been plundered in his name by vile and rapacious deceivers?

Sect. XII. *How it is that public Teachers fail of respect, or gain it.*

CAN there be more shocking tenets than those, mentioned in the last Section, or more repugnant to all reason and virtue, to all truth and piety? Yet many such tenets are maintained with notable fierceness. It is certain that the Reformation owned none such, nor consequently does our Church, which is founded upon the Reformation,

mation, own them. In renouncing Popery, we renounced all its falsities and abominations; nor can he who adopts and defends them, be an English Protestant, nor indeed hardly a Christian, if he thus fly in the face of Christ and his Apostles, and in their name demand possessions which they never enjoyed, demand power which they never fought, but always renounced.

If in their exhortations, they promote narrow interests, separate from the public interest, or hurtful to it: if they endeavour to make their hearers rather blindly obedient to themselves than zealous for the public weal and for the honour of the State, rather intoxicated dupes to names and delusion, than wise and good subjects: if when they are angry at their Governors they encourage disaffection to the Government, but, when humoured, preach up slavery and tameness under oppression however outrageous, can they hope to be revered? Can they be thought actuated by Religion, or Reason, by Mercy, or Truth, or by any good spirit? But, if their conduct be contrary to all this, no contempt or public despite can possibly befall them. Where they act unworthily, they will be as sure of respect, as by acting differently they will be sure to miss it. True respect comes from good deeds and not from notions and appellations, much less from pride and the itch of dominion, from impatience of difference in opinion, or peevishness of spirit. Whoever manifests a general meekness of behaviour, universal charity and forbearance, consults and promotes private honesty and peace, with public virtue and tranquillity and the welfare of society, and goes about doing good, cannot fail to find the esteem of all men.

Sect. XIII. *Excessive Revenues of the public Teachers, how pernicious to the World. A decent and easy maintenance to be allowed them.*

WHAT respect a great portion of the World owes to its Teachers, the miserable condition of most parts of it, the ignorance and slavery to which they have brought it, and under which they suffer, may oblige it to lye, do abundantly shew. Can it be denied that as their power rose, civil happiness sunk, that in proportion to their grandeur has been the misery of their followers? Indeed if the most heavy and lasting curses that can befall or afflict human kind, entitle them to respect, they may, in many places, claim the highest, from public delusion, persecution, beggary and bondage, and from general desolation and woe, as from so many monuments of their own raising, or such at least as they largely helped to raise. It is evident, that where they prosper most, the people are the most wretched, and that to such prosperity such wretchedness is owing; if that can be called prosperity which produces such infinite evil.

Is not this ample warning to nations which are not yet in the same condition, to take care of every approach towards it? And is not this a ready answer to every attempt for accumulating overmuch worldly property upon spiritual men. Beyond a certain measure it makes them useless, very much makes them dangerous, and their pride and power always rise in proportion to their revenues. Is it not so in Spain and Italy, where their infinite wealth, eternally productive of

infinite authority, has made them a public plague and scourge. There their terrors and depredations know no bounds: Guarded by flames and an Inquisition against gainsayers and all opposition to their enormous falsehoods and insatiable avarice, they cheat and domineer without fear or restraint; and not content to prey upon the substance of the miserable Laity, rob them even of their senses and their time. So compleat is the delusion there, so fast the bondage over soul and body.

IF this be dreadful, let other nations yet free and rational, yet at liberty to understand the Bible and to follow their Consciences, guard against all measures that would lead them, however imperceptibly, into the same doleful and unchristian state, for Christianity is a state of freedom. The Church of Christ has subsisted, and even flourished, without any revenues at all; but too much revenue has always impaired its purity, sometimes quite defaced it, as in the above instances. It has always so happened, that immense wealth and a holy profession have not well accorded, and much pomp and spirituality neither look well nor sound well together. Neither can there be a more effectual demonstration, that neither a heavenly commission, nor heavenly hearts belong to men, to any set of men whatsoever, than to see them ever and ardently engaged in pursuits of worldly wealth and worldly power.

LET the public Teachers have a maintenance in the name of God, a decent and easy maintenance secured to them by laws and the consent of society; but let them not boldly pretend to derive their maintenance from God, when it is evidently the gift of men. They who contend for this, cut themselves off from all regard, and cannot possibly be grateful to any benefactor, since they consider him not as the giver, but only as the instrument, nay probably may think him an usurper in pretending to give them what was theirs before by divine right.

MORE OVER their maintenance ought to be restrained within a certain measure, and not suffered to grow so as to devour in time the property and maintenance of all other men. If some of them have too little, as doubtless they have, others have too much; and in all orders of men there will ever be such inconveniences and unequal distribution; nor is it possible for public wisdom to remedy the same, or for the public purse to enrich or even to support all that are indigent, or situated lower than they wish, and sometimes deserve. It is more just that particulars should bear a hard lot, than that, to mend it, society should suffer, and the ballance of society be lost or endangered. It is against all reason, and very ungenerous, to seek relief from any scheme which would in time bring all men to seek relief from them. I wish it could be so ordered, that wherever Religion produced Gain, Gain would never prove to be more considered than Religion.

Sect. XIV. *An inquiry why the Christian Dispensation has, with all its advantages and excellencies, so little mended the World. Whether and how far public Teachers are chargeable with this.*

WHY the world has not been more mended by the Christian Dispensation, of itself so much adapted to mend the world, is worth the inquiry of all men, especially of such as are employed to inculcate its precepts upon the minds of all. And here many other inquiries subsequent to this will naturally occur; namely, whether they have ever pursued their own worldly interest more assiduously than suited with their holy profession, and never prostituted religion to serve the pursuits of wealth and power: whether they have ever dispensed with sins, and been even partial to favourite and bountiful sinners, or discouraged and even persecuted conscience, and sincerity, and all holiness that bore not their mark: whether they never claimed an absolving and damning power, and by it brought men to fear them more than God, to be more afraid of offending them than of committing sin, for which they could so easily pronounce pardon: whether they have always manifested that humility, gentleness and benevolence so well becoming such as spoke in the name of Christ: whether they never used the Holy Gospel to warrant their own anger and ambition or avarice, and in the stile of the Gospel enflamed the mad rage of party: whether they have been equally diligent to make their followers sincere Christians, as warm zealots, Champions for Christ as Champions for Churchmen: whether they promoted knowledge and all religious and rational inquiries without reserve, and taught truth rather than blind submission, rather than the narrow principles of particular factions: whether they have promoted the great blessings of society, civil and religious Liberty, obedience to equal and fixed Laws rather than to the lawless and unsteady will of man, and have always supported Government, when Governors observed the Laws: and whether men who have a holy profession, if in their conduct they be not holy, can be revered for their profession which they dishonour, or lead men into all righteousness, without being righteous themselves?

THE continual endeavours of so many thousand Teachers in any country, to recommend the beauty and benefit of Religion and Virtue, and to shew the deformity and mischief of evil and immorality, would surely be of vast weight and consequence. But let the number of Teachers be ever so great, small good will ensue, if many exert no endeavours at all, if many do it superficially, like a task which they seem forced to, and not to chuse or delight in.

IF they recommend dry and dark speculations, such as are hard to be understood, or if understood, produce no practical duties, and, without mending the heart, only perplex the head; or if they inveigh against such as entertain ideas different from theirs, and provoke people to bitterness towards each other, instead of exhorting them to mutual love and forbearance: If their hearts appear set upon pomp, and gain, and dominion, rather than filled with humility and self-denial, and zeal for the souls of men: If they promote
ignorance

ignorance and slavery, persecution and discord, and shew anger of favour to men, not according as they are wicked or virtuous, but countenance their own followers however bad, and hate and distress such as only follow the pure dictates of Conscience: If they darken or pervert the Gospel by vain glosses, by false and selfish comments, and would oblige all men to submit to these their inventions, tho directly opposite to the Gospel and all the ends of the Gospel; small is the wonder that mankind are not mended by such depraved instruction. It is indeed wonderful that, bad as they are, they are not still worse, since 'tis manifest that over a great part of the earth, and in some of its finest regions, their Instructors are continually deceiving, debasing, blinding, frightening and oppressing them.

IN matters of Religion, neither the Greek Church nor the Roman Church allow their people to retain common sense, nor to forgive it in others. For Religion they are taught gibberish, and contradictions and dreams, and to hate and damn as Atheists, or Heretics all who are not so blind, and distracted, and slavish as themselves. Their Teachers even assume to sell them the mercy of God and eternal Salvation, at a price, to absolve them from the blackest guilt for money, and for money to disarm the Almighty of his resentment and vengeance. As long as they can pay, they may sin, and are thus encouraged nay warranted in eternal immorality. In the Office of the Datary at Rome, sins are taxed according to their several sizes and qualities, and the greatest as well as the least are cancelled by silver and gold; and for iniquities destructive to society and shocking to nature, such as have wealth may find atonement.

WHERE such or any commutations for sin are allowed and practised, are sins likely to abate, sinners to mend, or Religion to abound, or even to subsist, in any force or purity? I wish nothing like this vile traffic were found in other countries even where Popery is abolished. I doubt a good gift to the Altar, that is, to them who minister there, often passes as an expiation for a multitude of sins; and has it never happened that a bounty to the Church has been strangely pressed upon the consciences of timorous and dying people, as what powerfully opened the gates of Paradise, and was a prevailing antidote against future torments?

ONE thing seems to be notoriously true of almost all parties in Religion, that men are not esteemed by them according to their real piety, and virtue, but according to their blind adherence and party-zeal; and the most worthless or worst men are often caressed and applauded, whilst the soberest and the best are neglected or decried. Thus we have seen very pious Christians hated and traduced as very bad Churchmen, when very base and very profligate men were extolled as excellent Churchmen.

THE Gentlemen of Port Royal were, for their Learning and Writings, for their Religion and Virtue, an ornament to the learned world as well as to the Kingdom of France: They were even zealously attached to the Romish Religion. But all this merit saved them not from contumely and persecution, because they had defended the eternal laws of Morality and the Gospel against the execrable maxims and casuistry of the Jesuits, who in their voluminous writings had confounded all Morality and Conscience. For this the Gentlemen of

Port Royal were represented as Atheists, Heretics, and enemies to the Church, nay as enemies to the Government, and thence exposed to all injustice, ill usage and the frowns of power. The like treatment had the divine Archbishop of Cambray, the immortal FENELON. When at the same time, the grossest ignorants, the vilest voluptuaries, the most hot headed bigots, were reckoned excellent Catholics, applauded, and preferred.

WHAT the King of Sardinia has lately done, in taking the education of youth out of the hands of the Jesuits, merits great attention, and is an example to other Princes and States, at least to those of the same communion. It was indeed of high moment, that the public education should not be directed by an order of men who were continually pursuing an interest directly against the interest of the State; who taught his subjects not so much to reverence the Magistrate as to reverence them, nor to love or consider the good of the whole, but the good of that Order; who poisoned them with party-maxims destructive of the maxims of society, and instead of instilling the benevolent principles of peace and mutual forbearance, without which all society must be miserable or perish, inspired virulence and eternal hate, and would rather see the State run into ruin and dissolution, than suffer the least variation from their own conceits, however fond, or ridiculous, or wicked. For, 'tis notorious, that this is the spirit of the Jesuits. I wish it were not the spirit of several others sects and bigots, especially where their bigotry is animated by a passion for power and riches. It seems the Court at Turin is not much disturbed at the threats of the Reverend Fathers to leave the country, but even frankly offers passports to as many as think fit to go.

No body can forget the extraordinary merit and bitter treatment of the late excellent Dr. CLARK, his able performances in defence of Christianity, and the restless attempts to ruin him as a bad Churchman. The declaration of Father CANAYE the Jesuit to the Marshal D'HOCQUINCOURT, related by St. EVREMONT, was open and instructive. The Marshal had said, that he was formerly a Jansenist, but he was now for the Jesuits, and could be crucified for his Religion, though he knew not why or wherefore. Oh excellent words, blessed motions, says the Jesuit! *be crucified for Religion, yet not know why or wherefore!* what an extraordinary grace, my Lord, has Heaven bestowed upon you? *Estote sicuti infantes: Be as little children: Blessed are the poor in spirit.* The good Father liked the Marshal's zeal the better for being stark blind: so far was he from blaming his ignorance.

WHEREVER it is more dangerous to offend the Clergy than to offend God, 'tis natural for the interest of Religion to decay. For, the ignorant and the many, will always incline, nay probably be taught to rely more upon them than upon him, and to think that if they can but please them, they cannot displease him. Where an ill man who conforms, is better used than a good man who dissents, the necessity of being good will not be considered, but the necessity of being conformable, and men will not be so much afraid of sin as of dissenting. When the doing certain actions, which may be done without any devoutness at all, shall yet pass for devotion, many will be apt to think that when they have performed these,

they have done all that is required, at least made amends for past iniquities, which they may still cancel, as often as committed, by the like atonement and repetitions, and by a little devotion on one day in the week, calm their conscience about all their failings during the rest.

THUS false zeal is as it were a mulct for want of Religion, and passes for Religion; and many other Churchmen besides those of Rome, seem to accept of equivalents in the room of real piety. Were it otherwise, the guides of one sect would love the sober and good men of another sect better than the vicious of their own. They would hate the strictest conformists who wanted virtue, and esteem separatists who had it. But, I doubt the constant practice is otherwise in most Churches and Sects. So that the name of Religion is used, but the thing, the essence, is often turned into faction and party, and lost in the endless passions of men. They all talk of CHRIST and PAUL and appeal to them. Perhaps 'tis well for many that they are not yet called upon by either to make good their appeals. Nay, were CHRIST or PAUL to return to the earth under their former characters, I fear their reception, in many countries, would not be better than it was in Judea.

THIS Section, as well as the whole Discourse grows too long tho' much more might be said. I shall make but one observation more, namely, upon the strange inconsistency which has sometimes appeared in the notions of some great and venerable Doctors about evil and sin; I mean how they could be vehement against peccadillos, against follies and frailties, which were of little consequence, and for which perhaps they had no relish, yet could often, at the same time, go deliberately, nay zealously into apparent measures of public oppression or of public tumults and war; could assist and sanctify the most enormous, the most dreadful, the most complicated and devouring of all sins, those of Tyranny and Rebellion; could declaim terribly against profane swearing, which only hurt him who uttered it, and yet encourage and animate universal Perjury, sometimes in Magistrates, at another time in the people; and be for establishing universal Slavery, inciting general Revolts, at different times, just as they happened to be pleased or disgusted. For, such has been the inconsistency of their behaviour in many countries and at many times; and, as none have ever proved sorer plagues to righteous Governors, none have been such fell champions for Tyrants. And as to the abuses of Religion, especially such as were gainful, have they ever appeared willing to reform them, or willingly suffered them to be reformed by others? And have not all great and useful Reforms been accomplished by the Laity, and constantly opposed by the public Teachers? Could Religion, the humble and disinterested Religion of the Gospel flourish under such Circumstances and such Directors?

Sect. XV. *Of Public Spirit, its use and efficacy. How little promoted by public Teachers. Some Considerations upon the importance and character of Public Spirit.*

WHILST the public Teachers were so much attached to party and interest, it was no wonder that in their teaching there were many material omissions. One thing of great importance they seem to have almost entirely neglected, I mean the raising and recommending of Public Spirit, so necessary to the prosperity of every Country, and even to the preservation of all. 'Twas this which animated the Roman State, and set the Romans above all other men. But they who instructed the youth of Rome had no by-ends, no detached interests of their own. They inspired such as they taught, with the love of their Country, and of Virtue and of Honour. The public good, the glory of the State, was the end of all, and to promote it they had learned chearfully to forego every private advantage, nay life itself. This was a fine spirit, early and constantly infused, and produced men who were a credit and ornament to human nature, and are patterns still for the whole race. Such was the glorious effect of a noble and rational education.

THE Romans began to know the value of Liberty, and to feel a passion for the Public Weal, at an age when others since are conning over words, and know little else but to fear the rod, and, without once thinking of their Country, only learn to reverence a particular set of men and names, and heartily to hate all the rest. They are for a course of many years employed about words, and notions and subtleties; and when they are thus sufficiently disciplined into narrowness of mind, when their heads are well filled with absurd maxims and unmeaning distinctions, they may be safely trusted abroad in the world, as secure against all free and rational sentiments, and possessed with false ideas of reverence and of aversion, to the end of their lives. When, like the young Romans, they might be shining in assemblies or armies, they are engaged in Logic and combating in Metaphysics.

MR. LOCK says, " 'Tis matter of astonishment, that men of quality and parts should suffer themselves to be so far misled by custom and implicit faith. Reason, if consulted, would advise, that their children's time should be spent in acquiring what might be useful to them when they come to be men, rather than to have their heads stuffed with a deal of trash, a great part whereof they usually never do ('tis certain they never need to) think on again as long as they live; and so much as does stick by them they are only the worse for, This is so well known, that I appeal to parents themselves, who have been at cost to have their young heirs taught it, whether it be not ridiculous for their sons to have any tincture of that sort of learning, when they come abroad into the world; whether any appearance of it would not lessen and disgrace them in company. And that certainly must be an admirable acquisition, and deserves well to make a part in education, which men are ashamed of where they are most concerned to shew their parts and breeding."

IN latter ages the cause of public Liberty has been little beholden to the public Teachers, who, instead of instilling and cherishing Public Spirit, without which Liberty can hardly subsist, have too often exerted all their endeavours to extinguish both. Wherever Slavery is settled, they help too assiduously to confirm it, and where it is not, many of them have appeared diligent agents to introduce it. Was it thus they merited the profound reverence which they claimed from mankind, thus that they earned the mighty revenues which they enjoyed, for bringing upon men the highest evil which men can suffer, an evil big with every other evil, the dreadful calamity of public Servitude?

FOR the following part of this Section upon Public Spirit, I am obliged to a noble Lord of great knowledge, observation and parts, with all which he himself seems to be much less acquainted, than they are who have the happiness of knowing him; and such is the private manner in which he passes most of his time, that his acquaintance are far from numerous: So natural it is for fine qualifications to be accompanied with great modesty.

“IT is a remark of THUCYDIDES, that bad Laws well executed are better than good Laws not duly observed. It is not enough for a Nation to have a good Constitution, unless both the Governors and People concur in adhering to it with strictness. Abuses once suffered to creep in, so naturally gain ground, so quickly spread, that it requires constant vigilance to prevent their entrance and growth. A jealousy for the Public is a commendable jealousy, and if ever the excess of any passion were justifiable, it would surely be so here. That temper of mind to which we give the name of Public Spirit, is so necessary to all societies, that 'tis next to impossible they should long subsist without it. Indeed, whatever difficulties particular men may find in the exercise of it, all men agree to commend it. Nor can there be better proof of the excellency of any character, than to see the very men who resolve never to deserve it, taking great pains to make the world believe that they have a right to it.

“IN times of the greatest corruption, we do not find, that ever a corrupt man of any sense durst openly avow his principles, or declare that he made his own interest the measure of his public conduct. Quite otherwise: Such men are apt to start at their own picture, and will not forgive those who discover their views and represent them in proper colours. Such tenderness is pruden- tial; since the discovery of ill designs, is a step towards defeating them. Besides, men are generally more ashamed of vices that shew the weakness of their understanding, than of those which unfold the corruption of their hearts. 'Tis a confession of the meanness of a selfish disposition, that men are thus loth to be thought governed by it. Though they would be glad to reap benefit from their low pursuits, they are ashamed to be detected in contriving them.

“IT therefore looks as if it were equally renouncing the rules of good sense and every impulse of good nature, to be destitute of regard for the welfare of the Community, or to imagine that any private advantage can stand in competition with the prosperity of the whole. For one nation to grow rich by the spoils

“ of others, is very unjust, yet not always impolitic. But to weaken
 “ and impoverish our own Country, is as foolish as 'tis wicked ; since
 “ private property must be very insecure when once that of the
 “ public is in danger ; nor can it be ever more so than when it
 “ comes to be deserted by those whose interest it is to preserve it.

“ I believe that scarce any Constitution has been overturned by
 “ meer accidents or misfortunes. Errors at home may have im-
 “ mediately contributed to national ruin, and foreign invasion brought
 “ it on. But a long course of mismanagements, of ambition and
 “ rapine, and of evil and loose administration, has generally preceded
 “ all great Revolutions ; when the leading men made it their only
 “ study to supplant, decry, and oppress each other ; when the peo-
 “ ple were on both sides perverted to serve the narrow and corrupt
 “ purposes of particular and opposite Leaders, and were animated not
 “ by zeal for their Country, but for hostile factions debauching and
 “ rending their Country. Whenever cabals, and licence, whenever
 “ corruption and contempt of authority, are the measures of ac-
 “ quiring, and afterwards of supporting power, the consequences must
 “ be oppression and injustice, which will naturally introduce disor-
 “ der and confusion. A Government thus sapped in the foundations,
 “ like a tree loosened at the roots, will infallibly be overturned by
 “ the first unruly blast, and would in time be overfet even by its
 “ own weight.

“ SOCIETIES can never subsist but through the same means
 “ by which they were first instituted. Impartiality and justice, zeal
 “ for the Public, and a steady adherence to its interest, are the only
 “ national securities. When these are wanting, large Territories and
 “ great Fleets and Armies will prove but feeble supports ; and in
 “ spite of all such splendid appearances, destruction will follow. The
 “ several changes of Government in the Grecian Commonwealths,
 “ are proofs of this observation. Abuses of power made corrupti-
 “ on necessary ; corruption produced baseness, luxury, and the extinc-
 “ tion of all virtue, and these seldom ended but in some kind of
 “ Usurpation and Tyranny. Nor were they brought to a sense of their
 “ follies till they had thus suffered for them ; and, before they thought
 “ of returning to their old principles of honesty and Public Spirit,
 “ they must be first awakened by the severe lash of some arbitrary
 “ power.

“ IT was for this integrity of Manners, for this Public Spirit,
 “ and inviolable attachment to their Constitution, that the Lacedæ-
 “ monians were so remarkable, as were also the Romans for many
 “ ages, and it was through the decay of Public Spirit and national
 “ Integrity, that Athens was so near being destroyed in the course
 “ of the Peloponnesian War. ALCIBIADES, who had boundless am-
 “ bition, employed his great wealth in debauching the people, that
 “ by their assistance he might raise himself upon the ruin of his
 “ antagonist. Hence also the peace concluded between the two na-
 “ tions by Nicias, was broken a few years after it was made ;
 “ a breach which brought on all those losses abroad, all those dis-
 “ tractions at home, which had like to have ended in the utter
 “ subjection of the Republic.

“ MANY examples of this kind are found in the Roman Histo-
 “ rians ; but remarkable above all is the story and conduct of CÆ-
 “ SAR,

“SAR, who by debauching the people enslaved the State. Who-
 “ever reads TULLY’s Epistles, which are a curious secret History of
 “those times, must be struck with the prodigious dissolution of
 “manners in that once honest and powerful people. Indeed so asto-
 “nishing was the change, that they were become even past re-
 “claiming. All the smart of their long and heavy misfortunes,
 “was not sufficient to bring them back to a sense of their duty
 “to their country. Insomuch that when by the death of their
 “Dictator, Liberty was once more as it were presented to them, they
 “wanted the courage, or rather they had not the honesty to ac-
 “cept it.

“IF we inquire into the accounts of latter days, we still find
 “the same causes regularly producing the same effects. What was
 “it that occasioned those long and desperate civil wars which af-
 “flicted and almost destroyed the great and powerful Kingdom of
 “France? Was it not private ambition, private interest carried on
 “under public pretences? The preservation of the old Religion, and
 “the modest request of a toleration to the new, were the outward
 “appearances, and very plausible they were. But the unjustifiable
 “ambition of the Princes, and the selfish attachment of their de-
 “pendents, were the secret springs that produced and prolonged those
 “pernicious disturbances, pernicious not only in weakening and im-
 “poverishing the State for the present, but in debauching the prin-
 “ciples of all orders of men, and making each side look upon the
 “irregular views of their own party as the only objects of atten-
 “tion and zeal, and thus sacrifice the interest, nay almost the very
 “being of the Community to the low and narrow pursuits of fu-
 “rious factions. And when after the short calm of HENRY the
 “fourth’s reign, the public disorders began to revive in the minority
 “of his Successor, and it was found necessary for the support of the
 “Royal Power, to curb and break that of the Grandees, an op-
 “portunity was furnished to two succeeding Ministers, for their
 “own security as well as their Master’s, totally to destroy all pos-
 “sibility of opposition. So that putting an end to the old esta-
 “blishment, in its room they set up a new, which, probably, the
 “French Nation will never be able to remove or alter.

“’TIS impossible to forget, on this occasion, the great Re-
 “volution in a neighbouring Kingdom, not much above half a cen-
 “tury ago. Whilst the Nobility and Commons were wisely quar-
 “relling about the manner of raising the money requisite for dis-
 “banding the army, two or three Parricides snatched the opportunity,
 “and sold the Liberties of their Country for two hundred and fifty thou-
 “sand crowns, and changed an elective and limited Monarchy in-
 “to one hereditary and absolute.

“WHO can reflect on the folly of such conduct, without sur-
 “prize, when he considers it as sometimes passing upon the world
 “for mighty artifice and cunning? To barter away substances
 “for shadows, to part with a birthright for a mess of pottage, is
 “an absurdity so glaring, that one might as well believe those who
 “do it to be possessed with real honesty as with any share of wis-
 “dom. Contemptible, and poor and foolish are any terms, even
 “the highest terms, for betraying one’s Country. They who do it,
 “do but teach and encourage others to play the same game upon
 “themselves,

“ themselves, where they find by their example it may be done with
 “ impunity. What is general dishonesty, but general insecurity? To
 “ practise villany our selves, is to authorize it in others against us; and
 “ ’tis as natural to lose by it as to gain by it. They who for some
 “ profit of their own would defraud mankind of their liberties or
 “ fortunes are like sharpers who intoxicate company with liquor be-
 “ fore they play with them. They may succeed in robbing their
 “ dupes of their money, but have cause to fear their rage; since
 “ by the unjust loss of their money, men are likewise apt to
 “ lose all temper.

“ WITHOUT peace of mind there can be no such thing as
 “ happiness; nor can there be any peace of mind where there is a
 “ sense of guilt, which is naturally accompanied with apprehension
 “ of danger. Can such as know that they are not to be trusted
 “ themselves, ever frankly trust others? They will be apt to think
 “ others like themselves, true only to self-interest, and so will try
 “ to deceive them, as well as despise them for being deceived. Thus
 “ endless dishonesty, whether in private or public life, will be at-
 “ tended with endless anxieties, when such as practise it remember
 “ that by all their unrighteous acquisitions, all their guilty success,
 “ they can only set themselves up as marks to be shot at, and will
 “ have the less chance of escaping by being so much exposed.

“ GREATNESS acquired by great abilities and Public Spirit, is
 “ a noble acquisition, and will be enjoyed with satisfaction, though
 “ it cannot always escape obloquy and clamour. But power and
 “ pomp purchased by the misery and groans of the people, as it is
 “ always detestable, so ’tis always unsafe. Grandeur, in order to be
 “ respected by the Public, must be supported with merit towards
 “ the Public. They who love the people, they who consult their
 “ interest and pursue it, are worthy to shine amongst them, nay,
 “ worthy to rule them. But greatness without dignity, which arises
 “ as well from public benevolence as from capacity, is like Laws
 “ without penalties: The weak and simple may perhaps submit to
 “ them; but they are despised by those whom they are most wanted
 “ to restrain. To be exalted upon the ruins of Liberty and Laws, to
 “ rise by force and iniquity, and to assert superiority over men by hurt-
 “ ing and oppressing them, is strange infatuation, a dangerous pro-
 “ vince. ’Tis like being mounted on an unruly horse without bit
 “ or bridle; a situation which no wise man would chuse to be in.
 “ When SOLON was advised to make use of his interest with his
 “ countrymen to seize the supreme rule, he answered wisely, that
 “ *Tyranny indeed was a fair spot; but there was no way to come out*
 “ *of it.*

“ SUCH as are known not to love their Country, cannot reason-
 “ ably expect to be safe in it, or that enmity to the Public will
 “ not meet with public hate, which is the next step to public re-
 “ venge: and they who are indifferent to every interest but their own,
 “ though they may purchase flatterers who have minds as bad as
 “ theirs, can never be exempt from one miserable reflection, that
 “ most men, and all the best men abhor them, whilst only a few
 “ of the worst applaud them; nor can they find much delight from
 “ the hollow praises of a tribe of Fawners, when they remember
 “ that injured multitudes are at the same time perhaps cursing them.

DISCOURSES UPON TACITUS. 145

“ THE desire of applause is implanted in human nature, and
“ without doubt intended by the Author of nature as an incite-
“ ment to virtue and benevolent actions; since by such means only
“ we can be sure of obtaining so pleasing a gratification. We may
“ indeed personate Public Spirit for a while, yet have none, and
“ for a while pass for virtuous without having Virtue: But the
“ fraud will soon be discovered. No disguises can long hide the
“ false Patriot; and his hypocrisy will but add to his condemna-
“ tion, when it is no longer able to cover his guilt.

“ THERE seems to be one never failing test whence to distin-
“ guish a public spirited Man; even an honest and disinterested
“ heart. This is a sort of constitutional Virtue, and whoever has
“ it is secure against many of the most dangerous temptations. The
“ love of money and of power are violent passions, and few who
“ are strongly possessed with them can safely trust themselves. How
“ naturally does the avaricious man listen to any scheme for filling
“ his coffers? How eagerly does the ambitious man enter into mea-
“ sures for enlarging his figure and power? How apt are both to
“ flatter themselves that they deserve all that they can possibly possess,
“ that whatever they can grasp is but their due, and that there-
“ fore they can never grasp too much? Blinded by these favourite
“ inclinations they can bear nothing that thwarts them; and as they
“ thus state the account on one side only, the ballance must be
“ eternally one way.

“ THE true Patriot is content to take the approbation of his
“ own conduct, at least for one part of his reward; neither would
“ he exchange his quiet of mind, or the good wishes of his coun-
“ trymen, for all the benefit which he could possibly make by justly
“ forfeiting either. He has a general benevolence to the rest of the
“ world, and cannot taste that unnatural happiness of being alone
“ easy amongst the many that are miserable, especially were they
“ to be miserable by his means. Though he may not set up for
“ any romantic pitch of Patriotism, though he do not undertake
“ to devote himself for his Country, like CURTIUS, and may be
“ diffident of the weakness of human nature when put upon such
“ awful trials; yet of one Virtue he is at all times sure, never to
“ sacrifice the Public to his passions or interest, or risk the tran-
“ quillity of the State for any views or emoluments of his own.

The End of the Discourses.

ERRATA in the DISCOURSES.

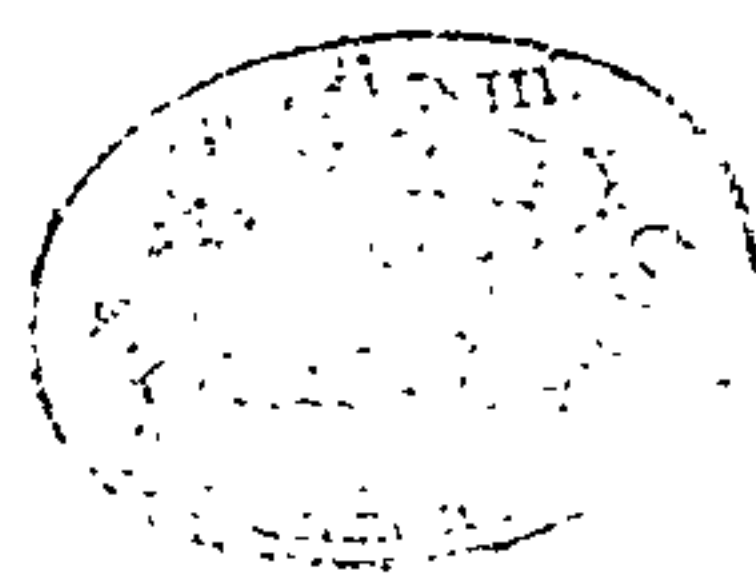
PAGE 13. line 1. for them, read it. p. 17. l. the last, after dreaded, put a comma. p. 30. l. 36. for their, r. his: and l. 37. for estates and lives, r. life and estate. p. 94. at the end of the first Paragraph put a point of interrogation. p. 108. l. 11. for once, r. one of. p. 121. l. 35. for hearing, r. bearing. p. 128. Sect. ix. paragraph 2. for purfuit, r. pursuits. p. 133. l. 18. for prosecutor, r. persecutor. p. 139. l. 35. after Slavery, add or.

ERRATA in the HISTORY, &c.

PAGE 51. line 15. for implacable, read implacably. p. 82. l. 6. for mere, r. were. p. 97. l. last but two, dele comma after were. p. 136. l. last, after tidings, add a comma. p. 141. l. 35. for POMPEIUS SILVANUS, r. POPPEUS SILVANUS. p. 149. l. 5. after FABIUS, add a comma. p. 182. l. 3. after and, add that. p. 191. l. 8. after SISENNA, put a full point. p. 225. l. 13. for was what he boasted, r. what he boasted was. p. 228. l. 22. for From, r. For. p. 270. l. 24. for Treverians, r. Lingones. l. 25. for Lingones, r. Treverians. p. 295. l. 2. for from, r. by. p. 296. l. last but four, for mighty, r. nightly. p. 326. l. last but two. dele the word two. p. 331. l. 34. for orderly, r. ordinarily.

THE
HISTORY
OF
TACITUS.
BOOK I.

The SUMMARY.



THE decay of good Historians, whence: the partiality of Writers, why. What copious matter for the following History. The condition of the City, Armies and Provinces, upon the death of NERO. GALBA disliked: the wickedness of his Ministers: the Soldiery discontent. Of VESPASIAN, MUCIANUS, and the forces in the East. Those in Germany revolt. GALBA adopts PISO: OTHO conspires against both, corrupts the Prætorian guards, and is by them saluted Emperor. GALBA and PISO murdered: their Characters. What terror prevails in the City. VITELLIUS proclaimed Emperor, by whom and how. The march of his Army and Generals into Italy: he himself follows. His luxury and stupidity. The cruelty and rapine of his Generals, CAECINA and VALENS. The behaviour of OTHO; he and VITELLIUS strive to over-reach one another. Com-bustions in Mæsia, but repressed. The terrible spirit of the soldiers in the City, their disorders and insurrection: require to have the whole Senate murdered: are hardly appeased by OTHO. The melancholy state of Rome: OTHO leaves it and proceeds to war. — All these the transactions of a few months.



WITH the second Consulship of SERVIUS GALBA, who in it had TITUS VINIUS for his Colleague, I shall begin this Work. For, the preceding history, eight hundred and twenty years backwards to the foundation of Rome, has been by divers authors compiled, who in recounting the transactions of the Roman people, have acquitted themselves with an eloquence equal to their freedom of spirit unconfined. But

when after the battle of Actium public peace could be no otherwise obtained, than by throwing the whole power of the Roman world into the hands of one, all such noble writers utterly disappeared. Moreover, towards the impairing and corrupting of truth, many other causes concurred: As first, the Public, being but one man's property, was no man's concern, and Rome was to her own Citizens become like another State, foreign and unknown. Next, as well from a servile proneness to idolize the Emperors, as from a detestation of their persons and power, their conduct was misrepresented. So that, between the personal complaisance of some, and the personal wrath of others, the impartial care of informing posterity was lost. It is true that against the arts of a fawning writer we are easily upon our guard. But readily swallowed are bitterness and calumnies; since, while in sycophancy there appears the detestable guilt of servitude and debasement, detraction and invective come covered under the deceitful disguise of boldness and free speech. To me neither was GALBA, nor OTHO, nor VITELLIUS known by any act of favour or injustice. That my promotion in the State was begun by VESPASIAN, augmented by TITUS, and by DOMITIAN advanced yet higher, I would by no means disown. But by those who, like me, profess to deliver truth, naked and uncorrupt, nor personal affection nor personal hate must be admitted in their Characters of men. If life remain, I have reserved, for the study and employment of my old age, the reign of the deified Nerva, with that of the Emperor TRAJAN; a work more copious, as well as more safe. Such is the rare felicity of these times, when you are at full liberty to entertain what sentiments you will, and to declare what sentiments you entertain.

My present attempt is to describe a time abounding in revolutions and surprizing events; tragical in battles and slaughter; full of fury and faction, of insurrections and revolts; a time horrible and bloody even in the intervals of peace. Behold four Emperors slain by the sword; three fierce civil wars, foreign wars still more; generally a sad mixture of both civil and foreign: Our affairs indeed successful in the East, but in the West melancholy and

and disastrous: Commotions begun in Illyricum, and beginning in both the Gauls; Britain reduced, and just after lost: The Suevian people, and those of Sarmatia, confederated against us; the name of the Dacians, for the many bloody defeats, sometimes sustained from them by us, sometimes by us returned upon them, become great and renowned: The Parthians ready to arm upon the appearance of a counterfeit NERO: Italy in the mean time afflicted with fresh calamities altogether tragical, or with old, after a long intermission, revived: The fairest cities of Campania swallowed up or overthrown, and that fine territory, fruitful above all others, covered with desolation: Rome it self, by frequent conflagrations, laid waste; her temples, the most venerable and ancient, utterly consumed; and even the capitol burnt down by the hands of Romans: Religion profaned; mighty and daring adulteries: The Isles peopled with Exiles; the rocks contaminated with murder and blood. But more hideous still were the ravages of cruelty at Rome. It was treasonable to be noble; capital to be rich; criminal to have borne honours; criminal to have declined them; and the reward of worth and virtue was quick and inevitable destruction. Nor were the baneful villanies of the Informers more shocking than their mighty and distinguishing rewards; whilst upon some were bestowed, as the spoils of the State, the Pontifical dignities and those of the Consulship: others were sent with Procuratorial authority into the Provinces: some were made prime confidents and ministers at home; and in every station, exerting all their terrors and pursuing their hate, they controuled and confounded all things. Slaves were suborned against their Masters, Freedmen against their Patrons; and such as had no enemies were betrayed and undone by their friends.

The age however was not so utterly forsaken of all virtue, but that it likewise afforded laudable examples of friendship and magnanimity. There were mothers who accompanied their banished sons; wives who followed their husbands into exile; in kindred were found resolution and succour; in sons in law constancy and duty; in slaves such fidelity as mocked all the menaces and horror of the torture: Illustrious men struggling under keen distress,
supporting

supporting it nobly, and their fortitude in death equal to that of the most celebrated ancients. Besides the endless emergencies and rotations which were purely human; there appeared, in the earth and the air, such signs as were more than natural, the tumult and menaces of thunder, and other prophetic warnings; but all strangely varying, joyful, terrible, doubtful, apparent. In truth, as never had more tragical calamities befallen the Roman people, never was it proved by more evident indications, that not for our protection, but for their own vengeance, is the providence of the Gods over us.

BUT before I begin the thread of my story, it seems necessary to represent the condition of the City, to shew the spirit of the several Armies, the state and disposition of the Provinces, with all our political advantages and weakneses in the whole Roman world; that hence may be learnt not only the last result of things, which is for the most part fortuitous, but their causes too and first movements. As the death of NERO pass'd for a public blessing, especially in the first impulse of joy; so it awakened different passions in the minds of men, not only at Rome, in the Senate, People, and City troops, but in all the Legions every where, and in the Leaders of the Legions; as then first was disclosed a secret of government which affected all these interests; "that elsewhere than at Rome an Emperor could be created." The Senators rejoicing in their ancient liberty just resumed, exercised it with the greater boldness, as GALBA was a new Prince, not yet established, and absent. The principal Roman Knights were, next to the Senators, inspired with the same pleasing passion. Such of the people as remained uncorrupt, and were attached to the interest of the great families, with the followers and freedmen of persons condemned to death or exile, became revived with vigorous hopes. The Vulgar, they who were sunk in fordidness and debauchery, and inured to the idle amusements of the Theatre and the Circus; with them the viler sort of bondmen, or others who having wasted their fortunes, subsisted by the infamous vices of NERO; were all struck with sadness, all greedy of rumours and innovations.

THE Soldiery of Rome, who were possessed with a long and sworn fealty to the family of the Cæsars, and from no bias in themselves, but rather by artifice and instigation, were urged to desert NERO; after they found that the promise of a donative in GALBA's name was unfulfilled; that there was not in peace, as in war, equal scope for mighty merit and mighty recompences; and that the favour of a Prince created by the Legions, would be engrossed by the Legions; became abandoned to novel designs, in which they were further animated by the treasonable practices of NYMPHIDIUS their Captain, who had embarked in measures to seize the Sovereignty. It is true, that in the very attempt NYMPHIDIUS perished. But, tho the head of the conspiracy was cut off, most of the soldiers had been engaged in it, and their disaffection remained. Nor did they refrain from seditious invectives, vilifying GALBA for his old age and avarice. That severity of his, a quality so admired of old, and by the ancient armies ever distinguished with applause, was very grievous to a slothful soldiery scorning the primitive discipline, and for fourteen years so habituated to the base reign of NERO, that at this time they no less admired the vileness and vices of their Princes, than of old they had adored their virtues. The disaffection was heightened by a saying of GALBA's, a saying worthy of virtue and the Commonwealth, but to himself perilous; *that he chose his soldiers, and did not buy them.* Neither did the rest of his conduct correspond with this good rule.

TITUS VINIUS and CORNELIUS LACO, his ministers, the one of all men the most pestilently wicked, the other the most worthless and abject, deriving upon him the weight and scandal of their own numberless iniquities, and scorn upon the impotence of the administration, involved the Prince, already enfeebled with age, in utter ruin and disgrace. Slow and bloody was his march to Rome, having in it slain CINGONIUS VARRO, Consul elect, and PETRONIUS TURPILIANUS, who had been Consul; the former as an accomplice in the Conspiracy of NYMPHIDIUS, PETRONIUS for having commanded as General under NERO: and both were deemed to perish as Innocents, as they died without being heard in their own defence. His public entry

into the City, after the massacre of so many thousand soldiers destitute of arms, was of boding aspect, and terrible even to those by whose swords they had fallen. A Spanish Legion was by him brought into the City, where likewise remained another, one enrolled by NERO out of the Marines. So that Rome was filled with an army altogether new and extraordinary there. For, besides all these forces, there were many more from Germany, Britain, and Illyricum; such as had been thence detached by NERO, and sent forwards to the Caspian streights, for the war which he meditated against the Albanians, but recalled to suppress the revolt of VINDEX in Gaul. Mighty and abundant materials these for public combustions and changes; in truth not all directly combining in favour of any particular, yet all prepared for the next daring spirit.

AT the same juncture it fortun'd, that the assassination of CLODIUS MACER, and that of FONTEIUS CAPITO, were divulged. MACER, whilst he rais'd manifest commotion in Africa, was by TREBONIUS GARUCIANUS, the Imperial Procurator there, at the command of GALBA, slain; and CAPITO in Germany for the same crime, by CORNELIUS AQUINUS and FABIUS VALENS, Commanders of the Legions, without staying for the Emperor's command. There were who believed that CAPITO, however abominable he were, stained with avarice and immersed in impurities, had yet declined to engage in any turbulent counsels; that having rejected the solicitations of AQUINUS and VALENS to rebel with them, he was by them charged with their own ill faith and treason; and that GALBA, whether from unsteadiness of spirit, or afraid of making deeper scrutiny, and seeming to approve their conduct whatever it were, seeing whatever it were, it could not be recalled; ratified the execution. However it were, both these executions, that of MACER as well as that of CAPITO, were sadly received. The usual fate this of every Prince under public hate; since every action of his, whether good or evil, is invidiously construed and contributes to undo him. Already too his Freedmen, indulged in immoderate power, were too common sale exposing all the honours and emoluments of the State. His Bondmen also were greedy to profit by their sudden sunshine, and eager to
 2 convert

convert into hasty gains the short reign of an ancient Master. So that in the Court of GALBA appeared all the evils and excesses lately seen in that of NERO, and were equally grievous, but not equally excused. To those who were accustomed to behold the youth and gay person of NERO, even the age of GALBA was matter of derision and hate; agreeably to the genius of the Vulgar, in their comparing of Princes, always to prefer figure and personal grace.

SUCH was the temper of men at Rome, suitable to that of a multitude so mighty and various. For the Provinces; Spain was governed by CLUVIUS RUFUS an eloquent man, and qualified for affairs in time of peace, but void of experience in war. Both the Gauls, besides that they still revered the memory of VINDEX, were retained by recent obligations, the privilege of Roman Citizens, and the reduction of their Tribute. Those Gallic Cities however, which lay contiguous to the German armies, as they were not distinguished with the like honours, but some of them even shortened of their territory, felt the same measure of indignation from the advantages reaped by others, as from the indignities done to themselves. Amongst the German armies appeared a spirit altogether threatening in forces so mighty. From the pride of their late victory, they were become exulting and furious; and, from fear of being charged with espousing an opposite cause, anxious and distrustful. Late and slow had been their revolt from NERO; neither had VERGINIUS their General declared immediately for GALBA. Whether he studied to make himself Emperor, is uncertain; but universally agreed, that the soldiery had tendered him the Empire. By the slaying of CAPITO, even such as could not complain that it was undeserved, were yet piqued and enraged. What they wanted was a leader; VERGINIUS having been, under the shew of friendship, removed from them; and in his Person, as he was not restored, but his conduct even arraigned, they conceived themselves to be charged as delinquents.

THE Army in upper Germany contemned their Commander, HORDEONIUS FLACCUS, one from his lameness and the infirmities of age, unweildy and decrepit, void of firmness, void of authority; unequal, in truth, to the direction

direction of a soldiery the most orderly and peaceable. So that, under their present frenzy, they were even further inflamed by his impotent endeavours to restrain them. The Legions in lower Germany had been a good while without a Commander of Consular name; till now by GALBA was sent VITELLIUS, the son of that VITELLIUS who had been Cenfor and thrice Consul. This to the Emperor seemed sufficient. The Army in Britain was free from all disorder and the rage of parties. None, in truth, of all our Legions lived more inoffensively than they, during all the heat and uproar of the civil wars; perhaps because they were remote, and separated by the sea; or perhaps by frequent action in the field, they had been inured, upon a foreign foe rather to spend their hate. Illyricum remained in tranquillity; though the Legions called from thence by NERO, had, while they tarried idle in Italy, applied by Ambassadors and solicitations, to VERGINIUS. But as by long tracts of countries the two armies were disjoined, (the most wholesome expedient to secure the faith of soldiers) they neither united their forces, nor communicated their infection and crimes.

THE East continued hitherto free from all commotion. LICINIUS MUCIANUS, at the head of four Legions, governed Syria, a man equally signal for the favours and for the frowns of fortune. In his youth he had, by all arts and address, courted the favour of men in power. His estate being then wasted, his condition desperate, the indignation too of CLAUDIUS threatening him, he crept into a retirement in Asia, and there lived as near to the state of an exile, as he was afterwards to that of a Sovereign. In him centered a strange combination of qualities good and bad, luxury and vigilance; haughtiness and complaisance; during recess, excessively voluptuous; of infinite abilities, when business urged him. Hence his equal shares of praise and reproach, as a public minister admired, as a private voluptuary condemned. But being a great master in all the several arts of engaging, he was mighty in credit with those who were under him, or about him, or in equal authority with him; such a man, finally, as could easier make an Emperor than be one. The war against the Jews was conducted by FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS, at
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the head of three Legions; a command to which he had been preferred by NERO. Nor against GALBA did VESPASIAN harbour any unkind wish or distaste; nay he had dispatched away his son TITUS to perform fealty and homage; as in its place we shall remember. That the Empire was by the invifible laws of fate, by prodigies divinely fent, and by the refponfes of Oracles, foretold and ordained to VESPASIAN and his fons; was what we believed after we had feen them Emperors.

THE government of Egypt with the command of the troops which bridled it, had, from the times of AUGUSTUS, been vefted in the Roman Knights with the authority of its ancient Kings. Such precaution he thought neceffary, to retain under his own infpection the government of a kingdom furrounded with feas and deserts, abounding in grain, intoxicated with fuperftition, addicted to riot, and thence prone to feuds and fedition; unacquainted with the reftraints of law, and infenfible of duty to magiftrates. TIBERIUS ALEXANDER ruled at this time there, himfelf a native of Egypt. AFRICA and the Legions in it, were difpofed to fubmit to any Emperor whatfoever, now CLODIUS MACER was flain; having in him proved the government of an humbler mafter. The two Mauritania, Rætia, Noricum, Thrace, and the other countries adminiftered by Procurators, adopted the temper of the feveral armies lying next them, and were infligated by love or hate to the different factions, according to the neighbourhood and influence of the ftronger. The Provinces which were unarmed, and Italy itfelf principally, lay open to be inflaved by the next invader, whoever he were, and to become the prize of war and conquest. In this fituation flood the Roman affairs, when SERVIUS GALBA in his fecond Confulship, with TITUS VINIUS for his Collegue, began the year; a year which to them proved the laft, and upon the Commonwealth well nigh brought her final doom.

EARLY in January arrived advices from POMPEIUS PROPINQUUS, Procurator of Belgic Gaul, that the Legions in higher Germany, in open violation of their oaths and allegiance, demanded imperioufly to have an-

other Emperor, and to the pleasure of the Senate and People of Rome referred the free election of one; as from this complaisance they hoped to merit a slighter censure of this their revolt. It was this intelligence that ripened the design about which GALBA had for some time been deliberating within himself, as well as in concert with his confidants, concerning the adoption of a successor. Nor in truth had any subject, during the few months of his reign, so much filled all mouths throughout the City; not from the licentious freedom only and fondness of canvassing public counsels and events, but in consideration of the crazy age of GALBA. Few indeed possessed any affection for the Public, or capacity to judge of it; but numbers, out of secret and selfish views, awarded the adoption to this patron, or to that friend, spreading his fame in cabals. They even found motives equally strong from their hate of TITUS VINIUS, who growing daily more potent, grew thence daily more detested. For, such was the weakness and acquiescence of GALBA, that by it the avarice of his friends, already insatiable, and ravening according to the measure of his sovereign fortune, was further heightened and excited; whilst under a Prince thus feeble and credulous, their iniquities were attended with the smaller peril, and with gains the more mighty.

THE whole power of the Sovereignty was shared between TITUS VINIUS the Consul, and CORNELIUS LACO, Captain of the Prætorian Guards. Nor inferior to either in grace and authority was ICELUS his Freedman, now vested by the Gold ring with the order of Knighthood, and every where called by an equestrian name, that of MARTIANUS. These favourites, already at variance, and in smaller instances pursuing each his own separate views, were in their sentiments about choosing a successor, divided into two factions. VINIUS was for OTHO: LACO and ICELUS were combined together, yet not so much to favour the interest of any particular, as that of any particular but him. Neither was the friendship between OTHO and TITUS VINIUS unknown to GALBA, who had learnt it from the bruitings of such as are wont to comment upon all things. For, as VI-

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BOOK I. OF TACITUS.

II

NIUS had a daughter who was a widow, and OTHO was not married, it was taken for granted that an alliance between them was intended. It is my own opinion, that GALBA was moreover moved by a concern for the Commonwealth, which was in vain rescued from NERO, were it to devolve upon OTHO. For, in a manner loose and idle had OTHO wasted his tender years, in scandalous debaucheries his youth, and grew acceptable to NERO purely by imitating his profligate life. To him therefore, as to the chief confident in his impure pleasures, had NERO committed the keeping of his beloved mistress, POPPEA SABINA, till he could accomplish the removal of OCTAVIA his wife; but soon suspecting him for a rival, he sent him to Lusitania, where the administration of that province furnished a pretence for keeping him from Rome. In Lusitania he governed with gentleness and popularity; was the foremost to espouse the cause of GALBA, nor failed to promote it with vigour; and while the war continued, made the noblest figure of all who attended it; and the hopes which, from such recommendations, he had instantly conceived of the adoption, continued daily to transport him more and more, as he was favoured by most of the soldiery, and as all the courtiers and creatures of NERO were passionate for a Prince so resembling the late one.

GALBA the while, who after tidings of the sedition in Germany (though of VITELLIUS he hitherto knew nothing certain) was beset with anxieties; full of fears whither the fury of the armies might tend, nor in truth trusting to the faith of the troops in Rome; applied what to him seemed the only remedy, and held a council for declaring a successor. To it, besides VINIUS and LACO, having summoned MARIUS CELSUS, Consul elect, and DUCENNIUS GEMINUS, Governor of Rome; he, after a short speech concerning his own great age, ordered PISO LICINIANUS to be sent for; 'tis uncertain whether of his own motion and choice, or, as some believed, by the persuasions of LACO; as between him and PISO there had passed an intercourse of friendship at the house of RUBELLIUS PLAUTUS. But he artfully recommended PISO as one to himself unknown; and to

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this his counsel had accrued the character of sincerity from the reputation of the recommended, altogether eminent and unblemished. PISO was the son of MARCUS CRASSUS and SCRIBONIA, and both by father and mother nobly born; his aspect and demeanour resembling those of the ancient Romans; and such as, in candid estimation, passed for grave; but by those who judged censoriously, accounted melancholy and austere. That part of his temper, which alarmed the discontented, pleased the person adopting.

GALBA therefore, taking PISO by the hand, is said to have spoke in the following strain. “ Were I, as a private man to adopt you for my son, by vertue of the law *Curia*, in presence of the Pontifs, according to the ordinary usage; glorious even then would be the adoption to us both; as with the blood of the great POMPEY and of MARCUS CRASSUS, my family would be enriched; and the nobility of your house derive fresh splendor from the signal lustre and renown of the Sulpitian and Lutatian race. I am now a public person, by the united consent of Gods and men called to the Empire; and of this same Sovereignty, for which our Ancestors contended with arms, I, who by war have obtained it, do offer you the possession, while you are neither seeking nor pursuing it: A gift to which I am urged only by the love of my Country and your own excellent qualifications. In this I follow the example of the deified AUGUSTUS, who assumed successively, for his partners in power, first his sister’s son MARCELLUS, next his son in law AGRIPPA, afterwards his grandsons; lastly, his wife’s son TIBERIUS. But AUGUSTUS who would entail the Empire upon his own house, in his own house sought a successor: I chuse out of the Commonwealth an heir to the Commonwealth. Not that I am reduced to this choice by any want of relations, to my blood, or of fellow commanders in war. But neither did I, no more than you, arrive at supreme power by any efforts of ambition; and my thus overlooking your relations, as well as my own, is a proof and monument with what sincerity of intention I prefer you to all men. You have a brother,

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“ ther,

“ ther, in nobility your equal, in age your superior;
 “ a man worthy of this Fortune; did I not in you find
 “ one still more worthy. Such is your age as to be past
 “ the giddiness and impetuosity of youth; such has been
 “ your course of life, that nothing in your conduct thus
 “ far, is subject to blame. But hitherto you have only
 “ had an adverse fortune to contend with. More dan-
 “ gerous and keen are the stimulations of prosperity, to
 “ try the temper of the soul and call forth its weaknesses.
 “ For, the strokes of calamity we struggle under and bear:
 “ By a flow of felicity we are utterly subdued and cor-
 “ rupted.

“ You, doubtless, will still retain with your usual
 “ firmness, the same honour, faith in friendship, candour
 “ and freedom of spirit; endowments which above all
 “ others adorn the mind of Man. But the false com-
 “ plaissance of others will slacken your fortitude. Flat-
 “ tery will force its way to your heart; deceitful sooth-
 “ ings, the most pestilent poison to every honest affecti-
 “ on, will enchant you; and to his own sordid gain will
 “ every particular be wresting your honour and good in-
 “ clinations. You and I upon this occasion converse
 “ together with hearts perfectly open and sincere: Others
 “ will chuse to make their addresses to our Fortune ra-
 “ ther than to us. Indeed, to deal faithfully with Prin-
 “ ces, to reason them into their duty, is a mighty task,
 “ and with infinite difficulty performed. But easy is the art
 “ of cajoling any Prince whatsoever, and in doing it
 “ the heart has no share. Could this immense Empire
 “ subsist and be swayed without a single Ruler, I should
 “ glory in resigning, glory in being the first Emperor
 “ who resigned the power of the Republic into her own
 “ hands. But such, long since, has been the fatal situ-
 “ ation of the State, that all the good which my old
 “ age enables me to do to the Roman people, is to leave
 “ them a good Successor; nor can you, with all your
 “ youth, do more for them than afford them in your-
 “ self a benevolent Prince. Under TIBERIUS and CALI-
 “ GULA and CLAUDIUS, we were all of us no more,
 “ the Roman world was no more, than as the inheritance
 “ of one family. That the Empire has in me begun to

“ be elective, is a sign of our ancient liberty revived,
 “ and some equivalent for it; the only liberty we are ca-
 “ pable of enjoying. Now the Julian and Claudian
 “ families being extinct, the best men are likely, in this
 “ way of adoption, to become the highest. To be sprung
 “ from a sovereign race, is the effect of chance, and fur-
 “ ther than this requires no deliberation or regard. But
 “ in the work of adoption, the judgment is exercised,
 “ free from bias and restraint; and whenever you want
 “ to chuse, you are by the general consent directed to
 “ the person worthy to be chosen.

“ HAVE always before your eyes the example of NE-
 “ RO, who secure, as he was, and swelling with the pride
 “ of his race, a long genealogy of the Cæsars his ancestors,
 “ was not in reality dethroned by JULIUS VINDEK, the
 “ Governor of a province unprovided with forces, nor by
 “ me assisted by one Legion; No, it was his own bru-
 “ tal tyranny, his own beastly debaucheries, that flung
 “ down the Tyrant from riding on the necks of man-
 “ kind. Nor was there till then any instance of an Em-
 “ peror by public sentence condemned and deposed. We
 “ who succeed him by a different title, by war and by
 “ public approbation and choice, shall thence reap pub-
 “ lic glory, however the malignity of particulars may
 “ pursue us. Nor must you be alarmed, if, while the
 “ world itself continues in this general uproar, there are
 “ two Legions which yet remain unreclaimed to obedi-
 “ ence. It was my own lot to be called to an unsettled
 “ state; and as to my old age, the only objection to
 “ my government, it is no longer one, since, when it is
 “ known that I have adopted you, I shall seem young in
 “ my Successor. The loss of NERO will ever be regret-
 “ ted by all the most profligate and bad. To us it be-
 “ longs, to you and to me, so to govern that he may not
 “ also be regretted by the good.

“ To say more in this way of instruction, the present
 “ conjuncture suffers not; nor is it necessary; since if I
 “ have in you made a worthy choice, I have answered
 “ every purpose. One certain rule you have to observe,
 “ exceeding wholesome as well as exceeding short; so to
 “ comport your self towards your subjects, as were you a
 “ subject,

“ subject, you would wish your Prince to comport
“ towards you. By this rule you will best distinguish the
“ boundaries of justice and iniquity, best comprehend
“ the art of reigning. For, you must remember that
“ it is not with us as with other nations, such as are bar-
“ barous and tyrannized, where a particular lordly house
“ is established, and where all besides are slaves without
“ reserve. But you are about to govern the Romans; a
“ people of too little virtue to support compleat liberty,
“ of too much spirit to bear absolute bondage.”

GALBA in these and the like reasonings to PISO, used him like one whom he was but yet creating a Prince. The Council treated him, in a stile of high reverence, as a Prince already created. Of PISO it is said, that neither in the observation of the Council, nor afterwards of the Public, where presently all eyes were fixt upon him, did he betray any symptoms of a mind either troubled or exalted. To GALBA, now both his father and Emperor, his discourse was full of reverence, and where he mentioned himself, full of modesty; no change in his countenance, none in his demeanour: indications that he was more capable of reigning than desirous to reign. Where to declare the adoption was next debated; whether to the People assembled, or to the Senate, or to the Army. The result was to do it in the Camp; a preference which would highly redound to the glory of the soldiery; since their affections, tho when gained by abject court and the force of bribes, they were ill gained, yet were never to be neglected when by honourable means they could be purchased. The palace in the mean time was beset with the multitude, big with expectation, and impatient for the mighty secret. So ungovernable too is the spirit of popular rumour, that such as then strove to stifle and divert it, did thence render it the more vehement and loud.

The tenth of January, a day black with heavy rains, was moreover by the frequent roaring of thunder, by incessant lightning, and by the tumult and anger of the elements, rendered unusually terrible. A matter this of religious observation in ancient times, and constant ground for dissolving public assemblies. But it deterred not GALBA from

from repairing to the camp. Whether it were that he contemned such things as fortuitous and unmeaning, or perhaps because the decrees of fate, however foreseen, are yet inevitable. To a full assembly of the soldiers, with the brevity becoming an Emperor, he declared “that he adopted PISO, after the precedent of the deified AUGUSTUS, and according to the custom of an army, where every man chooses his man.” And lest the revolt in Germany might by hiding or disowning it, be thence thought more formidable; he frankly told them, “That the fourth Legion and the eighteenth, by the instigation of some few Incendiaries, had departed from their duty, but further than words and discourse had not offended, and would soon return to their allegiance.” To his speech he added neither gift nor courtship. By the Tribunes however, by the Centurions, and by those of the soldiers who stood next him, he was answered in such expressions as carried in them the sound of submission and alacrity. Through all the rest was perceived a fullen sadness and silence; as having thus lost, during war, the donative which custom and their own insolent claims had made necessary even in time of peace. Certain it is, that with any liberality, however small, from the parsimonious old man, their affections might have been gained. He suffered by his severity overstrained, and by practising, out of season, the rigorous purity of ancient times, a task to which we are now no longer equal.

From the Camp GALBA proceeded to the Senate, where he spoke with the same unassuming brevity, with the same uningaging bluntness, as to the soldiery. The speech made by PISO was civil and gracious, and by the fathers complaisantly received. Many of them there were who loved him and made professions altogether sincere. More courtly and loud were they who were averse to him; while the indifferent and the major part, under the officious homage which they openly paid him, were fostering secret and selfish hopes, destitute of any zeal for the Public. Nor did PISO after this, during the four succeeding days, the short interval between his adoption and his murder, either act or speak in public. Now as
advice

advices from Germany of the revolt there, were daily arriving and daily confirmed, and as the City was ever greedy to receive, ever forward to believe all kinds of news, especially such as are alarming and sad; it was by the Fathers ordained, that Deputies should be dispatched to the German armies. It was even matter of secret consultation, whether PISO himself should not go; and for his going the plea seemed still stronger. "They, in truth, would carry with them the authority of the Senate; but he in his own person, the Imperial dignity of Cæsar." It seemed moreover expedient, that with the rest, LACO, Captain of the Prætorian guards, should be sent: a design which LACO himself defeated. The choosing of the Deputies too (for to GALBA the Senate had permitted the choice) was accompanied with a scandalous inconstancy; and they were named, and excused, and changed, according to the several machinations of particulars, to procure or to decline that employment; just as each found himself prompted by personal hopes or personal fears.

How to find money was the next concern; and while every expedient was examined, it seemed of all others the most just, to supply the Public at the expence of those, whom the Public had been impoverished to enrich. Above seventeen millions had NERO consumed in profuse pensions and donations. All the partakers in this extravagance were called to account by GALBA, who leaving them a tenth of that wild liberality, ordered that the rest should be restored. But of all that wild liberality they had scarce a tenth left unwasted; having lavished the plunder of the Public and that of their fellow Citizens, in the same riot and prodigality, in which they had confounded their own private fortunes. And to these men, of all others the most rapacious, of all others the most abandoned to profusion and excesses, there remained neither lands nor pecuniary revenues, nor any thing, save the implements and garniture of voluptuousness and debauchery. In this Court of resumption presided thirty Roman Knights; a Court new in its institution, and from the number of officers, from the numerous suits and intrigues, heavy and vexatious. On all hands were beheld open sales, and the

common crier; and with public seizures, with public confiscations, the whole City was in anguish and a ferment. Yet infinite matter of joy it proved, to find the vile objects of NERO's extravagance as poor as those whom he had robbed. About the same time were discharged from their command ANTONIUS TAURUS, and ANTONIUS NASO, Tribunes of the Prætorian guards, EMILLUS PACENSIS Tribune of the City-bands, and JULIUS FRONTO of the Night-watch. This removal however proved no remedy against the infidelity of the rest, but an alarm to their fears; since to policy and dread they ascribed it, that particulars only were dismissed, and concluded themselves all equally suspected.

During these transactions, OTHO, who in the quiet and establishment of the State saw nothing but despair, and only upon public confusion founded his hopes, was in his civil pursuits excited by many concurring stimulations. He lived in a course of riot and expence, which even to the fortune of a sovereign Prince would have proved burthenfome and uneasy; under necessities such as to any private man would have appeared scarce supportable; burning with rage against GALBA, with envy towards PISO. A fiction too of fear for his own life, furnished a colour for his inordinate ambition. “ He had
“ been obnoxious to NERO; but could not now hope to
“ escape a second time by the trust of a province, or an-
“ other honourable exile. Ever suspected and ever hated
“ by all reigning princes was he, who by the public voice
“ was destined to the Succession. To himself this confi-
“ deration only had proved a prejudice with GALBA, how-
“ ever old he were; a greater prejudice it would still
“ prove with PISO, a young prince in his own nature
“ rough and stern, and by a long course of exile, ren-
“ dered perfectly savage. Since therefore OTHO might
“ be slain, whether he submitted or resisted; it behoved
“ him to exert his might, and make a resolute effort,
“ while the authority of GALBA was daily decaying, that
“ of PISO not yet confirmed. Natural and opportune
“ for enterprizes mighty and daring, was the season of
“ revolutions in a State. Nor was there cause or room for
“ lingering at a juncture when resignation and acquies-
“ cence were more threatening and pernicious than bold-
“ ness

“ nefs and temerity. Death was, by the laws of nature,
 “ the equal lot of all men; and with pofterity the deaths
 “ of particulars were only diversified by glory or oblivion.
 “ Now fince the innocent muft die, and the guilty could
 “ do no more than die, it became a brave man to pro-
 “ voke his fall, nor to perifh without deferving it.”

OTHO had a foul not of the fame foft temper and ef-
 feminacy with his perfon. Moreover his favourite Freed-
 men and Slaves, themfelves inured to a licentioufnefs and
 riot inconfiftent with the œconomy of a private family,
 were to their Lord continually displaying the allurements
 of NERO’S Court, the delicacies and revelling, the choice
 of wives, the choice of women, with all the unbridled
 wantonnefs and exceffes of a Crown; and as he was of
 himfelf paffionate for all fuch Imperial luxury, they repre-
 fented the fame as his own, if he roused himfelf and made
 it fo; but reproached him, if he acquiefced, for leaving
 the poffeffion to another. The Aftrologers at the fame
 time urged him by their predictions, while they were con-
 fidently averring, that the ftars prefaged approaching re-
 volutions, and a year of fignal glory to OTHO. A gene-
 ration of men this by princes never to be trusted, conftant
 deceivers of fuch as fofter new hopes and defigns, and a
 generation which from this our City will ever be excluded
 by law, and againft law ever entertained in it. Many of
 thefe Fortune-tellers were by POPPEA employed in her
 fecret intrigues, and fome of the deteftable inftruments
 which fhe ufed for accomplifhing her marriage with the
 Emperor. Of this tribe PTOLOMY was one, he who had
 accompanied OTHO into Spain, and having foretold him
 that he fhould furvive NERO, gained credit afterwards
 from the event. And now, from a public rumour and
 opinion current amongst all fuch as weighed and com-
 pared the old age of GALBA with the vigour and youth of
 OTHO, PTOLOMY conjectured himfelf, and perfuaded
 OTHO, that his affumption into the Sovereignty would fure-
 ly happen. But with OTHO thefe wretched predictions
 paffed as uttered by a prophetic fpirit, and as the pro-
 pitious warnings of the Fates. Such is the vifionary ge-
 nius of human nature, ever moft zealous to believe things
 dark and unfeearchable. Neither did PTOLOMY confine
 himfelf

himself to predictions only; having first flattered the ambition of OTHO, he was now prompting him to the last bloody act of treason. As indeed from the harbouring of such aspiring wishes to the forming of such black purposes, the mind is led with wonderful facility.

YET whether this treason was just then conceived, is altogether uncertain. The affections of the soldiers he had long and assiduously courted, either in view of the Succession, which he hoped, or to prepare them for the Conspiracy which he meditated. This court he was upon all occasions paying them, in their progress from place to place, or as they marched in order of battle, or lay in garrison, or were posted upon guard; calling every old soldier familiarly by his name, and in memory of their common service under NERO, styling them Comrades. With others, as he saw them, he would be reviving acquaintance; many, whom he saw not, he would enquire after, and with his money, or his interest assist them. Nor in this his commerce with them, failed he frequently to drop several moving complaints, with insinuations concerning GALBA, full of darkness and ambiguity, and every other hint and expression proper to infuse discontent and alarms into minds like theirs ignorant and vulgar. They already resented bitterly, as matters of mighty grief, their laborious marches, scarcity of provisions, and the severity of discipline and warfare in this reign revived; that they, who had only been accustomed to pleasant tours by sea, to visit the delightful bays of Campania, and the fine cities of Achaia, were now obliged to traverse long ranges of countries, and to climb laboriously over the high Alps and Pyrenees, struggling under a load of arms.

To this flame which had already seized the spirits of the soldiers, fresh fuel and firebrands were ministered by PUDENS MEVIUS, an intimate of TIGELLINUS. This incendiary, having first set himself to cajole and seduce particulars, namely every one naturally addicted to wavering and giddiness, or pinched with necessity, or abandoned to novel pursuits and the lust of change, had by gradual advances carried this practice so high, that whenever GALBA was entertained at the house of OTHO, he
thence

thence took opportunity to distribute to the Cohort attending upon guard, the sum of more than three crowns a man, under the name of liberality natural at a time of banqueting. This bounty of OTHO's, given in truth as a public donative, was further heightened with gifts and recompences conferred more privately upon particulars. Nay, so ardent and bold he was in his measures to corrupt them, that COCCÆIUS PROCULUS, a lifeguard-man, having a contest with a neighbour concerning their boundaries, OTHO at his own expence purchased the neighbour's whole ground, tho the dispute was only about a part, and upon PROCULUS bestowed it. For such blind stupidity possessed the Captain of the guards, that by him transactions the most apparent passed equally unobserved as intrigues the most hidden.

NOW OTHO at this time committed the direction of the treason premeditated to one of his Freedmen, ONOMASTUS; who to his Lord introduced two men as proper instruments in it, BARBIUS PROCULUS, * a Serjeant of the lifeguard, and VETURIUS an Adjutant of the same band. OTHO, when by a conversation long and various, he had well tried their temper and capacity, and found them to be fellows crafty and resolute, loaded them with great rewards, as well as with promises mighty and many, and furnished them with money to bribe and debauch the inclinations of as many of the rest as they were able. Here two common soldiers undertook to transfer the Empire of the Romans from one Prince to another, and transferred it effectually. Into the secret of the tragical feat intended they admitted very few. The minds of the rest, already uneasy and wavering, they urged and alarmed by various artifices and insinuations; represented the soldiers of chief note as under present disgrace and distrust, for having been by NYMPHIDIUS distinguished with favours. The crowd and the rest they enflamed, by filling them with utter despair of the donative now so often procrastinated. Amongst them too there were some transported with a fondness for the memory of NERO, and a passion for recalling the licentiousness which under him they

* *Tesserarius*, one who carried the watchword.

had enjoyed; and to a man they were struck with dread of a change and reformation to be introduced amongst the soldiery.

THIS pestilent humour in the Prætorian bands, seized also and infected the spirits of the Legions and Auxiliaries, men already rouzed and animated, ever since it had been divulged, that the Army in Germany had renounced their faith and obedience. And so ripe were the evil disposed and seditious to perpetrate the treason; nay even amongst those who were free from any participation in it, there prevailed such silence and disguises, that on the fourteenth of January, the conspirators were prepared, as OTHO returned home from supping abroad, to have hurried him away and declared him Emperor; only that they apprehended the uncertain perils of the night, and that as widely all over the City the quarters of the soldiers were disjoined, amongst men dispersed and intoxicated with liquor no certain concurrence could be ensured. A consideration this inspired by no tenderness for the State, which, even in their sober hours, they had combined to stain with the blood of their Prince, but by caution, lest, during the dark, whoever chanced to be presented to the soldiers of the German or the Pannonian Army, might by them, most of them unacquainted with the person of OTHO, be instead of him saluted their Sovereign. The revolt was now beginning to operate, and to manifest itself by manifold indications; but such indications were carefully stifled and covered by the conspirators; nay such of them as even had reached the ears of GALBA, were to GALBA ridiculed and explained away by LACO, Captain of his guards; one who was a stranger to the spirit and discontents of the soldiery; one who was a certain enemy to every counsel, however excellent, if he himself gave it not, and headstrong in opposing every man eminent for ability and discernment.

ON the fifteenth of January GALBA, then sacrificing at the Temple of APOLLO, was by UMBRICIUS the Soothsayer warned of dismal presages from the entrails, of treasonable plots just impending, and a domestic foe; all in the hearing of OTHO, who stood next him, and, by a different construction, understood it all as propitious to himself,

himself, and a successful issue foretold of his own machination and views. Nor was it long after this ere ONOMASTUS his Freedman arrived with notice, that *the Surveyor and Builders waited his coming*. This was the signal before settled amongst them, to intimate that the soldiers were assembling, and the conspiracy ripe for execution. To those who asked ΟΤΗΟ the cause of his departure, he feigned for answer, that he was about purchasing certain houses, which being old and thence suspected to be decayed, 'twas therefore necessary first to examine them. Then leaning on his Freedman, he proceeded through the house of TIBERIUS into the place Velabrum, and from thence to the gilded pillar by the Temple of SATURN. There three and twenty lifeguard-men saluted him Emperor; and as he stood full of affright, that from so few such salutation should come, they placed him in vehement haste upon a chair, and hurried him away with their swords drawn. To these, in their progress to the camp, much the like number of soldiers joined themselves; some as privy to the treason, more as struck with the wonderful event; part of them uttering shouts and displaying their arms; part remaining in utter silence, resolved by the issue to form their affections.

IN the Camp, JULIUS MARTIALIS, the Tribune, at that juncture commanded the main guard. This officer, whether he were really overcome with surprize at the mighty treason, so daring and sudden, or whether he feared the camp to have been more generally infected, and that, if he resisted, he must be doomed to perish; behaved so as to administer ground of suspicion to many, that in the conspiracy he himself was engaged. The other Tribunes too and the Centurions preferred an interest present and prevailing, to the defence of a cause honourable indeed, but uncertain and perilous. Such moreover was the bias and turn found in the minds of the whole, that an iniquity, of all others the most heinous, was by a handful of men attempted, by many desired, and borne with acquiescence by all.

GALBA the while, utterly unacquainted with all this revolution, and still bent upon the work of sacrifices, was, with his supplications, tiring the guardian Gods of an
 Empire

Empire now under the sway of another head, when the rumour reached him, that some particular Senator, 'twas uncertain which, was by a party just then hurried away to the camp, there to be presented to the soldiery; and straight it followed, that OTHO was the Senator thus hurried thither. Instantly from every part of the City there crowded people with the same tidings to GALBA, each, as soon as he met him, recounting it his own way; some heightened the terrible story beyond measure; others there were who soothed him with relations far short of the facts. For they had not, even at a conjuncture so desperate, unlearned their wonted stile of prostitute flattery. Now after consultation holden, it was resolved, that the temper of the Cohort, then upon duty in the palace, should be sounded, yet not by the mouth of GALBA in person, whose authority was reserved in full vigour, to be applied as the last remedy upon the highest exigency. PISO therefore having caused them to be assembled at the foot of the stairs of the palace, accosted them on this wise.

“ THIS is the sixth day, my fellow soldiers, since I
 “ was adopted Cæsar, ignorant as I was of the lot to
 “ ensue from it; ignorant whether I ought to have co-
 “ veted, or ought to have dreaded that name. What fate
 “ this adoption is to derive upon my family, and what
 “ upon the Commonwealth, lies wholly in your power to
 “ determine. Not that, in my own person, I fear any
 “ of the storms of fortune, however boisterous or tragi-
 “ cal. For I am one who having long tried and felt the
 “ weight and strokes of adversity, have now thoroughly
 “ learnt, that no less perils attend upon prosperity and
 “ exaltation. What I lament is the lot of my Imperial
 “ Father, with that of the Senate, and that of this our
 “ common Empire; if we are this day reduced to the sad
 “ necessity, either of perishing ourselves, or, which to
 “ worthy minds is a choice equally doleful, of causing
 “ others to perish. In the public convulsion lately felt we
 “ had this consolation, that this our City remained free
 “ from any stain or guilt of blood; and that, without
 “ popular tumults and the rage of parties, the revolution
 “ was accomplished. Nay that, even after the demise of

“ GALBA, no place or pretence might be left for war,
 “ ample provision seemed to have been made by his a-
 “ dopting me.

“ To my self personally I assume no glory; I boast
 “ not of my house, however noble, nor of my deport-
 “ ment, however modest. For verily, in a competition
 “ for merit with OTHO, the display of virtues, of any vir-
 “ tue, is intirely superfluous. The vices of OTHO, for
 “ in vices only he glories, confounded the Empire even at
 “ a time when he was a professed friend to the Empe-
 “ ror. Is it by the merit of his voluptuous life, by the
 “ pomp and dignity of his gait, or is it by his gorgeous
 “ drefs, altogether soft and effeminate, that he would claim
 “ a right to Empire? Blind dupes are they, with whom
 “ his profusion and extravagances pass, as he would
 “ have them, under the name and guise of generosity.
 “ The man may know how to waste and confound; but
 “ to the discreet and beneficent rules of liberality, he
 “ must be an utter stranger. At this instant his soul is
 “ occupied in devising future feats of lust, rendezvouses in
 “ gluttony, and wanton revellings with bands of prosti-
 “ tute women. Excesses like these he esteems to be the
 “ genuine wages and prerogatives of princely rule; ex-
 “ cesses, of which the fruition and charms are to re-
 “ dound to him alone, but to all men the infamy and
 “ shame. For, never yet was there an instance of any
 “ man, who by righteous measures administer’d a State,
 “ which by wickedness and iniquity he had acquired.
 “ It was the voice and consent of human-kind which raised
 “ GALBA to Imperial dignity; and into the Imperial dig-
 “ nity GALBA, with your consent, ingrafted me.

“ If the Commonweal, if the Roman Senate, and
 “ the People of Rome, be all no more than names emp-
 “ ty and imaginary; yet still it is your interest, and your
 “ concern, my fellow soldiers, that by fellows of all o-
 “ thers the most loose and abandoned, your Emperor be
 “ not chosen and made. That sedition has seized our
 “ Legions, and their insurrections against their Comman-
 “ ders, are things which we have heard to have happen-
 “ ed now and then. But your faith and duty, your cre-
 “ dit and character, have subsisted unto this day, with-

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“ out

“ out blemish or imputation. Nay NERO himself you
 “ forsook not; it was you who were by NERO forsaken.
 “ Shall a few common men, in number less than thirty,
 “ fugitives from their duty and trust, traitors to their coun-
 “ try, award the Empire as they list; they whom no man
 “ would suffer to usurp the choice of one of their own Tri-
 “ bunes or Centurions? Do you approve the wicked prece-
 “ dent? Do you by acquiescing in the black iniquity, adopt
 “ the guilt and render it common to you all? To the pro-
 “ vinces next this pernicious licence will pass: And upon
 “ us indeed, upon GALBA and me, will devolve the issue, fa-
 “ tal or fortunate, of these desperate treasons, but upon you
 “ that of such ruinous wars. Neither do greater earnings
 “ await such as involve themselves in the guilt of mur-
 “ dering their Prince, than such as preserve themselves
 “ guiltless. But from us you shall receive, for your fi-
 “ delity preserved, a donative as large and sure as from
 “ others for crying parricide committed.”

THOSE of the lifeguard-men, who bear the title of
Speculatores, having dropped away, the rest of the Co-
 hort manifested towards his person and reasoning no sort
 of distaste, or spirit of insolence, such as tumultuous con-
 junctures usually produce. On the contrary, they pre-
 pared their ensigns, in conformity rather to discipline and
 obedience, and with minds as yet untainted with treason,
 than, as afterwards was believed, from counterfeit duty
 and the hypocrisy of traitors. CELSUS MARIUS was
 moreover sent to the body of men who had been de-
 tached from the army in Illyrium, and were then lodged
 in the cloysters of VIPSANIUS. To AMULIUS SERENUS
 and DOMITIUS SABINUS, Centurions of the first rank,
 orders were given, to bring away from the court of the
 Temple of Liberty, the band of German soldiers there.
 Of the Legion formed from the Marines, great distrust
 was entertained, as of men full of vengeance for the blood
 of their brethren, whom GALBA, even during his first en-
 try as Emperor into Rome, had doomed to instant mas-
 sacre. To the camp also of the Prætorian guards there re-
 paired the Tribunes CERIUS SEVERUS, SUBRIUS DEX-
 TER, and POMPEIUS LONGINUS, to try whether by rea-
 sons and exhortations more wholesome and righteous, the
 mutiny

mutiny then but in its infancy, and not yet arrived at its full inveteracy, might not be quelled and obedience restored. Two of these Tribunes, SUBRIUS and CERIUS, the soldiers encountered and terrified by threats. Upon LONGINUS they laid violent hands and stripped him of his arms, for that he came not as an officer by course of service, but as a confidant of GALBA, one faithful to his Prince, and thence obnoxious to these traitors. The Legion of Marines, without hesitating a moment, associated themselves with the Prætorian bands. The band detached from the Illyrian army drove CELSUS from amongst them, with flights of darts. The German troops continued a great while wavering and irresolute; men, who were in their bodies still feeble, but in their minds intirely peaceable and reconciled. For as they who had been by NERO sent before him to Alexandria, while he meditated a journey thither, were now returned sickly and fatigued with a course of sailing so long and uneasy, GALBA was bestowing constant and affectionate care to cherish and restore them.

THE whole body of the populace, mixt with a host of bondmen, were now filling the palace; all clamouring with confused and importunate din, to have ORHO doomed to instant execution, and the rest of the conspirators to confiscation and exile; just as if they had been craving for some public representation and sports in the Circus or Amphitheatre. Nor in truth, were they actuated by any deliberation and discernment, by any sincerity or affection: For the same mouths were ready before the close of the day, to have urged the doom of GALBA and his adherents, with equal contention and noise: but they blindly followed a custom transmitted from reign to reign, of soothing and idolizing any Emperor, whosoever he were, by applauses usual and extravagant, and by a display of zeal vain and hollow. GALBA the while was holden in suspense between two different counsels. It was by VINIUS proposed, “ That the Emperor should
 “ abide within the palace, arm his slaves in his defence,
 “ fortify the avenues, and by no means issue forth amongst
 “ men mad with rage. To the mutinous he must allow
 “ time for remorse; to the well affected leisure for inter-
 “ course

“ course and concurrence. Desperate iniquities derive
 “ force from precipitation and rapidity. Sound counsels
 “ are ripened and corroborated by slowness and delibera-
 “ tion. In conclusion, were his going found necessary
 “ some time hence, it would be still even then in his
 “ power to go. But if once he ventured abroad, it would
 “ be too late to wish himself at home, since upon the good
 “ pleasure of others his return must then depend.”

“ ALL the rest alledged the necessity of dispatch and in-
 “ stant measures, before the conspiracy of a few, as yet
 “ impotent and unsupported, had gathered strength and
 “ numbers. By such conduct even OTHO would be struck
 “ with dread, he who having withdrawn himself by
 “ stealth, and been introduced amongst men no wise ap-
 “ prized of the design, was now by the heaviness of
 “ GALBA and his party, their spiritless procrastinations
 “ and consumption of time, taught to mimic the Sove-
 “ reign. Far be it from them to linger on, to await till
 “ he had established in his interest the whole Camp, then
 “ marched into Rome, seized the Forum, and under full
 “ view of GALBA, ascended the Capitol; when at the
 “ same time the Emperor, like a Chief of signal prowess,
 “ shuts himself up with his valiant friends in the palace,
 “ and there secure as bolted gates and doors can make
 “ him, prepares forsooth to endure a siege! Mighty and
 “ notable, truly, was the aid to be expected from an ar-
 “ ray of their slaves, if the union and alacrity of num-
 “ bers so vast already, attached to his cause, were neg-
 “ lected, and the first sally of their resentment, a thing
 “ of infinite prevalence, were left to cool. Whatever is
 “ dishonourable, is therefore unsafe: Or, if to fall were
 “ inevitable, it was just to brave danger by meeting it:
 “ An event from which more public odium and distaste
 “ would accrue to OTHO, and to themselves certain re-
 “ nown.” VINIUS opposed this advice, and was there-
 fore by LACO encountered with great vehemence and
 menaces; all at the instigation of ICELUS, who was thus
 pursuing his personal and inveterate spight, to the cala-
 mity and overthrow of the State.

NEITHER did GALBA deliberate longer, but yielded
 to those whose counsels were more plausible. PISO how-

ever was sent away before to the camp, as a young man mighty in name and reputation, a man distinguished with recent marks of public favour, and one possessed too with enmity to TITUS VINIUS. Whether he really hated the man, or whether the same were only wished by such as did: in truth the more invidious opinion, that of his hate, was the most readily believed. Scarce had PISO left the palace, before a story spread, that OTHO was slain in the camp; a story founded at first only upon a rumour, such as flew at random and could not be traced. But forthwith, as usual in momentous and favourite lies, there appeared persons who averred, that they themselves had been upon the spot when it was done, and beheld it done: News swallowed with credulity by men who rejoiced in it, and troubled not themselves with inquiries about it. It was by many conjectured that by some partizans of OTHO, who by this time had mingled themselves with the rest, the rumour was first framed and afterwards heightened; and that purely to entice GALBA from his retirement, they had forged and published tidings so acceptable.

Now upon this occasion, it was not the people only, with the simple and thoughtless vulgar, who broke out into shouts and applaudings, and demonstrations of zeal altogether extravagant; but the major part of the Senators and Roman Knights, now divested of their fears, and therefore void of caution and reserve, forced the gates of the palace, and rushing in, presented themselves with ostentation before GALBA, uttering fore complaints, that the vengeance by them meditated in his behalf, was now snatched out of their hands. Every the most spiritless coward, such who would be sure to face no sort of danger, as the event well proved, was at this juncture profuse of words and boasts, in tongue magnanimous and daring. No man knew the fact, and all averred it. So that GALBA, deprived of true information, and overcome with the concurring voices of men misled themselves and misleading him, put on a breast plate; and finding himself unable, through age and bodily weakness, to sustain the pressing crowd, he was hoisted up in a chair. While he was yet within the palace, JULIUS ATTICUS, one of

the lifeguard, approached, and displaying a sword all over bloody, declared with a loud voice, that by his hand OTHO had been slain. Nor other answer gave GALBA, than, *Brother soldier, whose orders hadst thou?* Such was the signal firmness of his spirit in restraining the licentious insolence of the soldiery, a spirit by no menaces to be dismayed, and to the insinuations of flattery impregnable and uncorrupt.

IN the camp the while they had to a man shaken off all doubts and hesitation. Nay such was the ardour they expressed, that to secure OTHO with their persons and several bands sufficed them not. They even placed him amidst the ensigns, upon that very Tribunal, where a little before stood the golden Statue of GALBA, and there encompassed him round with banners displayed. Room for access to his person the Tribunes and Centurions found none; it was denied them by the common soldiers; nay by the common soldiers a caution was confidently given, “to beware of all who were in command or authority amongst them.” With fierce shouts, with the wild voice of uproar, and with the cries of exhortation by all given and returned, the whole place resounded: A spirit no wise equalled by that of the people and the vulgar, when on public occasions they utter, in unconstant starts of acclamations, their lifeless flattery. Here, as fast as they beheld any particular soldier approach, (for in crowds they were all approaching) they passionately seized him by the hand, in all their armour embraced him, placed him fast by their side, led him word by word in the oath of fidelity to OTHO; this moment recommended their Emperor to the affections of the soldiers; and the next the soldier to the favour of their Emperor. Neither was OTHO wanting or slow in his part; his hand was continually presented to the salute; he worshipped the rabble, was profuse of his kisses, and in order to be a Sovereign, descended to all the meannesses of a Slave. After the Legion of Marines had unanimously sworn to him, he grew to confide in his strength, and judged that, as he had hitherto only incited them to disaffection man by man, it was now seasonable to inflame them in a body. From the rampart therefore of the camp, he began in this strain.

“ UNDER

“ UNDER what denomination it is, that I thus come
 “ forth to present my self to you, my fellow soldiers, I
 “ can by no means declare. To entitle my self a private
 “ person, is what I can no more endure, since by you
 “ I have been entitled your Prince; than to call myself
 “ Sovereign, whilst another bears sovereign rule. Nay
 “ by what appellation you yourselves are to be dis-
 “ tinguished, must also continue a riddle, as long as it
 “ remains a matter of controversy, whether within your
 “ trenches you entertain a Roman Emperor, or one who
 “ is an enemy to the people of Rome. Hear you not
 “ what is told you, that with the same breath and im-
 “ portunity are demanded a bloody doom for me, and
 “ upon you terrible vengeance? So apparent it is, that
 “ your lot and mine is the same, either to be secure to-
 “ gether, or together to perish. And so signally merci-
 “ ful is the spirit of GALBA, that ere now perhaps he has
 “ granted that cruel demand; he who, without request
 “ or solicitation from any mortal man, could doom to
 “ general massacre so many thousand soldiers void of all
 “ guilt and offence. Cold horror possesseth my soul, as
 “ often as I recall the day of his public entry, a day so
 “ mournful and tragical; when I recall the only victory
 “ by GALBA won, that of his consigning to merciless ex-
 “ ecution, under the eyes of Rome, every tenth man of
 “ those wretches who had already submitted, and surren-
 “ der’d their persons; wretches whom he had received,
 “ as supplicants for pardon, into his faith and protection.

“ SUCH was the sad solemnity, such the unhallowed
 “ omens attending his entry; and after it, what instance
 “ of glory, what feat of renown brought he to adorn his
 “ sovereignty, other than the blood of OBULTRONIUS
 “ SABINUS and of CORNELIUS MARCELLUS, both
 “ slaughtered in Spain, that of BETUUS CHILO spilt in
 “ Gaul, that of FONTEIUS CAPITO in Germany, that
 “ of CLODIUS MACER in Africa, that of CINGONIUS
 “ in his march, of TURPILIANUS in the City, and of
 “ NYMPHIDIUS in the Camp? Through the whole ex-
 “ tent of the Empire, what Province is there, what quar-
 “ ter or encampment, that is not contaminated with slaugh-
 “ ters and dyed in blood, or, as he himself boasts, chaf-
 “ tened

“ tened and reformed? For upon deeds, which, with
 “ all but himself, pass for barbarities, he bestows the
 “ title of remedies and cures; whilst by confounding the
 “ names of things, to cruelty he gives that of severity,
 “ to sordid avarice that of parcimony, and, under the
 “ term of discipline, comprizes all the pungent insults
 “ and vengeance poured upon your heads. It is now
 “ five months since the exit of NERO; and in that short
 “ space, ICELUS alone has, by spoil and rapine, amassed
 “ more wealth than all that POLYCLETUS, and VATI-
 “ NIUS, and ELIUS, and the like tribe of spoilers, had,
 “ during all that reign, accumulated. And surely with
 “ less avidity, with less licentiousness had TITUS VINIUS
 “ ravaged, had he himself, and not GALBA, reigned. In
 “ his present situation he hath at once treated us, as if
 “ we were his Subjects, with oppression; and, as if we were
 “ miserable strangers, with scorn. This man’s house alone
 “ contains wealth sufficient to furnish the donative, a
 “ debt never offered to be paid you, yet a pretence daily
 “ to upbraid and revile you.

“ NAY to obviate every hope, which from the successor
 “ at least of GALBA, we might have conceived, he has called
 “ one even from exile; such a one as, in abandoned
 “ avarice, and in a spirit gloomy and horrid, he appre-
 “ hended to bear, beyond all others, the nearest resem-
 “ blance of himself. You perceived, my fellow soldiers,
 “ you perceived by the late memorable tempest, how aw-
 “ fully the angry Deities withstood the sad and ill boding
 “ adoption. In the Senate the same angry spirit prevails;
 “ the same in the People of Rome. Upon your bravery
 “ and vigour it is that we next depend; as it is from
 “ you that every worthy design must derive its force,
 “ and as without you, all designs however excellent, are
 “ impotent and abortive. I call you not to the perils
 “ of war, nor in truth to any peril. On our side al-
 “ ready are all the soldiery, I mean all that are armed.
 “ The single Cohort now with GALBA, are not covered
 “ with armour, but with the long vestment of Citi-
 “ zens; nor does that single Cohort any longer guard
 “ him as their Prince, but only hold him as their pri-
 “ soner. As soon as ever they shall have espied you, as
 “ soon

“ soon as ever they shall have received the signal from
 “ me, the only remaining struggle will be, who shall in
 “ this my cause manifest the highest merit. Neither have
 “ we the smallest room left for delay in pursuing such
 “ a counsel as ours, which can never meet with applause,
 “ till it has been first accomplished with success.”

HE then ordered the common armory to be thrown open. From it instantly were arms at random snatched, without regard had to the custom of war and the different orders of men, such as require that, by their peculiar badges and habiliments, the soldiers of the Prætorian Cohorts and those of the Legions should be severally ranged and distinguished. At present both sort were with their shields and helmets, scattered and intermixt amongst the auxiliaries. Not a Tribune, nor Centurion directed or incited them. Every man was his own Captain and Prompter; and to all the most mischievous it proved a principal cause of encouragement to behold the innocent forrowing.

PISO, who was utterly scared from proceeding to the camp, by the growing uproar of the insurrection there, and with the cries of rebellion resounding quite to the City, had already overtaken GALBA, who having in the mean time left the palace, was now approaching the Forum; and already CELSUS MARIUS was returned with a melancholy account. In this conjuncture it was by some proposed, to retire back to the palace; by others to proceed and seize the Capitol; by several to take possession of the place of assembling and haranguing the people. Many there were who only thwarted the opinions of the rest; and according to the fate of all designs where the issue is unhappy, such counsels only were accounted best, as came too late, when the season for executing them was now elapsed. It is said that LACO was now, but without the privy of GALBA, meditating the murder of TITUS VINIUS; whether by the doom of this man he meant to mollify the angry minds of the soldiery, or suspected him as an accomplice with OTHO, or, to guess no more, perhaps to satiate his own private hate. By the circumstances of the time and the place, this his purpose was first retarded; since to a slaughter once begun, difficult

it were to set any certain bounds. Then, what utterly disconcerted his scheme, was the incessant arrival of news sad and alarming, with the hasty flight of friends and late adherents. For in one and all, their affections were growing cold and all their zeal expiring. Such were the men, who had at first, with eminent alacrity, made boast of their magnanimity and faith inviolable.

FOR GALBA; he was tossed hither and thither, according to every different movement and fluctuation of the unsteady multitude, while on every side, the Temples and great Halls were filled with crowds beholding the doleful spectacle. Nor by the people, nor even by the common herd, was one word uttered, or one popular cry. Full of astonishment were their looks, and their ears bent to attention, catching at every sound. There was no tumult, there was no composure: But such an awful stillness there was, as always indicates mighty dread, and mighty fury. To OTHO however it was reported, that at Rome the populace were arming. Hence he gave orders, to march with rapidity, and anticipate the terrors threaten'd. This sufficed the soldiers: Yes the Roman soldiers advance against Rome, and having in their way violently scattered and overthrown the populace their fellow Citizens, trod under foot the venerable Fathers of the Senate, rush furiously into the Forum, their horses foaming, themselves, for hostility and arms, terrible to behold; with such impetuosity as if they had been advancing to drive VOLOGESES or PACORUS from the paternal throne of their ancestors and our enemies, the Arsacides; and not to butcher their own Emperor, unarmed as he was and an ancient man. Nor did the view of the Capitol before them, nor the awe of the several Temples surrounding them, nor reverence to princes past, nor dread of those to come, deter these men of blood, but perpetrate they would the horrible parricide, tho such a parricide, that for it the succeeding Emperor, whoever he happen to be, is always sure to repay due vengeance.

HE who was standard bearer to the Cohort which had remained with GALBA, no sooner perceived the body of men from the camp to approach under arms, but he (who according to tradition was A T I L I U S V E R G I L I O) rent from

his standard the effigies of GALBA, and dashed it against the ground. Upon such a signal, the affections of the whole soldiery for OTHO became apparent; the people took to immediate flight and forsook the Forum, and against such particulars as yet lingered and doubted, the soldiers turned their lances. Near the Lake of Curtius, GALBA was, by the dread and trembling which possessed those who carried him, flung from his chair, and tumbled prostrate upon the earth. Of his last words various are the accounts published, just as this man hated him, or that man admired him. By some it is reported, that he asked, in the stile of a suppliant, what evil he had merited, and besought time, only for a few days, to discharge their donative. Many more there are who relate, that, of his own accord, he readily presented his throat to the assassins, bidding them “proceed and strike resolutely, if the interest of the Commonwealth so required.” To his murderers it was of no moment or avail, whatever he said. Of the very person who gave him the mortal blow, we have no account sufficiently clear. Some hold it to have been TERENCE, a resumed Veteran; Others, one LECANIUS. The more current tradition is, that CAMURIUS, a common soldier of the fifteenth Legion, smote him with a sword in the neck, and with it cut his throat. The rest horridly hacked and mangled his legs and arms; for his breast was covered with armour. Nay a spirit so brutal and inhuman transported them, that his body now reduced to a trunk, lifeless and without a head, was yet disfigured by wounds without number. Upon TITUS VINIUS they next discharged their rage; and concerning him too it remains undecided, whether through deadly and impending terror, he were not quite bereft of speech; or whether he cried not, on the contrary, with a loud voice, that from OTHO they had no orders to slay him. Were what he averred really a fiction inspired by fear; or were it, that he thus avowed his part in the conspiracy; certain it is, that from the baseness of his life and fame, the presumption is more rational, that he himself had embarked in that treason, for which he had administer’d cause. Before the Temple of the deified JULIUS he lay, maimed in the joint of the knee; for

for there he received his first wound, and presently after was by JULIUS CARUS, a legionary soldier, pierced quite through the body.

A man signal for faith and bravery did our age that day behold in the person of SEMPRONIUS DENSUS, Centurion of a Prætorian Cohort, and by GALBA appointed to guard the person of PISO. This Officer, with his poy-nard drawn, singly encountered so many bloody men all armed, and boldly upbraided them as detestable parricides; infomuch that, partly by his blows, partly by his reproaches, upon his own head he drew the swords of the assassins, and thence to PISO procured, tho he too were already wounded, opportunity to retire. PISO escaped to the Temple of VESTA; he was there, by a Bondman of the State, received through compassion, and concealed in his chamber. By thus lurking in obscurity it was, and by no protection from the sacredness of the place, or from the reverence due to rites divine, that he a while suspended his impending tragedy, when there arrived two men who, beside their immediate orders from OTHO, were of themselves inflamed with avowed thirst after his blood. These were SULPITIUS FLORUS, belonging to the British Bands, a man but just before by GALBA presented with the privilege of a Roman Citizen, and STATIUS MURCUS, one of his lifeguard. By them PISO was dragged forth and butchered in the portal of the Temple.

OF OTHO it is said, that never did he receive the news of any man's blood spilt, with higher marks of delight; that never did he gaze upon any bloody head with eyes so curious and insatiable. Whether his spirit were, upon this occasion, first relieved from all solicitude and every perplexity, and thenceforth presumed upon a season of rejoicing without check or allay; or whether, from recalling to mind the Imperial Majesty vested in the person of GALBA, and his own intimacy with TITUS VINIUS; his soul, however filled with vengeance, became struck with horror upon the sad representation of their fate. For the murder of PISO he believed it just and commendable to express his joy, as for that of his enemy and competitor. Upon long poles their bleeding heads were exalted, (the heads of two Emperors and a Consul) and thus

thus carried along amidst the banners of the military bands, close by the Eagle of a Legion; while particulars were in boasts displaying their hands all imbrued with the blood; namely all they who had committed the murder, all they who assisted at it, and all they who truly or falsely claimed share in a parricide, which all magnified as a glorious feat, worthy of eternal renown. Above an hundred and twenty distinct memorials at this time presented, all claiming rewards for some notable exploit by the several claimers performed on that tragical day, fell afterwards into the hands of the Emperor VITELLIUS, who commanded search to be made for the Authors, and all of them to be put to the sword; from no tenderness for GALBA, or honour intended to his memory, but out of policy common and traditional amongst princes, as a wholesome method of security against such traitors, during their own reigns, at least a precedent of vengeance by them left to their successors.

YOU would have now thought that you had seen in Rome another Senate, and another People. To a man they earnestly crowded to the camp, each striving to out-run his fellows, each to overtake and pass by such as were before him. They condemned the conduct of GALBA, magnified the judgment and choice of the soldiers, kissed the hands of OTHO; and the more hollow and counterfeit all their indications of zeal were, the more loud and numerous were the indications which they strove to shew. Neither did OTHO overlook or neglect the persons of individuals, while by persuasions and the motions of his countenance, he at the same time endeavoured to pacify the spirit of the soldiers breathing menaces and ravage. Already they were urging that a bloody doom might be instantly inflicted upon MARIUS CELSUS, Consul elect, and to GALBA a faithful and constant friend, even in his last distress and to the sad close of his life. They were in truth enraged at the man for his integrity and vigour of spirit, virtues which with them passed for dangerous crimes. What they aimed at was apparent, to have their hands let loose to general pillage and massacre, and to bring to destruction every worthy and every able man in the Roman State. But in OTHO authority suffi-

cient was not found to prohibit acts of violence; it was hitherto only in his power to ordain them to be done. So that personating great wrath towards *CELSUS*, he ordered him to be put under bonds and durance, with strong protestations, that for other and higher punishment he reserved him; and in this manner redeemed him from a violent death just impending.

FROM this moment all things were transacted by the meer will and option of the soldiers. By them were chosen the Captains of the Prætorian guards; namely, *PLOTIUS FIRMUS*, once a common soldier, then preferred to command the watch, and, even during the life and reign of *GALBA*, embarked in the faction of *OTHO*; and with *PLOTIUS* they joined *LICINIUS PROCULUS*, one in high confidence with *OTHO*, and thought to have promoted his interest and intrigues. To the government of Rome they advanced *FLAVIUS SABINUS*, in deference to the judgment of *NERO*, in whose reign he had administer'd the same office; the major part being influenced in this choice by their regard to his brother *VESPASIAN*. They then insisted importunately, that the fees wont to be by them paid to their Centurions, for exemption from certain military burdens, should be utterly abolished; for under this name every poor soldier paid as it were an annual tribute. Hence the fourth part of a Company at once used to be absent and dispersed, either in progresses upon licence, or roaming like vagrants through the camp it self; and provided they could but discharge their bribe to the Centurion, none of them were solicitous about the measure of that heavy imposition, or about the nature of the earnings which enabled them to bear it. So that by betaking themselves to robbing and plundering, or by submitting to vile offices, such as were peculiar to slaves, they purchased a dispensation from the toils of soldiers. It was moreover a practice to persecute every soldier noted for wealth, by subjecting him continually to hard labour and merciless stripes, till he were forced to buy a dispensation at a price: Then, when by these exactions he was quite exhausted and impoverished; nay, when by long exemption from duty, he was also become enslaved to laziness and sloth, he returned home
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to his Company a different man, reduced from plenty to miserable indigence, and now as listless and inactive, as before he was vigorous and hardy. And as there were many who had successively undergone the like change, many who had been debauched by such wild immunity, and excited by such pinching necessity; they were always ready to run headlong into sedition, dissention, and at last into civil wars. But OTHO, that he might not estrange from him the affections of the Centurions, by such remission and bounty conferred upon the common soldiers, undertook, out of his own revenue, yearly to pay the fees of such exemptions: a regulation doubtless of notable benefit, and by such good princes as came after, perpetuated as part of the military establishment. LACO, Captain of the guards to GALBA, as if no more than his banishment were intended, was condemned to an island, but murdered by a resumed Veteran, whom OTHO had sent before him, with orders for his assassination. Upon ICELUS, as he was only a slave manumised, public execution was formally done.

WHEN in a series of iniquities black and tragical the whole day was spent, the enormity which concluded all the rest was that of public rejoicing. The City Prætor assembles the Senate. The other Magistrates contend to surpass each other in flights of flattery. The Fathers run with rapidity to assemble. To OTHO is decreed the authority Tribunitial, and the name of AUGUSTUS, and every other honour enjoyed by preceding Emperors. For they now jointly laboured to obliterate the many invectives and contumelies which they had in common poured forth against him; indignities, which no man could perceive to have made any angry impressions upon his spirit. Whether he had quite dropt all resentment, or only postpon'd his vengeance, such was the shortness of his reign, that no certain judgment could be formed. When over the Forum, still flowing with blood, and through heaps of the slain, OTHO had been carried to the Capitol, and thence to the palace, he granted leave to burn and bury the coarces. The remains of PISO were, by his wife VERANIA and by his brother SCRIBONIANUS, committed to the quiet of the grave; as were those of TITUS VINIUS

by his daughter *CRISPINA*; after they had found out and redeemed their heads, which their murderers had retained for sale.

PISO had entered into the thirty first year of his age, much happier in his fame than in his fortune. His brother *MAGNUS* had fallen by the cruelty of *CLAUDIUS*, his brother *CRASSUS* by that of *NERO*. He himself had lived a long time in the state of exile, but four days in that of a prince; and by the late adoption, so suddenly made, gained no other advantage over his elder brother, than that of being first slain. *TITUS VINIUS* had passed fifty seven years, in a course of manners unequal and diversified. His father was of a Prætorian family; his mother's father one of those proscribed by the Triumvirate. In his very first campaign, under *CALVISIUS SABINUS*, he was branded with infamy. For the wife of that General, moved with a preposterous fondness to view the situation of the camp, entered the same in the night under the habit of a soldier; and having there, with the like wanton curiosity, adventured to pry into the manner of the guard, and of the other functions military, at last confidently perpetrated the act of adultery in the very quarter sacred to the Roman Eagles and Banners; and *TITUS VINIUS* was arraigned as her partner in this crime. By order therefore of the Emperor *CALIGULA*, he was put in irons and confinement, but by the change of times soon enlarged, and thenceforth passed through a succession of public employments, with a character free from reproach. At the close of his Prætorship, he was preferred to the command of a Legion, and in it acquitted himself with applause. He was afterwards stained with an imputation altogether infamous, and worthy only of a slave, to have purloined a goblet of gold while he was entertained with other company at the table of *CLAUDIUS*; insomuch that on the day following, *CLAUDIUS* distinguished him from all the rest of his guests, by ordering that *VINIUS* only should be served in an earthen cup. Yet the same *VINIUS* ruled the province of Narbon Gaul, in quality of Proconsul, with justice unbiaſſed and eminent integrity. Soon after, his intimacy with *GALBA* having led him to a precipice where his fall overtook him,

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he proved daring, subtle, prompt, and according as he chose to apply his spirit, was with equal ardour vicious and depraved, or vigilant and active. The Testament made by VINIUS was, through the mightiness of his wealth, of none effect. The last Will of PISO, his poverty render'd valid.

THE corpse of GALBA, after it had lain long neglected in the streets, and during the licentiousness of the night, suffered insults and indecencies without number or measure, was by ARGIVS, one of his principal Bondmen, bearing the office of Steward, repositied in a mean grave, within his own gardens. His head, miserably mangled and stuck upon a pole by a rabble of the vile scullions and attendants of the camp, was by them erected before the tomb of PATROBIUS; a manumised slave this of NERO's, and by the authority of GALBA executed. Here it was at length found on the day following, and laid with the remains of his body which had been already burnt. Such was the end of GALBA, in the seventy third year of his life; after having passed through the reigns of five Princes, in a course of fortune abundantly prosperous, and under the Sovereignty of others happier than in his own. Signally ancient was the nobility of his house, mighty the wealth. In himself were found talents no other than moderate, and he was rather free from vices than endowed with many virtues. Fame was what he no wise despised, yet never studied to blazon his own. No man's money did he covet, was sparing of his own; of the public money greedy and tenacious. Towards his Friends and Freedmen, when chance directed him to such as were good, he was ever passive and resigned, without all check and contradiction; and to all their iniquities, where they proved to be bad, blind even to his own scandal and disgrace. But such was the splendor of his race, a thing so obnoxious to tyrants; and such the terrible spirit of those times, which yet he had escaped, that thence a colour was minister'd for bestowing the name of real wisdom upon that which in him was real heaviness. During the vigour of his years he commanded with signal renown in the German wars. He afterwards governed Africa, as Proconsul, with moderation and gentleness; as now in the latter part of his life, he had the nethermost

Spain, with the like measure of justice. For greater than a Subject he seemed, while he was yet no more than a Subject; and, in the opinion of all men, had passed as capable of Empire, had he never been Emperor.

To the City already full of consternation, at once struck with the horror of the recent parricide, and dreading the spirit and known vices of OTHO, there accrued fresh cause of affright from the tidings concerning VITELLIUS; tidings which, before the murder of GALBA, were suppressed, with design to have it believed, that only the army in higher Germany had revolted. Upon this occasion, it became matter of open lamentation and anguish, not to the Senate alone and Equestrian Order, men who had some share in the administration, and some concern for the Public Weal, but even to the mean People; that two men of all others the most infamous for pollution, effeminacy and profusion, were thus fatally chosen as it were on purpose to rend and destroy the Empire. Nor did they now any longer recount the instances of cruelty, still recent and crying, perpetrated during the late times of peace and tyranny: But reviving the memory and terrors of the civil wars they represented “ Rome
“ so often taken by her own hostile armies, the desola-
“ tion of Italy, the Provinces ravaged, the battles of
“ Pharsalia and Philippi, with the sieges of Perugia and
“ Modena.” Names these signal for public calamities and
mighty slaughter. “ In a struggle for the Sovereignty
“ even amongst men of renown, the whole earth was
“ well nigh turned upside down. Yet under the pre-
“ vailing fortune of JULIUS CAESAR the Empire sub-
“ sisted; it subsisted under that of AUGUSTUS: Under
“ POMPEY too and BRUTUS the Republic would have
“ subsisted. Would they, at this time, repair to the
“ Temples for OTHO, or for VITELLIUS? Alike impious
“ would be the supplications for either, alike detestable
“ the vows; since such men they both were, that by the
“ issue of the war between them, nothing else was to be
“ learnt, than that whichever of the two proved the
“ Conqueror, would thence prove the worst.” There
were those who formed prognostications concerning VES-
PASIAN and the forces in the East; and, as VESPASIAN
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excelled both, hence another war was dreaded and additional calamities. Moreover, with the Public VESPASIAN stood but in dubious estimation, and, of all those who had been Emperors, was in truth the only one by power changed for the better.

I now proceed to a display of the rise and causes of the commotion and revolt begun by VITELLIUS. When JULIUS VINDEX was, with all his forces, slain, the conquering army, grown unruly and imperious upon such an acquisition of glory and spoil; as to their share the victory had fallen, without pains or peril, in a war extremely lucrative; became eager for action and feats of war, and fonder of rapine than of their usual stipend. They had besides long endured a service void of gain, and full of rigour, as well from the bleakness of the country and keenness of the air, as from the severe exercise of discipline; which, though it be preserved during peace with a strictness ever so unrelenting, never fails to be dissolved by intestine wars; since on both sides are always found busy instruments of corruption, and the violation of faith and duty escapes all correction. Of men, and arms, and horses they had abundant store, both for service and for shew. But before the beginning of the war, they knew only their own particular companies, and their own troops of horse; for the armies were separated from each other by the boundaries of the several Provinces. It was to make head against VINDEX that the Legions were drawn together; and having then tried their own strength and that of the Gauls, they fought earnestly to revive once more the tumult of war, and to create fresh quarrels. Nor did they treat them as formerly with the title of Allies, but with that of Enemies and of a people subdued by the sword. Nay they were abetted by those of the Gauls who dwell along the Banks of the Rhine, and having adhered to the fortune and party of the Army, were now vehemently inciting them against the *Galbians*; for upon their countrymen they had bestowed this name, disdaining to mention that of VINDEX. Filled therefore with rage towards the Sequanians, and the Eduans, and towards other Cities, according to the measure of their wealth, they grasped in imagination future booty, from
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towns sacked, from the devastation of countries, and the plunder of private dwellings. Besides their being prompted by notable rapaciousness and arrogance, the two leading vices of such as are strongest, they were animated and provoked by the pride and defiance found in the behaviour of the Gauls, who boasted, that in contempt of the army, they were by GALBA released from a fourth of their Tribute, and distinguished with the rights and privileges of Roman Citizens. To all this there accrued a current report, maliciously raised and rashly believed, that the Legions were doomed to decimation, and every Centurion noted for being brave and daring, to be cashiered. From every quarter were arriving news tragical and alarming. Sad and discouraging were the tidings from Rome. The Colony too of Lyons, who were forely disaffected to GALBA, and immoveable in their adherence to NERO, proved a continual source of wild and flying rumours. But within the camp itself was found most ample matter for fiction and credulity, from the bitterness and hate of the soldiery, from their consciousness and dread, and even from the security which, upon a review of their own forces, they conceived.

ABOUT the very first of December in the preceding year, AULUS VITELLIUS had entered the lower Germany, and with great accuracy visited the winter quarters of the Legions there. To their ranks he restored numbers who had been degraded; many he redeemed from ignominious punishments, and cancelled the marks of infamy inflicted upon others. Some regulations he made through judgment; but most with a corrupt view to popularity. Among the former must be reckoned his abolishing with so much integrity, what FONTEIUS CAPITO had done, in preferring and degrading particulars from the motives of avarice and sordid gain. Neither were these his proceedings estimated barely according to the measure of his office, that of a General of Consular quality; but whatever he did passed under a higher consideration. And for VITELLIUS himself, as by such who judged severely he was accounted but a mean person; his friends and adherents, on the contrary, while he was giving away his own fortune, and lavishing in bounties that
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of others, without measure, without discernment, bestowed upon this extravagance and spoil the title of complaisance and good nature. Add that, from a violent thirst of bearing rule, into virtues they construed manifest vices. In both armies, as there were many peaceable and modest, so were there many wicked and resolute. But abandoned to licentious pursuits, and signal in violence and precipitancy were two Commanders of Legions, ALIENUS CECINA and FABIVS VALENS. The latter particularly was highly disgusted with GALBA, alledging that his services in detecting the reserves and hesitation of VERGINIVS, and in stifling the machinations of CAPITO, had been by GALBA passed over with ingratitude. Hence he instigated VITELLIUS, and magnified to him “ the ar-
“ dour and ready zeal of the soldiery; that his own
“ name was every where mentioned with renown. From
“ HORDEONIUS FLACCUS no obstruction would be
“ found. Britain would accede to his party. The aux-
“ iliary forces of the Germans would join. Ill assured
“ was the faith of the Provinces. Tottering and preca-
“ rious was the Sovereignty of the oldman, and would
“ quickly pass from him. Let VITELLIUS only open
“ his arms and advance to receive his approaching for-
“ tune. With reason had VERGINIVS hesitated to ac-
“ cept the Empire, a man descended only from an
“ Equestrian family, from a father never known by any
“ office. Had he accepted it, he would have proved
“ unequal to it; and might live in safety after he had
“ refused it. VITELLIUS sprung from a father who
“ had sustained three Consulships, with the awful office
“ of Cenfor, and had been Colleague in the Consulship
“ with CLAUDIVS. Such paternal dignities had long
“ since raised him to the elevation of an Emperor, and
“ deprived him of all security in the station of a Subject.”

His spirit, naturally heavy and slow, was so far agitated by such representations, as to covet the Diadem rather than to hope for it. In the higher Germany, CECINA had entirely captivated the affections of the soldiers, as he was graceful and young, large in his person, of a soul which fostered designs without bounds, his gait noble and stately, and himself a prompt and lively speaker.

This young man exercising the office of *Questor* in that province of Spain called *Betica*, had revolted immediately to *GALBA*, who thence preferred him to the command of a Legion; but soon after having discovered that he had embezzled the common treasure, ordered him to be prosecuted as one guilty of robbing the Public. *Cecina* resenting this heinously, determined to excite a spirit of universal confusion and revolt, and with the miseries of the State to cover his own private wounds. Neither in the army itself were there wanting seeds of tumult and discord. For in the war against *VINDEX* they had been all to a man engaged, nor till after *NERO* was slain, could they be induced to transfer their allegiance to *GALBA*. The troops too of lower Germany had the merit of having taken the oath of fidelity before them. Moreover, contiguous and intermixt with the winter quarters of the Legions lay the territories of the *Treverians* and the *Lingones*, and such other Communities as had been by *GALBA* aggrieved with severe edicts, or deprived of their wonted bounds. Hence arose seditious communications between them; as also the corruption of the soldiery, encreased by their intercourse with these townsmen and peasants; and hence too that devotion of theirs to *VERGINIUS* was now at the service of any other Candidate.

THE Community of the *Lingones* had, in observance of ancient custom, sent gifts to the Legions, and the compliment of their right hands presented, in token of affection and hospitality. Now their Deputies, who in their persons and countenances bore the studied marks of miserable distress and anguish, took all occasions, both in the tents of the soldiers, and in the quarters assigned for the Eagles and Arms of every particular Legion, to bewail by turns their own hardships and oppressions, and the favour and advantages conferred upon the other neighbouring Communities. And as soon as they found that these their infusions were swallowed with attention and eagerness, they proceeded to bemoan the lot of the Army itself, the perils which surround them, their opprobrious usage; and thus inflamed the minds of the men. They were in truth just ripe for a present insurrection, when *HORDEONIUS FLACCUS* ordered the Deputies to depart, and, that their
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departure might be the more secret, to leave the camp by night. Hence a furious rumour ensued, that they were murdered. This was what the most part affirmed, and added, that unless they took sure measures for their own defence and preservation, the certain consequence would be, that all the bravest and most vigilant soldiers, and such as had dared to complain of the present evils, would be massacred in the dark, apart from the sight and observation of their brethren. Presently the Legions bind themselves in a mutual and secret confederacy, and in it the auxiliary soldiers are comprized; men whom at first they suspected of preparing to fall upon the revolters, after having surrounded them with the body of their cohorts and their wings of horse. But anon these auxiliaries appeared more clamorous and vehement than the rest. So much more easily procured, amongst men of evil minds, is a concurrence in rage and war, than in quietness and unanimity during peace.

IN lower Germany, the Legions on the first of January performed the solemnity of swearing allegiance to GALBA, drawn to it as they were by compulsion; and with infinite backwardness and hesitation they did it. Faint and few were the cries of loyalty and applause, and these only uttered by some in the foremost ranks. The rest continued mute, every particular expecting with impatience from him who stood nearest, some daring effort of disaffection and treason; agreeably to the natural bent of men, to follow greedily in such pursuits as they are greatly averse to begin. The Legions too were animated by different humours. The first and the fifth were so turbulent and outrageous, that amongst them some were found who assaulted the images of GALBA with stones. The fifteenth and sixteenth had not yet ventured beyond menaces and the uproar of words, but were watching with special attention for a beginning and precedent of mutiny and violence. But, in the higher Army, the fourth Legion, and the eighteenth, both abiding in the same winter quarters, did, even on the first of January, break in pieces the images of GALBA: An outrage in which the fourth manifested the greater fury. The eighteenth shewed some hesitation, but presently joined
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with the former. And lest, by this act, they might seem to have renounced all reverence for the Empire, they recalled and took the oath of fidelity to the antiquated names of the Senate and People of Rome. Nor was there one Tribune, or one Commander of the Legions found to exert himself in behalf of GALBA. Nay some of these officers practised what is usual during such madness and confusion, and added notably to the uproar. No man however appeared to harangue the multitude, or took upon him the authority of applying to them from a Tribunal. For, as yet no particular person could be singled out to bear the name and weight of the commotion.

It is true, HORDEONIUS FLACCUS was upon the spot; yes, a General of Consular authority, was a beholder of this detestable treason and revolt, yet durst neither restrain such as were already rushing into rebellion, nor recover such as were only wavering, nor rouse and animate those who still persevered in their integrity; but remained spiritless, terrified, and only through stupidity innocent. There were four Centurions who would have protected the images of GALBA, but were by the furious soldiers seized and confined in chains. These were NONIUS RECEPTUS, DONATIUS VALENS, ROMILIUS MARCELLUS and CALPURNIUS REPENTINUS; all belonging to the eighteenth Legion. Further than this in none of them was found or faith or duty, or the memory of their former oaths. But it happened in this as in other insurrections: whither the many led, all the rest blindly followed. On the night which followed the same day, the Eagle bearer of the fourth Legion, arriving at Cologne, acquainted VITELLIUS whilst he was banquetting, that the fourth Legion and the eighteenth had thrown down the images of GALBA, and plighted their fidelity to the Senate and People of Rome. An oath this which to him and his friends appeared void and invalid. It was therefore determined to fix and ascertain Fortune while she was thus shifting, and to make these Legions the Tender of an Emperor. Forthwith messengers were dispatched from VITELLIUS, to acquaint the Legions of the lower Province and their Commanders, “ That the higher Army had re-
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“volted from GALBA; infomuch that they must either
“make war upon the revolters; or if they rather preferred
“peace and coalition, they must create an Emperor. They
“were to consider too that with much less peril they
“might elect a Prince at once, than continue in search of
“one.”

THE winter quarters of the first Legion lay nearest, and with it FABIVS VALENS the Commander, more keen and zealous than all the rest. This officer entring into Cologn the very next day, accompanied with the cavalry of his Legion and those of the auxiliaries, openly saluted VITELLIUS *Emperor*. His example was followed by the Legions of the same province with mighty haste and competition; and the upper Army, having already relinquished the plausible names of the Senate and People of Rome, acceded so early as the third of January to the party of VITELLIUS. It was now apparent that to the free Roman State they were no wise devoted during the two preceding days. Equal to the ardour and zeal of the armies was that of the Treverians, of the Lingones, and of the inhabitants of Cologn; all making offer of supplies of men, of horses, of treasure, each according to the measure of his power and sufficiency, either in person, or wealth, or of capacity and address. Neither was such liberality confined to the leading men of these Colonies, or to those of the Camp, men who enjoyed present abundance, and who from victory once gained conceived hopes of ample earnings. But the common men too, the poor soldiers, they who were destitute of money, instead of it surrendered their travelling subsistence, their girdles, the trappings of their horses, and the silver ornaments upon their armour: led as they were by impulse, by headlong passion, and even by avarice.

VITELLIUS therefore, after he had extolled the zeal and alacrity of the soldiers, disposed of the several charges depending on the Sovereignty; charges which were wont to be administer'd by the Imperial Freedmen, but now by him conferr'd upon Roman Knights. The fees exacted from the soldiers by the Centurions for exemptions from duty, he order'd to be paid out of his own Treasure as Emperor. The cruel vengeance of the sol-

diers, in craving the doom and execution of particulars, he in many instances humoured; and in some instances defeated, under colour of committing the obnoxious persons to prison. POMPEIUS PROPINQUUS, Governor of the Province of Belgica, was put to present death. By an artifice he redeemed from their rage the person of JULIUS BURDO, Commander of the Naval Forces in Germany. Against him the fury of the Army raged, as they believed that through his mischievous devices FONTEIUS CAPITO had been brought first to rebel, and then to perish. Dear to them was the memory of CAPITO; and such besides was their thirst of vengeance and blood, that to slay and execute in the face of the day, was with them matter of Licence; but to protect and shew mercy there was no way other than that of deceiving them. Thus was BURDO secured in prison, and, afterwards upon the victory obtained by VITELLIUS, discharged, when the malice of the soldiers was dissipated. In the mean while, CRISPINUS the Centurion was presented to their fury, as a proper victim for expiation; he who had stained himself with the blood of CAPITO. For this cause, as he was to the soldiers who required his execution, a criminal the more signally notorious; so he was to VITELLIUS who awarded it, an object the more vile and despicable. The next threatened was JULIUS CIVILIS, but delivered from all peril, as amongst his countrymen the Batavians, he was a man of prevailing credit and popularity; and lest by his doom that nation so wild and fierce, might have been provoked to enmity. In truth there then lay in the country of the Lingones eight Cohorts of Batavians, appertaining, as auxiliaries, to the fourteenth Legion, but through the commotion and distractions of the times, retired from it; a body of men of infinite weight and availment, either as enemies or confederates. To execution VITELLIUS doomed NONIUS, DONATIUS, ROMILIUS and CALPURNIUS, the four Centurions lately mentioned; men condemned for adhering to their faith and duty: a crime ever thought most heinous by such as have renounced both. To this party there joined themselves VALERIUS ASIATICUS, the Emperor's Lieutenant in the Province of Belgica, he upon whom VITELLIUS afterwards

afterwards bestowed his daughter; and JUNIUS BLESUS, Governor of that part of Gaul which derives its name from the City of Lyons; together with the Italic Legion and the band of horse entitled *Taurina*, both encamped at Lyons. Neither did the forces in Rhetia procrastinate, but forthwith went over to his side; nor even from those in Britain was there any hesitation found.

OVER Britain TREBELLIVS MAXIMVS then bore rule, a man for his avarice and infamous corruption by the army despised and detested. This hate of theirs was daily heightened and inflamed by ROSCIUS CELIVS, Commander of the twentieth Legion; one who towards him had long lived in a state of strife and opposition. But now by the eruption of the civil War, their mutual enmity broke forth more implacable. Upon CELIVS, the General charged the raising of sedition, and that he had utterly broken all discipline in the army. Against the General, CELIVS urged that he had plundered and impoverish'd the Legions. And, in the mean while, through the scandalous disputes and competition between the Chiefs, the behaviour of the army, otherwise modest, became quite depraved; and to such a tumult the contest arose, that TREBELLIVS, finding himself assaulted by many reproaches from the auxiliary soldiers also, and perceiving all the Cohorts and Bands of horse to associate themselves with CELIVS, fled, in this forlorn state, to VITELLIUS. Yet the tranquillity of the Provinces subsisted, tho the Governor vested with Consular dignity was gone. The administration was performed by the Commanders of the Legions, by their office all equal in authority; but CELIVS by superior boldness gained superior sway.

VITELLIUS, upon the accession of the army in Britain to his party, become mighty in forces and treasure, appointed two Generals to conduct the war, and to each General assigned a different rout. To FABIVS VALENS he gave orders to soothe and draw over the Gauls, or if he could not persuade them, then to over-run them by spoil and devastation, and by that part of the Alps which bears the name of *Cottian*, make an irruption into Italy. CECINA was ordered to advance thither by a nearer way,

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and to pass over the mountains called *Penini*. To VALENS were committed the flower of the lower Army with the Eagle of the fifth Legion, and the Cohorts and Bands of horse, to the number of forty thousand fighting men. From the higher Germany CECINA led thirty thousand, of which the principal strength consisted in one Legion, namely the twenty first. Upon both Generals were bestowed bodies of auxiliary Germans. From these too it was that VITELLIUS drew reinforcements for his own troops, with whom he was to follow and support the whole weight of the war.

WONDERFUL was found the difference between the spirit of the army and that of the Emperor. The soldiers were urgent for action, and required to be put under arms, " whilst dread still possessed the Gauls, whilst " Spain remained in hesitation and suspense. The winter season was no obstruction; nor was there any to " be admitted from the stupid deliberations about peace. " They must invade Italy; they must seize Rome. In " civil commotions nothing was so secure as dispatch, " since then less necessary was counsel than execution." VITELLIUS continued lifeless and stupified; only in voluptuous sloth and consuming banquets personating a Prince; as if in luxury and profusion the measure and functions of Sovereignty had lain. By the middle of the day he was always intoxicated with wine, gorged with feasting, unweildy, and unmoveable. But such was the zeal and vigour of the soldiers, that of themselves they supplied all the duties of the Leader, as effectually as if he had attended himself, and in person animated the brave by hopes, the dastardly by fear. As soon as they were drawn out and armed, they demanded with earnestness, that the signal might be given for marching; styling him by the name of GERMANICUS, to which they subjoined his own of VITELLIUS. For even after he was victorious, he forbade giving him the appellation of *Cæsar*. To FABIVS VALENS and the army which he was thus leading forth to the war, on the very day they commenced their march, there appeared a joyful presage, that of an Eagle, which measuring his motion by that of the Host, glided gently along, and flew just before, as if he purposely

purposely guided the way. Such too, for a large space of time, were the joyful shouts uttered by the soldiers, such the steady motion of the undismayed bird, that thence was inferred a manifest omen of an issue mighty and successful.

AND in truth they advanced with assurance to the Territories of Treves, as to those of a friendly State. But at Dividurum, a City of the Mediomatrics, tho they were there received with every degree of frankness and complaisance, a sudden panic seized them, and in an instant they grasped their arms, with design to massacre the unoffending City; not for the sake of pillage, or from the lust of spoil, but from fury and madness, and causes unknown, and thence the more difficult to be remedied and removed; till asswaged at last by the entreaties of their General, they forbore pursuing the utter destruction of the City. There were slaughtered however, to the number of four thousand men. An example of terror this, which alarmed all the rest of Gaul; insomuch that thenceforward entire Cities, when the army approached them, went forth to meet it, accompanied with their Magistrates, and tendering the petitions of Supplicants. Along the ways, in humble postures, were strowed their children and wives: and every other art, every persuasive, proper to soften the rage of a foe, was offered; not that they were really engaged in a War, but purely to be allowed the privilege of Peace.

IN the Capital of the Leucians FABIVS VALENS received tidings of the murder of GALBA, and that the Sovereignty was devolved upon OTHO. Nor did the news move the spirit of the soldiers either to grief or joy, as they were only intent upon war. From the Gauls all cause of hesitation in favour of GALBA, was now taken away. Towards OTHO and VITELLIUS they bore equal hate; and were moreover possessed with dread of VITELLIUS. The next State was that of the Lingones, a people attached to the party of VITELLIUS. There the army was kindly received, and strove to return the civility by equal complaisance. But this cheerful harmony proved short, through the turbulent behaviour of those Cohorts, which, having withdrawn themselves from the

fourteenth Legion, as above I have remembred, had been by FABIVS VALENS incorporated with his own forces. Between these Cohorts, who were Batavians, and the Legionary soldiers, at first reproachful words arose; words were presently followed by a tumult. And while the other soldiers, according to their different partialities, espoused opposite sides, the contention waxed so hot, that a battle must have immediately ensued, had not VALENS by punishing a few particulars, recalled the Batavians, who had forgot all authority, to a sense of their duty. In vain was cause of War fought against the Eduans: for being commanded to furnish a supply of money and arms; to that of money and arms they of their own accord added one of provisions without price. What the Eduans had done out of fear, the inhabitants of Lyons did through joy. From thence however was withdrawn the Italic Legion, and the Squadron of horse entitled *Taurina*. But at Lyons it was judged proper to leave the eighteenth Cohort; as in quarters where they had been used to winter. MANLIUS VALENS, Commander of the Italic Legion, tho he had truly served the cause, yet remained without favour or distinction from VITELLIUS. FABIVS had blasted him with secret defamations, ignorant as he was of such devices; and to render MANLIUS the more secure and unguarded, whilst he thus circumvented him, always applauded him openly.

THE animosities so long subsisting between the people of Lyons and those of Vienne, had been by the late war inflamed. Hence many bloody routs and calamities on both sides, more frequent and furious than if they had fought only for the interests of NERO and GALBA. In truth, GALBA, moved by his displeasure, had converted to his own Exchequer the revenues of the Lyonesse; and on the contrary, had treated those of Vienne with signal marks of favour. The root this of emulation and envy, between two people linked together in mutual hatred, and only separated by a river. They of Lyons therefore set themselves to animate the soldiers man by man, and to incite them to exterminate those of Vienne. They urged that this their Colony had been by them besieged; that they had aided the conspiracy and attempts of VINDEK,
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and lately levied Legions for the support of GALBA. And when they had displayed these plausible motives for hate and hostility, they shewed and extolled to the soldiers the mighty and extensive spoil which awaited them. Nor did they any longer confine themselves to secret exhortations to particular soldiers, but publicly besought them in a body, “ That they would march in pursuit of just vengeance, that they would raze and extinguish the seat and nursery of the War in Gaul; a nursery which contained none but foreigners and foes. For themselves, they were a Roman Colony, and part of the Army, and their inseparable confederates in all events prosperous or disastrous. Now if Fortune should chance to prove froward, they begged that they might not be left exposed to the rage of their implacable enemies.”

By these instigations, and many more in the same strain, they incensed the men so effectually, that even the Commanders of the Legions and their other Leaders, judged it impossible to quell the wrath of the army; when the inhabitants of Vienne, well apprized of their impending peril, covered their heads with doleful and religious veils, and accosting the army as they marched, in the mournful guise of supplicants, embraced their armour, their knees, their feet, and thus mollified the animosity of the soldiers. Besides the force of these supplications, VALENS added a donative of three hundred sesterces a man. Then it was that reverence for the dignity of the Colony and its ancient establishment prevailed; and then was the discourse of FABIUS, who to the army recommended the security and preservation of the Viennese, received with favour and attention. They were sentenced, however, to surrender the arms belonging to their State: and to assist the soldiers with provisions, every man contributed his share, according to what he had. But the prevailing rumour was, “ That the people of Vienne had bought over VALENS with an immense sum of money.” This man, one long sordidly poor, then on a sudden become rich, did but ill disguise the hasty change of his fortune. As his appetites had been whetted and inflamed by a long course of penury, his riot and excesses were boundless; and having spent his younger years in eminent indigence,
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he abandoned himself to notorious prodigality in his old age. From thence in a slow progress, the army was led through the Territories of the Allobrogi and Vocontians; while upon every march which he made, upon every shifting of his camp, the General constantly set a price; and with the Proprietors of the several Lands, with the Magistrates of the several Cities, struck vile and infamous bargains for favour and exemption. This he did with such open confidence and menaces, that he ordered Lucus, a municipal Town of the Vocontians, to be set on fire, till by money he was appeased. As often as money failed, he was softened by a present of Women and by sacrifices to his lust. Marching in this manner he arrived at the Alps.

CECINA rioted in greater spoil and in more blood. His spirit naturally tempestuous and fierce, was exasperated by the Helvetians, a nation of the Gauls; one renowned of old for men and arms, and afterwards only signal for reputation past. The Helvetians were not apprized of the tragical end of GALBA, and refused to own the Sovereignty of VITELLIUS. But the commencement of the War proceeded from the eagerness and rapacity of the twenty first Legion, who had violently seized as plunder the money which the Helvetians were sending to pay the Garrison of a Fort, which for a long time past they had maintained with their own men and money. The Helvetians, who bore this heinously, caused to be intercepted the letters, which, in the name of the German Army, were carrying to the Legions in Pannonia, and made prisoners of a Centurion and some soldiers. CECINA, who longed passionately for War, proceeded always to take vengeance for every offence, within his reach, as fast as it was committed, before the offender could have time to claim the merit of remorse and submission. In an instant he decamped and marched, laid the whole country waste, and sacked a fine place, one magnificently built, during a long peace, in imitation of a large municipal City, and greatly frequented for the sake of its charming and salubrious Baths. He likewise dispatched expresses into Rhetia, with orders to the auxiliaries of that country, to fall upon the Helvetians in the rear, while they made head against the forces of the Legion.

THE Helvetians, so fierce and daring while danger was at a distance, were struck and terrified when it arrived. Upon the first alarm, indeed, they had chosen a Leader, CLAUDIUS SEVERUS. But they knew not the use of their arms, knew not how to keep their ranks, nor how to pursue any united counsel for the benefit of the whole. Pernicious they thought must be the trial of a battle against troops so regular and experienced; and it was utterly unsafe to abide a siege within walls that were ruinous and old. Here they stood exposed to CECINA with a powerful army; there to the Cohorts and Squadrons of horse from Rhetia. The Rhetian Youth too were inured to arms, and diligently trained in the discipline of War. On every side they were beset with devastation and slaughter. In the midst of all this distress and terror, running hither and thither, and casting away their arms, they fled at last to the mountain Vocetius, the most part of them wounded or in utter disarray. From thence too they were instantly driven by a band of Thracians purposely sent; and, as the Germans also and Rhetians pursued them, they were all slaughtered amongst the woods, and even in their own lurking holes. Many thousands were cut off; and many thousands sold to bondage. As the Army, after having committed universal ravage and spoil, were now marching in order of battle towards Aventicum, the Metropolis of the Country, Deputies from thence were dispatched to offer a surrender of the City, and the surrender was accepted. Upon JULIUS ALPINUS, CECINA caused capital punishment to be inflicted, as upon one who had stirred up the war. To the judgment of VITELLIUS, whether the same proved cruelty or mercy, he remitted all the rest.

EASY it is not to assert, which of the two, the Emperor or the soldiers, the Helvetian Ambassadors found most implacable and unrelenting. The soldiers insisted that the City should be utterly demolished, and, with menacing hands and weapons insulted the Ambassadors in the face. Nor did VITELLIUS refrain from threats and reproaches; till CLAUDIUS COSSUS, one of the Ambassadors, a man of noted eloquence, but now concealing his faculty of persuading under an assumed and artful tremor,

and thence persuading the more powerfully, calmed and asswaged the animosity of the soldiers. Such is the genius of the vulgar, ever subject to sudden shiftings of their passions; this moment, cruel without measure, and the next, equally addicted to compassion and mercy. At last, by a torrent of tears, and by imploring, with a steady perseverance, a milder determination, they obtained to their City pardon and security.

CÆCINA, while he tarried some few days in the Country of the Helvetians, till he had learned the pleasure of VITELLIUS, and preparing at the same time to pass the Alps, received glad tidings from Italy, that the Squadron of horse named *Silana*, and then quartering about the Po, had sworn fealty to VITELLIUS. That Squadron had served under VITELLIUS in Africa, when he was Proconsul there. They were afterwards recalled from thence by NERO, in order to be sent forward into Egypt, but, upon the insurrection of VINDEX, detained from going. They at this time sojourned in Italy; and, at the instigation of their Officers, men unacquainted with OTHO, men engaged by obligations to VITELLIUS, and always magnifying to them the mighty strength of the approaching Legions, with the signal renown of the German Army, they went over to the same party. And as a present to their new Prince, with themselves they brought into his interest the strongest municipal Cities in the Territories beyond the Po, those of Milan, Novara, Eporedia and Vercelles. CÆCINA had this information directly from themselves. And because the most extensive Region in Italy could not be guarded by a single band of Cavalry, he dispatched thither before him the several Cohorts of Gauls, Lusitanians and Britons, with the body of German troops, and the Squadron of horse called *Taurina*. He himself remained in some short suspense, whether it were not advisable to bend his march over the mountains of Rhetia, towards Noricum, against PETRONIUS Governor of that Province, who having on all hands raised and assembled forces, and broken down the bridges over the rivers, was supposed to act from an attachment to OTHO. But dreading the loss of the reinforcements of foot and horse, sent already forward; reflecting too that from securing Italy
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more glory would accrue, and that wherever the decisive battle were fought, Noricum would certainly prove one of the acquisitions following a general victory; he ordered his soldiers lightly armed to take their rout over the Apennine, and led the heavy body of Legionary forces over the Alps, still covered with the bleak horrors of winter.

OTHO in the mean time, contrary to the expectation of all men, languished not in sloth, nor was lulled asleep by any of his pleasures. All his voluptuous follies were suspended and postponed, his passion for luxury was artfully dissembled, and all things conducted suitably to the dignity of the Empire. Hence was administer'd the greater cause of public fear, as these virtues were known to be hollow and assumed, and a certain return was apprehended of his vices which were natural and tried. Before himself, in the Capitol, he caused to be produced MARIUS CELSUS, Consul elect, the same whom, under colour of committing him to durance, he had already rescued from the cruelty of the soldiers. He aimed to obtain the character of tenderness and clemency by mercy shewn to a man so illustrious, and so odious to all the partizans of OTHO's cause. CELSUS when he appeared, confessed resolutely the imputed crime, of having persevered in his faith and duty to GALBA: he even appealed to OTHO, whether he ought not to approve such an example of fidelity. Nor did OTHO treat him as a criminal pardoned; but, to manifest that he feared none of his enemies, to whom he had once declared himself reconciled, forthwith admitted him amongst his most intimate friends, and presently after chose him one of his Generals for conducting the war. In CELSUS too, by a kind of fatality, there remained for OTHO also a fidelity unshaken and unhappy. From the saving of CELSUS there ensued much joy amongst all men of rank in Rome, many acclamations amongst the populace, and no sort of distaste even amongst the soldiers, who in him admired the very same virtue, against which they had been so much incensed.

This flight of public joy was followed by another equally great, tho upon a consideration widely different,
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namely the deadly doom of TIGELLINUS obtained by the cry of the Public. SOPHONIUS TIGELLINUS sprang from parents altogether obscure; his younger years were defiled with unnatural prostitution, and his old age abandoned to chambering and lubricity. When by a course of vices, as the quickest means of preferment, he had gained the command of the Watch, then of the Prætorian Bands, and other rewards due to virtue, he began to exercise cruelty, rapacity, and the like masculine villanies. NERO he had corrupted to every iniquity, and had the boldness to perpetrate many unknown to NERO. At last he forsook and betrayed him. Hence the execution of no man was more vehemently urged, by such as hated and by such as lamented NERO, both concurring, from opposite passions, in the same antipathy and request. While GALBA reigned, he was protected by the mighty authority of TITUS VINIUS, on pretence that his daughter had been by TIGELLINUS saved; and 'tis without doubt that he had saved her, yet from no clemency of his (after such numbers murdered by him) but purely to purchase means of shelter and escape in time to come. For this is the policy of every desperate offender; from distrust of present fortune, and dread of change, to arm himself sometimes with private favour against the public hate. Hence it comes that for the protection of innocence no regard is shewn; but the guilty combine for mutual exemption from punishment. The people were the more inflamed, for that with their old detestation of TIGELLINUS there concurred their recent bitterness towards TITUS VINIUS: And from every quarter of the City they now flocked to the palace and the Forums, and especially with their multitudes they filled the Circus and several Theatres, places where the populace are wont to exert their highest acts of licentiousness. There they clamoured with bold and seditious words, till the fatal injunction to die was dispatched to TIGELLINUS then at the Baths of Sinuessæ. There it reached him; and, amidst a herd of harlots, after many passionate embraces, after many base and unmanly delays, he at last cut his throat with a razor, and brought a fresh stain upon his life, infamous as it was, even by his manner of dying altogether vile and meanly slow.

AT the same time, against GALVIA CRISPINILLA capital punishment was demanded: But by eluding the prosecution several artful ways, and by the connivance of the Prince, who by acting a double part incurred public censure, she escaped her doom. She had been to NERO the directress of his lusts, and afterwards passing over to Africa to instigate CLODIUS MACER to a revolt, avowedly laboured to famish the people of Rome; yet after this, becoming exalted and secured by her marriage with a Consul, she acquired the good graces of the whole City, and lived in perfect impunity during the reigns of GALBA, OTHO and VITELLIUS. Thenceforward she continued mighty in credit, by being opulent and childless; two considerations equally prevalent in good times and in bad.

FREQUENT the while were the letters which passed from OTHO to VITELLIUS, all contaminated with soothing and blandishments only proper to be used to Women. In these he offered him treasure and favour, and such a place of retirement as he himself should chuse to live in, suitably to his profuse life and taste. With the very same offers VITELLIUS tempted OTHO, and in the same soft terms. For at first they both treated in a way of dissimulation full of nonsense and absurdity. Then as it were proceeding to plain scolding, they upbraided each other with their whoredoms and profligate feats. Nor in this did either bring a false charge against the other. OTHO, having recalled the Ambassadors sent by GALBA, dispatched others in their room, in the plausible name of the Senate, to both the Armies in Germany, to the Italic Legion, and to the Forces quartering at Lyons. These Ambassadors continued with VITELLIUS, with such frankness as seemed no proof that they were detained by force. But the party of the Prætorian guards, who by the appointment of OTHO accompanied them, under the appearance of respect and attendance, were obliged to return back, without being suffered to mix amongst the soldiers of the Legions. Moreover FABIVS VALENS transmitted letters to the Prætorian Bands and City Cohorts, in the name of the German Army, magnifying the mighty forces attached to that interest, and offering friendship and association. He there likewise upbraided them for trans-

ferring the Sovereignty to OTHO, when it had been so long before legally conferred upon VITELLIUS. Thus were they at once assailed by promises and menaces, as men utterly unequal to sustain the war, but in no danger of losing by accepting terms of peace. Nor for all this, did the Prætorian Bands vary their plighted faith.

Now as both Chiefs were employing snares and ministers of death against each other, there were instruments of this sort dispatched by OTHO into Germany, others by VITELLIUS to Rome; and the attempts on both sides were defeated. But their agents fared differently. Those of VITELLIUS escaped undistinguished in the mighty and promiscuous crowd at Rome, where the persons and concerns of men are to each other unknown; whereas they who came from OTHO, were quickly remarked as new faces, in the quarters of VITELLIUS, where all men were mutually known to each other, and thence their design was betrayed. VITELLIUS too wrote to TITIANUS, brother to OTHO, threatening to put him and his son to death, in case his mother and children were not protected in perfect security at Rome. In truth the families of both were preserved unhurt, under both Princes successively. But whether the mercy and forbearance of OTHO were not founded in fear, remains an uncertainty. For VITELLIUS, who proved to be the Conqueror, acquired thence the glory of clemency unforced.

THE first tidings from abroad that raised the assurance of OTHO, was from Illyricum; namely, that the Legions in Dalmatia, in Pannonia and in Mœsia, had declared for him and sworn allegiance. The like good news arrived from Spain, and CLUVIUS RUFUS the Governor was applauded in a public Edict for such acceptable service: whereas it became presently known, that Spain had revolted to VITELLIUS. Nor in truth did Aquitaine persist long in obedience, tho they of that Province had, by the influence of JULIUS CORDUS, sworn fealty to OTHO. There prevailed no where any sincere affections in the hearts, nor any true faith in the actions of men; and only by the impressions of terror and necessity they were transported and changed hither and thither. From the same dread, the Province of Narbon Gaul acceded

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to the party of VITELLIUS; an easy transition to a party that was nearest and strongest. The Provinces far remote, and all the forces beyond the seas, continued subject to OTHO; from no partiality or zeal to his title or interest: But in the name of Rome, and in the authority of the Senate claimed, infinite weight was found. Besides their minds were pre-occupied in his behalf, as the first that they had heard nominated. The Army in Judea were by VESPASIAN sworn to OTHO, as were the Legions in Syria by MUCIANUS. Egypt too, and all the Provinces extending to the East, were governed in his name. The like submission was paid him in Africa, according to the example begun by Carthage. Indeed without waiting for the authority of VESPASIANUS APRONIANUS the Proconsul, CRESCENS, a freedman of NERO's, (for these sort of creatures too, in calamitous times, thrust themselves into the administration of the State) had presented a feast to the people there, in order to celebrate with rejoicings the accession of a new Emperor: and upon this occasion, the impatient populace ran into many extravagances, without regard had to any rule or restraint. The precedent set by Carthage was followed by the other African Cities. Whilst the Armies and the Provinces were thus rent and attached to opposite interests, it, in truth, behoved VITELLIUS, if he would gain the Sovereignty, to gain it by war.

OTHO in the mean time, as if full peace had reigned, was applying himself to the civil administration of the Empire, with a conduct, in some instances, becoming the dignity of the State, but for the most part unsuitable to the public honour, through haste and impatience to find present expedients for daily exigencies. Himself and TITIANUS his brother he named Consuls, to continue till the Calends of March. For the two following months in that office he appointed VERGINIUS; a matter of favour this by which he meant to soften and court the German Army. To VERGINIUS he joined, for a Colleague, POMPEIUS VOPISCUS, under colour of ancient friendship, but, in the opinion of most men, as a real compliment of honour paid to the people of Vienne. The other designations to the Consulship remained just as they had

had been settled by NERO or GALBA. Hence, CELIUS and FLAVIUS, each surnamed SABINUS, were the succeeding Consuls till July; as were ARIUS ANTONIUS and MARIUS CELSUS till September. Nor was this dignity of theirs abolished or questioned even by VITELLIUS after he proved Conqueror. Moreover, upon such ancient Senators as had already sustained illustrious functions in the State, OTHO, for the last completion of their public honours, conferred the pontifical or augural dignities; and for a consolation to young Noblemen, lately under exile, but now recalled, he invested them with such sacerdotal offices as had been enjoyed by their fathers or forefathers. To CADIUS RUFUS, PEDIUS BLESUS, and SEVINUS PROMPTINUS, Senators degraded in the reigns of CLAUDIUS and NERO, and condemned for robbing the Public, their dignity was now restored. In repealing their sentence, it was thought fit to new name their crime, that what was real rapine might now seem to have been only a charge of treason; a charge become so odious, that in detestation of it, other laws, however salutary, were disused and lost.

By the like methods of benevolence, he also attempted to gain the affections of whole Cities and Provinces. He supplied the Colonies of Hispalis and Emerita with a fresh recruit of families. He made the whole people of the Lingones free Citizens of Rome. To the Province of Betica he made a present of all the Cities of the Moors. He established new privileges in Cappadocia, new privileges in Africa, more in truth for ostentation and renown, than that they were likely to continue. During these transactions, which, from the necessity of the conjuncture, and the cares which urged him on every side, passed for excusable, he forgot not to recall fondnesses past; and while his Sovereignty was yet at stake, procured a decree of Senate for replacing the several statues of POPPEA. He is even believed to have had under frequent deliberation the celebrating of NERO's memory with public Honours, with a view to win the hearts of the populace. Nay some there were who in public places reared the images of NERO; and during certain days, the people and soldiers uttered their acclamations to him, by the name
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of *Nero Otbo* ; as if by this title they intended him additional nobility and lustre ; while he himself remained silent and undetermined, perhaps ashamed to accept their compliment, perhaps afraid to forbid it.

WHILST the minds of men were intent upon the progress and issue of the civil War, foreign transactions passed unregarded. Hence it was that the Roxolanians a people of Sarmatia, who had the preceding winter cut off two of our Cohorts, made an irruption the more daringly into Mœsia, filled with mighty expectation. They were nine thousand horse, animated by past success with notable assurance and disdain, and more possessed with the thoughts of spoil than of fighting. As therefore they roved about, dispersed and regardless of an enemy, they were suddenly beset by the third Legion accompanied by its auxiliaries. Amongst the Roman forces all things were aptly disposed for an encounter. Those of Sarmatia, on the contrary, were either scattered abroad in eager quest of prey or loaded with it, and through the slipperiness of the ways deprived of all aid from the fleetness of their horses: so that they were slaughtered like men bound and helpless. For wonderful it is to be observed, that all the bravery of the Sarmatians is as it were external and disjoined from the men. In combats on foot, nothing is so spiritless and unmanly as they: when they advance as a body of horse, scarce can any army whatsoever withstand them. But upon this occasion, the day being wet, and the frost dissolving, they were neither able to wield their mighty spears, nor their huge sabres, sabres so long that with both their hands they manage them: for under them their horses slipped and fell, and left them encumbered with their ponderous coats of mail; such as by all their Princes and Nobles are worn. It is an armour framed of plates of iron, or of leather infinitely hard; and tho' it be impenetrable by any weapon, yet to such as are by the force of an enemy cast down, it is also a sure obstacle to rising again. They were moreover involved in the snow, at once deep and melting. The Roman soldiers the while, in wieldy armour, assail the Sarmatians, now by a shower of darts, anon with the points of their javelins, then, when opportunity invited, in close combat, with their light and manageable swords

goring the defenceless foe, (for, to secure themselves with a shield, is not their custom) till a few of them who survived the battle, betook themselves to coverts in the marshes, where, through the rigour of winter and the extremity of their wounds, they all perished. As this became known at Rome, MARCUS APONIUS, appointed Governor of Mœsia, was distinguished with a triumphal Statue; as were FULVIUS AURELIUS, JULIANUS TITIUS, and NUMISIUS LUPUS, Commanders of the Legions there, with the Confular Ornaments. And great was the joy manifested upon this occasion by OTHO, who to himself assumed the glory, as if he too were blest with felicity in war, and by the interposition of his Captains and Armies the Empire were thus aggrandized.

IN the mean time, from a contemptible source, whence nothing was dreaded, there arose a sedition, which well nigh involved the City in destruction. OTHO had ordered the seventeenth Cohort to be removed from Ostia to Rome; and the care of supplying them with arms was committed to VARIUS CRISPINUS, a Tribune of the Prætorian guards. He chusing for the execution of his orders the hour of most leisure, in the close of the evening, when all the camp was composed, directed the Armory to be opened, and the carriages belonging to the Cohort to be loaded. The lateness of the hour administered jealousy, the action it self passed for highly criminal, the study of privacy and quiet ended in an uproar, and the drunken soldiery, upon the sight of these arms, found themselves instigated to use their arms. The body raged and clamoured, and charged their Tribunes and Centurions with ill faith and traiterous designs, as if “ the whole tribe of domesticks belonging to the several Senators were to have been armed against the person and cause of OTHO.” Part of them were intoxicated with wine, and knew not the cause of the alarm; all the worst and most profligate sought an occasion to plunder. The herd and generality, according to custom, were delighted with every new tumult and commotion whatsoever; and such as were better disposed, were not able to manifest their duty in the dark. CRISPINUS the Tribune, who laboured to repress their seditious fury, they

they murdered, with other Centurions who were remarkable for severity of discipline. Then instantly they put themselves under arms, and mounting upon horses, with their swords drawn, advanced directly to Rome, then to the Imperial Palace.

OTHO was then entertaining at a grand banquet the principal Lords and Ladies of the City. Terror seized these his guests, and doubt, whether their danger proceeded from the casual rage of the soldiery, or the premeditated treachery of the Emperor. Unresolved too they were which was the more perillous choice, to stay together and be taken, or to fly and disperse. This moment they counterfeited notable courage; the next they betrayed their dread; and constantly watched the countenance of OTHO. So that, as it usually happens to minds bent to suspicion, they feared OTHO, when he himself was under fear. In truth as he was equally terrified with the danger threatening the Senate as with his own, he not only dispatched forthwith the Captains of the guards to mollify the rage of the soldiers, but ordered the company to retire with all speed. Then it was that all fled for safety: Roman Magistrates cast away the ensigns of their authority and state, and deserted their usual train of followers and slaves. Tender Ladies, ancient Nobles, rambled in the dark, hither and thither, few to their own home, most to the houses of their friends; and chiefly they sought lurking holes amongst the basest of their dependents, where search and pursuit was least apprehended.

THE violence of the soldiers was such, that the gates of the palace proved no check to them from forcing their way into the banqueting chamber, where with one mouth they demanded to have a sight of OTHO; having in their passage wounded JULIUS MARTIALIS, a Tribune, and VITELLIUS SATURNINUS, Colonel of a Legion, two officers who strove to oppose their tumultuous entrance. On every hand arms were brandished, and terrible menaces were uttered, now against the Tribunes and Centurions, and in the next breath against the whole body of the Senate. For with a pannic fear, blind and causeless, their minds were bewitched and inflamed: So that,

as they could assign no particular victim to their own fury, they claimed a latitude for general slaughter; till OTHO standing upon his banqueting couch, had by supplications and tears, to the abasement of Imperial Dignity, prevailed upon them, with great difficulty, to desist. They then returned to their camp, but with much regret and ill will, and not exempt from the foul stain of blood and guilt. The next day, as if the City had been taken by an enemy, the houses continued close shut up; scarce a soul was to be seen in the streets; the people were abandoned to mourning and sadness; and the soldiers, with down cast looks, shewed rather a shocking gloominess than any tokens of remorse. Their Captains LICINIUS PROCULUS, and PLOTIUS FIRMUS harangued them in companies apart, with a stile of softness or asperity suitable to the different spirits of the speakers. However they spoke, the result of the discourse was no other, than that to the soldiers should be distributed five thousand Sesterces a man. Then, and not before, OTHO adventured to enter the camp: There the Tribunes and Centurions gathered round him, in the guise of private men, having quitted the badges denoting their ranks, and implored him with earnestness to dismiss them from the service, and to protect them in their lives. Well the soldiery saw what an heavy odium was derived upon themselves by this request of their Officers, and with a behaviour formed to duty and obedience, required, of their own meer motion, “That upon the Authors of the “ Infurrection the pains of death should be inflicted.”

OTHO not only found himself beset with great combustions and civil disorders, but the inclinations of the soldiery jarring and divided. All the innocent and best amongst them insisted upon a remedy to the present licentiousness and outrage: The crowd and majority delighted in frequent seditions, in a government conducted by largesses and corruption; and hence by being indulged in tumults and feats of rapine, were the more easily instigated to the prosecution of the civil War. He reflected too that a Sovereignty, like his, acquired by flagrant iniquity, could never be preserved by righteous orders suddenly established, and by reviving the rigid virtue and
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purity of the ancient Romans. However, as he was anxious about the danger of the City, and the doom which threaten'd the Senate, he at last spoke to them in this fashion.

“ I come not hither with design either of kindling
 “ your affections to me ward, my fellow soldiers, or to
 “ animate you to bravery against the foe: for both your
 “ bravery and your affections signally overflow. But I
 “ come to entreat you, that you would qualify the heat
 “ of your magnanimity with an allay, and confine with-
 “ in some bounds your zeal and tenderness for me. The
 “ beginning of the late tumult arose from no thirst of
 “ prey, from no hate to the persons of men (motives which
 “ have excited many armies to strife and uproar) nor
 “ from any dread of peril, or desire to shun it; but
 “ your devotion to me, over passionate and fond, roused
 “ you to it with more acrimony than reflection. For,
 “ many an honest cause and counsel, when not conducted
 “ by sound judgment, is followed by pernicious events.
 “ We are proceeding to war. Now, does the reason of
 “ things permit, does the nature of times and occasions
 “ permit (things which are presented and lost with equal
 “ and infinite velocity) that every express, every article
 “ of intelligence be publicly communicated, and in the
 “ presence of the whole army every difficulty be discussed,
 “ and all our counsels holden? To be ignorant of some
 “ things equally behoves a soldier as to be well acquainted
 “ with others. Such is the authority of a General, such
 “ the quality and rigour of discipline, that for the pre-
 “ servation of both, it is often inevitably necessary, that
 “ even to the Tribunes and Centurions many positive
 “ commands be given without any reasons annexed.
 “ Were it allowed to every particular, when he re-
 “ ceives orders, to ask why, all obedience being thus
 “ lost, the loss of Sovereign Empire would immediate-
 “ ly follow. And yet shall soldiers, of their own heads,
 “ fly to their arms in the dead of night? Shall one or
 “ two single men, desperate and drunken, (for that
 “ more than two run thus mad in the late distraction,
 “ I am loth to believe) shall they dare to embroil their
 “ hands in the blood of their Tribunes and Centurions?

“ shall they be allowed to burst into their Emperor’s Pa-
 “ vilion?

“ IT must be owned indeed, it was on my behalf
 “ that these excesses were committed. But during the
 “ wayward motions and fallies of this insurrection, which
 “ was conducted at random in the dark, and in the uni-
 “ versal confusion following it, an occasion for forming
 “ attempts too against me, might have been easily ad-
 “ minister’d. What else could VITELLIUS, and the crea-
 “ tures of VITELLIUS, make the burthen of their im-
 “ precations against us? And if in their breasts the option
 “ lay, what other bent of spirit, what other understand-
 “ ing could they wish us? Would they not naturally
 “ wish for tumult and discord amongst us? that the sol-
 “ dier should refuse to obey the Centurion, the Centurion
 “ to obey the Tribune; and that, in a general confusion of
 “ horse and foot, we might all in a body run precipitately
 “ to destruction? Rather by due obedience, my fellow
 “ soldiers, than by sedulously examining the commands
 “ of superiors, is government preserved amongst military
 “ men: And always most brave in a day of danger does
 “ that army prove, which before danger appeared, had
 “ remained most quiet and dutiful. To be armed and
 “ valorous, be your part; to me leave the prerogative of
 “ counsel, and the direction of your magnanimity. Of
 “ the late transgression there were but few guilty; of those
 “ few two only shall bear the punishment. Labour, all
 “ the rest of you, labour to obliterate the memory of
 “ that abominable and infamous night; nor let those hor-
 “ rible expressions uttered against the Senate be ever
 “ heard by any other army. To demand to execution
 “ that venerable body of men, who together constitute
 “ the head of the Empire, and are the glory and or-
 “ naments of the Provinces, is a thing so atrocious, that
 “ even the fell Germans, they whom VITELLIUS is ani-
 “ mating with all his might against us, would not dare
 “ to attempt. And is it yet possible, that any of the
 “ native sons of Italy, that the genuine progeny of Ro-
 “ mans, should cruelly require the blood and lives of that
 “ glorious Order, by whose lustre and renown derived
 “ upon us, we bring apparent contempt and obscurity
 “ upon

“ upon the fordid party of VITELLIUS. VITELLIUS
“ has seized some countries; he has too the appearance of
“ an army: but with us is the Senate. Hence it comes
“ to pass that the Commonwealth stands on our side;
“ on his the enemies of the Commonwealth. How?
“ Do you indeed believe, that the essence of this City,
“ of all others the fairest, consists in Walls and Roofs
“ and piles of Stone? These are things dumb and inani-
“ mate, and subject indifferently to ruine or repair: But
“ upon the security and well being of the Senate is esta-
“ blished the eternity of the State, the peace of nations,
“ with your welfare and mine. By the Father and Founder
“ of our City this venerable Order was instituted, with
“ the interposition of Auspices solemnly observed: from
“ the time of our Kings to that of the Cæsars, it con-
“ tinually subsisted. As we received it from our an-
“ cestors, let us deliver it down, immortal, to posterity.
“ For, as from amongst you Senators spring; so Princes
“ arise from amongst Senators.”

THIS speech, contrived both to rebuke and to mollify the spirit of the soldiery, was favourably received, as was the moderate measure of punishment inflicted; for he ordered no more than two to suffer. Thus was some composure wrought amongst these men, whom no violent correction could have quelled. The tranquillity however of the City was not yet restored. There still was heard the uproar of arms; and a face of war subsisted. It is true the soldiery committed no public insults, nor rioted in a body, but dispersed every where up and down; they crept into houses in disguised habits, as spies watching with virulent minds and curiosity, for matter of mischief and destruction against all, who by their nobility, or wealth, or any other notable preeminence, were signal enough to be subject to popular and flying rumour. Some too believed, that certain soldiers from the army of VITELLIUS were arrived at Rome, purposely to sound the spirit of the parties there. Hence all places were filled with suspicion and distrust; nay, scarce were men exempt from caution and fear in their most secret recesses at home. But abroad, under the eye of the Public, this sort of dread most of all prevailed. There, people were
careful

careful to shift their passions and faces, according to the quality of the news which were said to be brought; that when affairs bore an ambiguous aspect, they might seem to manifest no diffidence of success, nor be slow in rejoicing, when prosperous. But upon the several Senators assembled in Council, the most perilous task lay, how to preserve in all points a conduct safe and unexceptionable; lest their silence might be construed haughtiness and contumacy, lest by liberty of speech his jealousy should be roused: and were they to utter flights of flattery, these others would readily see through, he who having been lately a subject, had then used the same stile. They therefore dealt in repetitions, dwelt upon the motions which they made, and varied and wrested them to every sense according as it appeared most acceptable; but always sure to bestow upon VITELLIUS the names of *Public Enemy* and *Parricide*. They who were most artful and wary, confined themselves to such invectives as being common and vulgar, were not remarkable: some assailed him with bold reproaches and well grounded, but took care to utter them under the din of a general clamour, and when many were speaking at once, or to confound them amongst a tumultuous tide of words purposely poured out by themselves.

MOREOVER from divers prodigies, attested by several authorities, much public terror arose. From the hands of the Statue of Victory, standing upon her chariot in the porch of the Capitol, the reins dropped. Out of the Chappel appertaining to Juno, there suddenly arose an Apparition of a size more than human. The Statue of the deified Julius, erected in an island in the Tiber, was found turned quite round from the West to the East, upon a day utterly free from rain and tempests. In Etruria an Ox spoke. There were animals that produced unusual births; with many other wonders, which, during the ignorant ages, proved matter of observation even in times of peace, but now are only heard when public terror prevails. But there intervened a dread still more affecting, one not only of calamities future, but accompanied by present desolation, and caused by a precipitate inundation from the Tiber, whose waters swelling to an
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immense

immense heighth, overthrew the Sublician Bridge, and having their course obstructed by the heap of ruins, besides overflowing the adjacent quarters which were level, covered places which were reckoned secure against any such disaster. Many were swept away in the streets; and more drowned in their shops and beds. Amongst the populace famine ensued, both through scarcity of provision, and want of employment to earn it. Moreover such buildings as for standing by themselves are called Isles, having their foundations sapped and weakened by the flood surrounding them, sunk into ruins when the waters returned. No sooner were the minds of men free from this peril which had so much awakened them, but they found another matter of prodigy, big with direful and impending calamities, tho it proceeded from causes evidently fortuitous or natural; namely, that the Field of Mars and the Causeway of FLAMINIUS were both so obstructed, that OTHO, when ready to march, could not that way take his route to the War.

OTHO having performed the solemnity of Lustration, by purifying the City with sacrifices, weighed carefully all the methods of conducting the War; and seeing the passages over the Apennine Mountains with those of the Cottian Alps, and all the other approaches to Gaul, were beset and shut up by the armies of VITELLIUS, resolved to invade the Province of Narbon Gaul, with a powerful force by sea, all faithfully attached to his party: for, amongst the soldiers of the Legions he had engrafted all those who had survived the slaughter of their brethren at the Milvian Bridge, and had been by GALBA cruelly doomed to a prison. To the others too hopes were given of rising in good time to more honourable ranks in the service. The navy he enforced with the City Cohorts, and with a detachment from the Prætorian Bands; a reinforcement intended as the prime force and bulwark of the army, and to assist the Commanders with counsel, as well as to serve them for guards. To ANTONIUS NOVELLUS, to SUEDIUS CLEMENS, both lately Centurions of principal rank, and to EMELIUS PACENSIS, a Tribune dismissed by GALBA, and now by OTHO re-established, the direction in chief of the expedition was committed. But the care and controul of all the ships

was reserved to *oscius* his Freedman, who was employed to inspect the fidelity and behaviour of men more honourable than himself. The command of the foot and horse was assigned to *suetonius paulinus*, *marius celsus*, and *annius gallus*; but in *licinius proculus*, Captain of the Prætorian Guards, the chief confidence was placed. This man, who was a prompt officer amongst the troops at Rome, but in war unexperienced, made it his business to arraign and blacken the eminent name and authority of *paulinus*, the spirit and vivacity of *celsus*, the gravity and coolness of *annius*, and to blast with some calumny of his every excellence of theirs; and thus came, by being mischievous and crafty, to surpass in credit such as were virtuous and unassuming; a task exceeding easy to be accomplished.

DURING those days *cornelius dolabella* was doomed to confinement in the town of Aquine, tho under ward no wife strict or solitary; for no crime of his, but only as he was obnoxious and marked out for the ancient lustre of his name and kindred to *galba*. Many of the Magistrates, and a great part of such as had been Consuls, were by *ottho* ordered to prepare for the field; with no design of allowing them any share or charge in the War, but only under colour of accompanying him. Amongst these was included *lucius vitellius*, distinguished neither as the brother of an Emperor, nor of an enemy. Great was the anxiety and consternation, which upon this occasion possessed the City; nor was any rank of men exempt from the impulse of danger and fear. The chief Senators were by age disabled, or through long peace become listless and unweildy. The Nobles were sunk in sloth, and had quite forgot the wars. The Roman Knights were unacquainted with all military functions and the duties of a camp. And all these degrees of men, at this time governed by dread, the more they strove to conceal and smother it, did but the more apparently discover how greatly they dreaded. Nor, on the contrary, were there wanting some who, from an ambition altogether stupid and ridiculous, purchased themselves gay and glaring armour, with fine and stately steeds; or others who provided materials and preparatives for riot and feasting, with all the implements
and

and incentives to feats of voluptuousness, as so many instruments of war. Every wise man felt an affecting zeal for public tranquillity and the welfare of the State. The giddy and thoughtless, such as are unable to judge of things future, were puffed up with extravagant hopes. Many there were, who finding their fortunes and credit desperate during peace, became elevated upon the public commotions, and in the general distraction found most security to themselves in particular.

Now the body of the people, who are by their numbers, so infinite and mighty, debarred from a participation of public counsels and cares, began to feel by degrees the heavy evil and pressures of War; as to the use of the soldiery all the money was applied, and the price of provisions augmented; misfortunes which, upon the insurrection of VINDEX, had no wise oppressed the Commonalty. For the City then enjoyed peace and security, and the seat of the war being in one of the provinces, it seemed no other than a foreign war maintained between our Legions and the people of Gaul. For, ever since the deified AUGUSTUS established the sovereignty of the Cæsars, the Roman People had warred always amongst nations far remote, and to one man alone the glory or anxiety belonged. Under TIBERIUS and CALIGULA, men had only to dread the cruelties of pacific tyranny. The attempts of SCRIBONIANUS against CLAUDIUS were at once divulged and suppressed. NERO was overturned and deprived rather by evil tidings and the terrors of rumour, than by force of arms. But, at this time, the Fleets and Legions, and what is rarely practised, the Prætorians Guards and City Cohorts, were all led forth to fight. The East and West were engaged on the opposite sides, as were all the other forces remaining in the several countries which each Competitor left behind him. Ample materials these for a war long and fierce, had there been other Chiefs than these to have conducted it. As OTHO was upon marching, there were some who started a cause of delay, taken from the omission of a religious ceremony, that of repositing the sacred shields *Ancilia*. But he rejected all arguments for procrastination, as what had proved fatal to NERO: besides he was urged by the approach of CECINA, who had already passed the Alps.

ON the fourteenth of March, having assembled the Senate, to their care he recommended the Commonwealth. And, as the wild grants and bounties of NERO had been resumed, OTHO bestowed upon the exiles lately restored all such remainders of these resumptions as were not yet come into his Exchequer. A liberality this altogether just, and in sound magnificent, but in effect empty, and frustrated by the eagerness of the Officers, who had a good while before exacted payment of the whole. Anon he congregated the people, and to them boasted, that with his interest and title concurred the majesty of the City, and joint consent of the People and Senate. Against the adherents of VITELLIUS he discoursed with great gentleness and restraint, and taxed the Legions rather with ignorance than with insolence and revolt. Of VITELLIUS himself he made no mention; whether from any moderation of his own, or whether he who composed the speech, in due fear and caution for himself, declined to assail VITELLIUS with opprobrious words. For as OTHO, in all military deliberations, consulted SUETONIUS PAULINUS and MARIUS CELSUS; so, in his civil administration, he was believed to use the talents of GALERIUS TRACHALUS. Nay some would needs discover, in this speech, his peculiar flow of Eloquence, long celebrated at the public Tribunals, and known to be sounding and diffuse, so as to fill the ears of the People. There followed much shouting and many acclamations from the Populace, in their old road of sycophancy; but all extravagant and hollow. They indeed strove to surpass each other in such strains of zeal, and in vows so ardent, as if to CAESAR the Dictator, or to the Emperor AUGUSTUS they had been directing them; not from any motives of fear, or any of affection, but from a wanton propensity to abjectness and servitude; and just as it were in a tribe of household slaves, every man was acted by narrow views of his own, and public honour was now regarded by none. OTHO upon leaving Rome committed to his brother, SALVIUS TITIANUS, the charge of maintaining its tranquillity, and of managing the other affairs of the Empire.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
T A C I T U S.
B O O K II.

The S U M M A R Y.

TITUS sent by his father VESPASIAN to congratulate GALBA, hears of his murder, and stops in Greece; proceeds to Syria, visits the Temple of the Paphian Venus, consults her, has an auspicious answer, returns to his father, who meditates war, but waits an occasion. A counterfeit NERO detected and seized. An account of OTHO's forces, Generals, and fleet. Commotions in Corsica. CECINA enters Italy, besieges Placentia, but is repulsed with loss and disgrace; lays an ambush for the army of OTHO, but is himself surprized by one of theirs. VALENS advances to TICINUM, where his men mutiny against him, but are appeased, yet run headlong to join CECINA. OTHO, upon intelligence of their conjunction, consults about pushing or prolonging the war; prefers the measures which were boldest and worst. The combat near Bedriacum. The forces of OTHO routed, yet not daunted. OTHO weary of the civil War, dies by his own hand: his steady spirit, calmness, and reasonings. A mutiny of his soldiers; the danger threaten'd by it to VERGINIUS. A lying report of OTHO as living and victorious; how perillous this to the Senators. ALBINUS overthrown in Africa; the Provinces there brought to espouse the cause of VITELLIUS. The proceedings of VITELLIUS in Italy: how he disposes of the vanquished forces. A tumult of the soldiers at Ticinum. The deliberations of VESPASIAN and MUCIANUS in the East about declaring war: The fine speech of the latter. VESPASIAN is determined, and assumes the Sovereignty: The Legions there swear to him. The forces in Mæsia and Pannonia revolt to his party. VITELLIUS enters Rome with a huge host; his conduct there. His enemies gather strength: he orders CECINA and VALENS to take the field. CECINA's Treason. The transactions these of the same year.



FORTUNE, at this very juncture, was busily ranging materials, in a distant part of the world, for raising an Imperial House, which by a lot extremely diversified, proved to the Commonwealth both refreshing and calamitous, as well as to the race of Princes themselves fortunate and tragical.

TITUS VESPASIAN was by his father sent from Judea towards GALBA, while GALBA yet reigned; and, for the motives of his journey, assigned “the homage to be paid to the Emperor, and the maturity of his own age for courting and sustaining public dignities.” But by the populace, who are ever addicted to conjecture and fiction, it was rumour’d abroad, that GALBA had sent for him in order to adopt him. Ground for this report was administer’d by the condition of the Emperor, ancient and childless, and the restless spirit of the City, who would never fail multiplying successors, till the true one were once declared. To heighten the rumour there concurred the worthy spirit of TITUS himself, one capable of any degree of fortune however elevated, the loveliness of his countenance blended with a certain air of majesty, the reputation and celebrated exploits of his father, propitious Oracles, nay events altogether fortuitous, which now passed upon minds thus bent to believe for so many supernatural presages. At Corinth, a city of Achaia, he received certain advices of the murder of GALBA: he found some too who averred, that VITELLIUS had taken up arms and meant to make war. Hence anxious and unresolved, he called together a few of his friends, and with them examined all the difficulties which on each side beset him. “Should he proceed to Rome, no sort of favour could he hope to reap from the present Emperor for a tender of duty, which at first he was bringing to the late one: There, moreover, he must expect to remain as an hostage to VITELLIUS or to OTHO. Should he, on the contrary, return to Judea, the resentment of the Conqueror would be inevitable. But as it was yet uncertain on what side the victory would fall, and as his father would engage in one of the parties, the son would be easily excused. Or should VESPASIAN resolve to assume the Government; then no wife to be weighed was the giving a particular offence, by such as resolved upon a general war.” When by these and the like conflicts between hope and fear he had been agitated a while, hope at last prevailed.

THERE were some who believed that only from a fond impatience to revisit Queen BERENICE, he was moved to return: and it is true that his soul youthful and

and amorous, was not indifferent to BERENICE. But from hence arose no neglect or relaxation in his conducting affairs of duty and trust. During his youth he indulged himself in festivity and pleasures, and proved much more strict and reserved in his own reign than in that of his father. Now after he had sailed along the shores of Achaia and Asia, holding upon his left the coasts of the Mediterranean, he proceeded to the Isle of Rhodes, to that of Cyprus, and thence held a bolder course through the main sea into Syria. At Cyprus his curiosity prompted him to visit the Temple of Venus at Paphos, so much renowned amongst the natives as well as foreigners. Nor will it be tedious here to recount, in few words, the original of that superstition, the antiquity of the Temple, and the Form of the Goddess; for no where else is she thus represented.

FOR the founder of the Temple, ancient tradition assigns King AERIAS, while some assert this to be the name of the Goddess. By later fame King CINYRAS is delivered down, as the person who hallowed and dedicated the Temple. It is added, “ That upon this spot the Goddess
 “ herself landed, carried thither by the sea, from whence
 “ she had been just generated; but that the mystery and
 “ discipline of divination were derived from abroad, and
 “ introduced by TAMIRAS of Cilicia; and hence between
 “ him and CINYRAS it was stipulated, that to the descendants of both the administration of the sacred rites
 “ should equally belong.” Thereafter, in condescension to the Royal Race, that the same might not remain without any preheminance over a foreign line, the strange Diviners resigned these very mysteries which they themselves had introduced. Nor is any priest now consulted, but one descended from CINYRAS. Beasts for sacrifice are left to the choice of every votary; yet none but the males are allowed. Most faith is placed in the entrails of kids. The pouring of blood upon the altar is prohibited. Supplications only and pure fire are offered upon the altars; which tho they stand exposed to the sky, yet feel no wet from falling rain. The Image of the Goddess, without any resemblance of human shape, is a figure round and unequal, which, from a bottom rather broad, rises with continual diminution till it terminates in a point,
 like

like a spire. For the reason of this we are left in the dark.

WHEN TITUS had surveyed the signal wealth of the Temple, the donations of Princes, and other curiosities which the Greeks, who have a genius strangely fond of matters of antiquity, feigned to be derived from ancient times, now dark and fabulous; he began to consult the Oracle, and first inquired concerning the security of his remaining voyage. Being told that a free passage and a favourable sea awaited him; he slew a number of victims, and then proposed questions, but in terms dark and wary, concerning himself. SOSTRATUS (so the priest was called) perceiving all the several entrails to be propitious, and all to agree, and the Goddesses to approve all the vast designs of the Querist; satisfied himself for the present with returning an answer short and usual; but desired a secret interview, and there disclosed to him his future destiny. TITUS, with a spirit notably elated and assured, proceeded to his father; and, to the minds of the Provinces and Armies in the East, yet wavering and unresolved, brought a mighty accession of confidence and firmness. VESPASIAN had utterly discomfited the revolted Jews, and nothing remained, to end the war, but the siege of Jerusalem: a work render'd difficult and stubborn rather through the steepness of situation and invincible spirit of superstition, than from any remaining strength or forces equal to the power and distresses which threaten'd it. Three Legions, as above I have remembred, were under the command of VESPASIAN, men thoroughly exercised in war. MUCIANUS commanded four, in full peace; but, awaken'd by emulation and the glory of the neighbouring army, they had rejected all unweildiness and sloth; and whatever robustness and activity the former might gather from a life of hardships and perils, no less vigour accrued to the latter from a state of repose, and from the daily exercises of war, without being in it. Both Generals had their auxiliary forces, Cohorts of foot and Squadrons of horse, with naval armaments and confederate Kings; and both were Commanders signal in renown, but signal from different causes and characters.

IN every duty of war VESPASIAN was indefatigable; it was he who always led the march, he who always chose

the ground for encamping. Upon consultations and dispatches he bestowed nights and days, and was ever ready, upon an exigency, to grapple with the enemy hand to hand. His diet was such as chance presented. In his garb and general dress he little varied from a common soldier. Upon the whole, a Commander he was who, had he been exempt from avarice, would have equalled the famous Chiefs of ancient times. MUCIANUS on the contrary was raised to great eminence and splendor by his abundant wealth, and magnificence; as in these and in all things he surpassed the figure of a subject. He was the abler Orator, and, being a great master of civil affairs, more prompt in foreseeing events, and more dextrous at concerting of schemes. Between them, in truth, was found a rare assortment of talents for forming an Emperor, if, by a separation of the vices of each, only the virtues of both could have been blended. For the rest; as one ruled over Syria, the other over Judea, from the governing of two bordering provinces, between themselves there had subsisted a humour of envy and contention; till at length, upon the fall of NERO, they dropped their animosities, and acted in concert for their mutual security and interest: a union first begun by the interposition of friends, afterwards accomplished by TITUS, who proved the surest pledge of their reconciliation. It was he who eradicated their dangerous and ill boding strife, by motives of unanimity salutary to both; well qualified as he was by nature and every accomplishment, to captivate the taste and affections of MUCIANUS too. The Tribunes, the Centurions and common body of the soldiery were all gained into the confederacy, by different applications to their several virtues or pleasures, according to the genius of particulars; some by complimenting their industry, others by indulging their riot.

BEFORE the arrival of TITUS, both armies had already sworn fidelity to OTHO. With such velocity, according to custom, had flown their intelligence from Rome, and so heavy and slow was their movement towards the mighty work of a civil War; a work which the East, undisturbed through a long course of years by intestine feuds, was now for the first time preparing to undertake. For, in

former times, all the most powerful conflicts amongst the Romans were begun in Italy or Gaul, and supported by the forces of the West. Moreover, the arms of POMPEY, of CASSIUS, and BRUTUS, and ANTHONY, who were all followed by the civil War beyond the seas, ended fatally: and in Syria and Judea the Cæsars were much oftner mentioned than beheld. No tumult or insurrection was ever known amongst the Legions there. Their attacks upon the Parthians were no more than alarms, given with various success. In the very last civil War, whilst elsewhere was felt the rage of dissention, peace remained unshaken here. When afterwards it was divulged, that OTHO and VITELLIUS were with impious arms hastening to seize as prey the Roman State; the soldiers, provoked that whilst others enjoyed wages and rewards for bestowing the Empire, they themselves were only doomed slaves to every Emperor, began to rage, and to survey their own strength and numbers. Instantly they counted seven Legions of themselves, with mighty auxiliaries, and the two Provinces of Syria and Judea in their possession. To these lay contiguous that of Egypt, and two Legions there. On the other hand they beheld Cappadocia and Pontus, with the several forces quartered upon the frontiers of Armenia; Asia too and the other Provinces, abounding in money and not destitute of men; with all the Isles of the Sea, and the Sea it self ready to afford them encouragement and safety whilst they prepared for the War.

THE ardour of the soldiery was no secret to the Generals. But they judged proper to await the issue of the War in Europe. “Between the conqueror and the conquered, they concluded, no sincere peace, no solid coalition could be established. Neither availed it whether to OTHO or to VITELLIUS Fortune awarded the superiority. To wax insolent and wanton upon prosperity, was the lot even of Captains renowned for prowess. Upon these two at all times lay the bane of discord, of sloth, and impotence of spirit, of voluptuousness and prodigality; and by their own vices both would doubtless perish, one through War, the other after Victory.” VESPASIAN therefore and MUCIANUS postponed the taking up of arms openly, till occasion called them.

them. For of late they had united in their counsels, by the means and mediation of TITUS, as did every worthy man with both from affection to the Commonwealth. Many were excited by the allurements of plunder, others by the desperate situation of their domestic affairs. Thus the good and the bad, from different instigations, but with equal passion, all thirsted vehemently for War.

ABOUT the same time Achaia and Asia were alarmed with a false apprehension, that NERO was certainly approaching. For, as concerning the manner of his death, several contradictory reports had been published; hence it was by many confidently feigned that he was still alive, and by many readily believed. In the sequel of this History I shall recount the attempts of other such counterfeits, and their fate. The present Impostor was a slave from PONTUS, or according to other authors, the son of a freedman out of Italy, well skilled in the harp and in song; marks which, added to a similitude of features, procured him the quicker credit and assent. With mighty promises he had gained a number of vagabonds, obliged by their wants to wander, and accompanied by them betook himself to sea, but by the violence of tempests was cast upon the isle of Cythnus. He there drew over certain soldiers, who were on their voyage from the East; such as refused he ordered to be slain, and plundering the Merchants, armed all the most robust of their bondmen. He likewise tried by various artifices to corrupt the faith of SISENNA the Centurion, who was then proceeding with a compliment from the army in Syria to the soldiers of the Prætorian Guard, namely that of their right hands presented in testimony of peace and concord: Infomuch that SISENNA, in great affright, and apprehending violence, secretly departed from the island and fled. Hence the terror flew and spread, as there were many struck and pleased with the revival of a name of such renown, from their constant lust after public changes, and their constant distaste of the present situation.

THIS mighty rumour, while it grew daily louder and bigger, was by a stroke of chance utterly dissipated. The government of the Provinces of Galatia and Pamphilia

had been by GALBA conferred upon CALPURNIUS ASPRENAS, and to convey him thither two gallies from the Fleet at Misenum were assigned. With these he was now arrived at the isle of Cythnus: Nor were there instruments wanting there to call the Captains of the gallies to attend NERO; for in his name they called them. When they came into his presence, he assumed a sad air of affliction, and imploring their faith and aid, as of men who had been once his own, besought them to land him in Syria or Egypt. The Captains, who began to waver, or perhaps meant to deceive him, declared that they would discourse with their soldiers, and having brought the minds of all to his devotion, would return to him. To ASPRENAS, however, the whole transaction was faithfully recounted. By his persuasion the ship was assailed and taken, and that person, whoever he were, slain. His corps, remarkable for the singularity of the eyes and hair, and for features grim and terrible, was carried to Asia and thence to Rome.

IN Rome, a City so rent by the feuds of parties, and from the frequent change of Princes, become unstable between liberty and licentiousness, the transacting even of small affairs was attended with mighty heat and commotion. VIBIUS CRISPUS, one who in wealth, in great talents, and in great authority, was to be numbered rather amongst men eminent than good, cited ANNIUS FAUSTUS to his trial at the Tribunal of the Senate: a Roman Knight this, who in the reign of NERO had followed the profession of an accuser. Indeed, very lately, under the government of GALBA, the Senate had ordained that the cause of the accusers should be examined: an ordinance which was turned and explained into divers and contradictory meanings, and, just according to the condition of the person arraigned, proved impotent or valid, as he proved powerful or weak. Besides the dread of the decree, CRISPUS exerted all his might and influence to overwhelm the man who had been the accuser of his brother; and had already prevailed with a great part of the Senate to insist, that, without hearing him, and without admitting any defence to be made for him, he should be doomed to execution. With others, on the contrary,

nothing argued so strongly for the person impleaded as the over great sway of the Impleader. These therefore proposed, that time should be allowed, his crimes specified, and he, however odious and guilty, allowed the common privilege of Romans, that of being heard. This proposition forthwith prevailed, and the trial was for a few days deferred. In the conclusion FAUSTUS suffered condemnation, yet not with such unanimous acquiescence of the City as by his pestilent course of life he had deserved; because they remember'd to have seen CRISPUS himself engaged in the work of accusations, as a pleader of price. Nor were they disgusted with the vengeance inflicted upon the crime, but with the avenger.

IN the mean time the first motions of the War were propitious to OTHO; for, in obedience to him as their Emperor, the armies in Dalmatia and Pannonia marched from thence. They consisted of four Legions. Of these two thousand men were dispatched forward: The body followed with moderate marches; namely the seventh Legion, which was enrolled by GALBA; with the other three all of ancient standing, the eleventh, the thirteenth, and the fourteenth; the last of signal reputation for their utterly suppressing the revolt in Britain. NERO too had added notably to their glory in chusing them out as a body of men preferable to all others. Hence their persevering so long in faith and adherence to NERO, and hence their ardent zeal for the cause and person of OTHO. But the more numerous and strong they were, with the more confidence they were filled, and from such confidence advanced very slowly. The detachment of horse and foot arrived sooner than the main body of the Legions. From Rome itself there went a band of men no wise despicable, namely five Cohorts of the Prætorian Guards, certain troops of Cavalry, and the first Legion. Add to these two thousand Gladiators, a reinforcement indeed fordid and dishonourable, yet used in times of civil War, even by Leaders who were severe in discipline. For Leader of these forces he appointed ANNIUS GALLUS, who in conjunction with VESTRICIUS SPURINNA, was sent before to secure both the banks of the Po. For his first design had been frustrated; since CECINA whom he hoped

to have shut up within the confines of Gaul, had already passed the Alps. There attended the person of OTHO some chosen companies of the body-guard, the remainder of the Prætorian Cohorts, with such of the Prætorian Bands as were under the privilege and standard of Veterans, and a vast number of Marines. Neither made he a lazy and effeminate march, or one deformed by any feats of voluptuousness, but wearing a corslet of iron, marched before the Ensigns, on foot, undressed, rough, and utterly unlike his picture drawn by common fame.

FLATTERING Fortune seconded these his attempts; since from the advantage of the Sea, and the power of his Fleet, he was master of the greater part of Italy quite to the borders of the maritime Alps. To force a passage over these, and to conquer the Province of Narbon Gaul, was an enterprize which he committed to the conduct and direction of SUEDIUS CLEMENS, ANTONIUS NOVELLUS, and EMILIUS PACENSIS. But PACENSIS was baffled and restrained by the licentiousness of a dissolute soldiery. ANTONIUS NOVELLUS held no credit or authority amongst them. SUEDIUS CLEMENS governed loosely, humouring and courting the men from private views of his own, and tho; in discipline and military restrictions, negligent and corrupt, yet greedy of encounters and combating. They seemed not to have arrived in any part of Italy, their native soil, or to be marching through the dwellings and families of their countrymen and nation. For, as if they had just landed upon a strange and hostile coast, and had been sacking the Cities of mortal and declared foes, they burnt, plundered, and laid waste, without distinction; the more tragically, for that against barbarities no wife dreaded, no sort of means for defence were provided. Covered with grain and cattle were the fields, open and unguarded the houses; while the proprietors accompanied with their wives and children, went every where forth officiously to meet the Host, and from trusting to the security of Peace, found themselves involved in all the horrors and calamities of War. MARIUS MATURUS then governed the maritime Alps, in quality of Procurator. He having arrayed the power of the Country, which wants not store of youth, attempted to
repulse

repulse the forces of OTHO from entering his Province. But, upon the first shock, the inhabitants of the Mountains were dissipated or slain; like men who being precipitately assembled, and unacquainted with the duties of encampment or of command, were insensible of any honour from victory, or of any infamy from flying.

THESE forces of OTHO's, furiously incensed by this opposition and combat, turned their rage upon Albium Intemelium, a municipal Town. For in the late battle they found no prey to satiate them: The peasants were poor, and their arms wretched and mean; neither was it possible to take them prisoners, as they are naturally swift of foot, and acquainted with all places of refuge. But at last, by bringing ruine and desolation upon these guiltless townsmen who had never provoked them, they glutted their avarice. The hate and horror of this their violence was greatly heightened by the glorious example and behaviour of a Ligurian woman. She had hid her son, and being by the soldiers suspected to have with him hid her money, while they questioned her upon the rack, where she had concealed him, she pointed to her belly, and replied, "he lay there." Neither could she with all their cruelties successively tried, nor even by the agonies of death, be brought to vary from that answer of hers, so undaunted and praise-worthy.

TO FABIVS VALENS news were sent in great hurry and alarm, that OTHO's Fleet were upon the coast of Narbon Gaul, a Province which had sworn fidelity to VITELLIUS, and were just upon the point of making a descent. He was likewise beset with Deputies from the Colonies, imploring succours. Thither he therefore sent two Cohorts of Tungrians, four troops of horse, with the intire Squadron of the Treverians, under the command of JULIVS CLASSICUS. Of these forces a detachment was retained in the Colony of Forojulium, lest, had the whole marched into the Country, the Fleet taking advantage of an unguarded Sea, should have been tempted to an immediate descent. Against the enemy there went twelve troops of horse, and a band of chosen men from the Cohorts. To these was joined a Cohort of Ligurians (the ancient auxiliaries belonging to the

place) and five hundred Pannonians not yet enrolled into companies. Nor was there any lingering in coming to battle; and in this manner they were formed. A detachment of Marines with a number of Peasants intermixed, were ranged upon the hills adjoining to the Sea. Whatever level space remained between the hills and the shore, was covered with the soldiers of the Prætorian Guards. To support them, in the sea itself, close by, the Fleet was ranged, with a front terrible and menacing, turned full upon the foe, and ready to engage. The Commanders of the Army of VITELLIUS, which was inferior in foot, and chiefly relied upon its strength of Cavalry, placed their confederates of the Alps upon the ridges of the neighbouring mountains, and the Cohorts in thick ranks behind their front, which consisted of horse. From this disposition, the troops of Treverians advancing charged the enemy with notable rashness, since they were encounter'd by the veteran soldiers, and sorely annoyed in the flank by volleys of stones from the hands of the peasants, a people dextrous at throwing; and being now interspersed amongst disciplined men, the coward and the brave proved equally daring in an hour of victory. To the discomfited there accrued fresh terror and peril from the Fleet, which had advanced and assailed them in the rear. They were thus surrounded every way, and doubtless the whole Army had been slaughter'd, had not the darkness of the night restrained the conquerors, and covered the flight of the vanquished.

THE forces of VITELLIUS, tho overcome, would not acquiesce. Having called in succours, they attacked the enemy while yet elated and secure, and abated in their vigilance by success. In this assault, the guards were already slain, the camp forced, and the consternation carried as far as the ships; when the sudden dread subsiding gradually, the disordered troops betook themselves to an adjoining hill, and having secured themselves by the advantage of the ascent, rushed resolutely down upon the assailants. Here ensued a mighty and terrible slaughter. The Captains of the Tungrian Cohorts, after they had for a great while sustained the battle, were at last overwhelmed by a shower of darts. Nor in truth to the Army of

OTHO did the victory prove otherwise than bloody: indeed many of them, while they incautiously pursued, were cut off by the horse, suddenly wheeling upon the pursuers. And now both Armies returned back, that of VITELLIUS to Antipolis, a municipal City in Narbon Gaul; that of OTHO to Albingaunum, another municipal City in the inland Country of Liguria; as if between both a truce had been settled by consent, that neither the Fleet on one hand, nor the Cavalry on the other, should henceforth surprize each other by sudden enterprizes and the tumult of War.

CORSICA and Sardinia, with the other Islands in these Seas, were by the renown of the victorious Fleet preserved under obedience to OTHO. But upon Corsica destruction was well nigh brought by an attempt of DECIMUS PACARIUS, who governed as Procurator there: an attempt altogether rash, such a one as in a War conducted by forces so mighty and many, could never avail towards casting the ballance, yet to himself proved fatal and sanguinary. For, from antipathy to OTHO, he purposed with the arms of that people to assist VITELLIUS; an assistance impotent and fruitless, had he even succeeded. Together he called the chief men of the Island, and to them opened his scheme; nay CLAUDIUS PIRRHICUS Commander of the Gallies there, and QUINCTIUS CERTUS a Roman Knight, were for daring to oppose him, by his order slain. By the execution of these two all the rest of the assembly were sufficiently terrified: so that they first, and afterwards the unthinking multitude, governed by their ignorance, or by adopting the fears of others, all swore allegiance to VITELLIUS. But as soon as PACARIUS set himself to array them for War, and to vex with military duties men naturally wild and impatient of regularity or restraint, they conceived implacable aversion to fatigues never before felt, and began to recollect and discover the weakness of their Country; “ That the place inhabited by them was an Island, and “ far remote from them lay Germany and the forces of “ the Legions. Other nations too there were, who even “ while under the protection of VITELLIUS’s arms, his “ bodies of foot and squadrons of horse, were yet invaded,
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“plundered and laid waste by the navy of OTHO.” And, in an instant they meditated vengeance and a revolt, yet by no efforts of open violence, but by a silent conspiracy; and, for accomplishing it, watched a proper opportunity. At a juncture therefore when the crowd, who upon business or complement, had attended PACARIUS, were withdrawn, and he himself retired to his Bath, they there slew him, naked and destitute of help or defence. They even butchered such acquaintance of his as they found about him. Their heads were, like those of public enemies, by the murderers themselves, carried to OTHO. Yet neither were they by OTHO distinguished with any recompence, nor by VITELLIUS doomed to any punishment; as, in the universal uproar of tumultuous times, they remained blended and undiscerned amongst many other instruments of iniquity still more heinous and crying.

THE Squadron of horse entitled *Silana*, had opened a way into Italy, and thither translated the War, as above I have recounted. Not that one soul there had any partiality to OTHO, nor indeed that to the cause of OTHO they preferred the cause of VITELLIUS: but by long peace and ease they were quite debased, seasoned for any bondage from any quarter, become the easy acquisition of the first possessor, and stupidly indifferent to a worthier choice. That Region of Italy (of all others the most opulent and flourishing) which extends from the Po to the Alps, with all its Cities and territories, was holden by the forces of VITELLIUS; for there too had already arrived the Cohorts which CECINA had sent thither before him. At Cremona a Cohort of Pannonians were made captives, and between Placentia and Ticinum an hundred horse were intercepted, as were also a thousand Marines. After so much success these soldiers of VITELLIUS were no longer to be daunted and repulsed by such obstacles as rivers and their banks. The Batavians, in truth, and such as came from beyond the Rhine, found themselves but the more animated by beholding the Po, which they passed with great suddenness over against Placentia, and surprizing certain scouts, filled all the rest with such dread, that under the impulse of tremor and deception, they carried tidings, that CECINA approached with his whole Army.

SPURINNA (for he commanded in Placentia) was certain that CECINA was not yet come, and if he really were advancing, was determined to confine his own men within the fortifications, nor to an army of Veterans expose three Prætorian Cohorts, a thousand vexillaries, and a few horse. But his men, who were headstrong, unmanageable, and unacquainted with matters of War, snatching up the ensigns and standards, sallied out tumultuously, and against their own Commander, while he strove to restrain them, turned with menaces the points of their weapons. For they had with indignation rejected the exhortations of the Tribunes and Centurions, who extolled to them the wisdom and providence of their Commander. Nay they even asserted with fierce clamours, that a plot was intended, and CECINA traiterously called in. In this mad proceeding of his soldiers SPURINNA was made a partaker, at first indeed constrained to it by violence, anon feigning to chuse and approve it, in hopes thence to derive the more weight and authority to his counsels, whenever the sedition should abate.

WHEN they had advanced within view of the Po, and night approached, it was judged necessary to pitch and fortify their camp: a toil this which was utterly new to the City-soldiers, and quite abashed all their ferocity of spirit. Then it was that all they who were most grown in years, condemned their own credulity, and displayed to others what matter of dread and danger must have befallen them, had CECINA, with the power of a whole Army, surrounded a few Cohorts in a country on all sides open. Presently, all over the Camp, dutiful and submissive language was heard; and, as the Tribunes and Centurions had every where mixed themselves amongst the men, they all with one voice applauded the prudent care of their Commander, that for the seat and bulwark of the War he had chosen a Colony so strong and opulent. At last SPURINNA himself accosted them, rather by reason reclaiming them, than upbraiding them with their rashness and error; and having left certain scouts behind him, led back all the rest to Placentia, in a humour much less turbulent, and now submitting to receive orders. There the walls were forthwith strengthened, new bulwarks

warks added, towers raised, and not only stores of arms secured, but duty found and alacrity to obey, the only thing wanting to that party, where in truth there was no defect of resolution and bravery.

NOW CECINA, as if beyond the Alps he had left all his cruelty, licentiousness and rapine, preserved in the march of his Army through Italy great modesty and restriction. The gayety of his own apparel indeed passed with the Colonies and Free Cities as a mark of arrogance; for that, dressed in a military mantle of divers colours, with a pair of drawers on, (a vestment peculiar to Barbarians) he was wont to entertain such as wore the Roman gown. They were moreover offended to see SALONINA, his wife, mounted upon a beautiful horse, adorned with purple; as a mighty grievance to all, tho by it no man was injured. Such is the spirit by nature ingrafted in men, to behold with curious and malignant eyes the recent good fortune of others, and from none to exact a more severe degree of moderation in prosperity, than from such as they have seen no higher than themselves. CECINA having passed the Po, and by many secret conferences and mighty promises laboured to corrupt the fidelity of the forces of OTHO, found himself assailed by the same arts. So that, after many overtures made and returned about peace and concord, names exceeding specious in sound, but void of persuasion and effect, he applied all his devices and care to the siege of Placentia, which he meant to pursue with terrible efforts; for he was aware, that by the success attending the first attempts of the War, common fame would estimate all that were to follow.

THE first day, however, passed rather in unguarded feats of violence, than in the wary motions and approaches of a veteran army. Headlong they advanced and assailed the walls, void of art or precaution, unprovided of shelter, and just gorged with victuals and wine. In this conflict the Amphitheatre, a building exceeding grand and fair standing without the walls, was burnt down; perhaps set on a flame by the besiegers, while against the besieged they hurled torches, shells, and the like discharges of missive fire; perhaps by the besieged themselves whilst
upon

upon their enemies they poured the same destructive element. In Placentia the populace, ever addicted to suspicion, believed that the fire was fed with fuel treacherously administer'd by emissaries from the neighbouring Colonies, instigated by a spirit of malignity and emulation, since in all the rest of Italy was not found an edifice so stately and capacious. From whatever cause the conflagration came, it was for the present lightly esteemed, while evils more terrible were impending. As soon as they found their danger over and their former security returned, they then bewailed the loss of their Amphitheatre, as a calamity equally afflicting as any that they could possibly have suffered. For the rest; CECINA and his forces were repulsed, with much blood and many lives lost; and all the night following was bestowed in preparations for the assault and for the defence. On the part of the besiegers were provided moving penthouses, with other machines and instruments at once fit for battering the walls and for protecting the assailants. They within the City furnished themselves with vast rafts of timber, quantities of huge stones, as also of massy brass and lead, to overwhelm the enemy, and crush all their works to pieces. On each side there prevailed a like fear of shame, on each a like passion for glory; and both were animated by different exhortations becoming different men. Here was extolled "the invincible strength of the Legions and " German Army;" there, "the dignity of the Cohorts " from Rome, and that of the Prætorian Bands." The Army without reproached the others, as "slothful and " spiritless, corrupted and debased by the licentious amuse- " ments of the Theatre and Circus;" and were themselves by these reproached, as "aliens and strangers." And at the same time, while upon OTHO and VITELLIVS they were heaping applause or contumely, they found more copious matter of infamy to animate them in the contest than matter of praise.

SCARCE had the day dawn'd, e'er the walls appeared covered with men for their defence. With arms and armed men the adjoining plains blazed. The Legions marched in battalions close and thick: the Auxiliaries advanced in separate bands, and with flights of arrows and

stones aimed at the combatants upon the tops of the bulwarks. Where the fortifications were decayed or not guarded, they attempted to force their way over them. From above, the opponents, with an aim more sure than that of their adversaries below, poured down showers of darts upon the German Cohorts, as they were adventuring rashly to the foot of the wall with shouts and chantings horrible to hear, their bodies naked after the custom of the country, and their bucklers brandished above their shoulders. The legionary soldiers, under the shelter of their machines, demolished the walls, raised a mound, and pressed vehemently against the gates. They, on the contrary, of the Prætorian Bands, having purposely disposed a number of great millstones, from place to place along the edge of the walls, now rolled them down, with dreadful force, rumbling and destruction. So that of the assailants, part that were scaling the wall, were crushed to death, part were pierced with darts; and thus with many slain outright, with many miserably gored, they retreated with the greater loss, for that the slaughter was heightened by their hurry and confusion, and thence their wounds redoubled from the battlements. Upon the honour of their party they brought by this defeat notable discredit and diminution. Moreover CECINA, struck with vexation and shame for having so precipitately attempted the siege, and resolved to abide no longer in the same camp, where only derision was to be reaped and no advantage gained, repassed the Po and bent his march towards Cremona. Upon his removal there revolted to him TURULLIUS Cerialis with a great number of Marines, and JULIUS BRIGANTICUS with a few horse; the latter a Batavian by nation and Commander of a Squadron of horse; the other a Centurion of principal rank, who having served in that character amongst the forces in Germany, was thence well affected to CECINA.

SPURINNA having learnt the removal and march of the enemy, transmitted an instant account to ANNIUS GALLUS, that PLACENTIA was saved, with the particulars of the siege, and whither tended the present motions of CECINA. GALLUS was then conducting the first Legion to succour Placentia, from his distrust of the ability
of

of the few Cohorts there to sustain a siege of any length, and his apprehension of the great force of the German Army. As soon as he received information, that CECINA was repulsed and proceeding to Cremona, such an ardor to encounter him seized the Legion, as drove them even to mutiny; so that GALLUS had much difficulty to quell them and to bring them to rest at Bedriacum: a village thus situated between Verona and Cremona, and become now unhappily renowned by two signal slaughters suffered by the Romans there. About that time, a battle was successfully fought by MARTIUS MACER not far from Cremona. For MACER, who possessed a spirit vigorous and bold, having embarked the Gladiators upon the Po, landed them with great suddenness, on the opposite shore, where surprizing and routing the auxiliary troops which belonged to the forces of VITELLIUS, the rest fled to Cremona, and all who resisted were put to the sword. But the heat of the Conquerors, earnest to pursue the slaughter, was repressed, lest the enemy strengthened by an accession of fresh succours, might have changed the fortune of the combat. From this restraint great distrust arose amongst the suspicious soldiers of OTHO, men who upon all the proceedings of their Leaders, without distinction, put a malevolent construction. In proportion, as each particular was remarkable for baseness and cowardice of heart, and for petulance and sauciness of tongue, they set themselves to urge criminal imputations, various and many, against ANNIUS GALLUS, SÜETONIUS PAULINUS, and MARIUS CELSUS: for upon these too OTHO had conferred command. But the incendiaries who proved, of all others, the most fierce and implacable, were they who had murdered GALBA. Restless and mad with guilt and dread, they strove to throw all things into combustion and uproar, sometimes by seditious speeches openly uttered, sometimes by letters conveyed secretly to OTHO; one who lending a credulous ear to every the most abject instrument, and fearing all men of uprightness and honour, was thus held in distraction and alarms; unsteady as he always was and wavering, when his affairs flourished, and ever mended by strokes of adversity. He therefore sent for TITIANUS his brother, and to him committed the rule and direction of the War.

UNDER

UNDER the conduct of PAULINUS and CELSUS, the while, signal exploits were done. It afflicted the spirit of CECINA to see all his enterprizes abortive, and the great renown of his army waining so fast. From Placentia he had been lately repulsed in person: his auxiliaries were more lately cut to pieces: Even in the encounters between parties of scouts, a sort of fighting rather frequent than important, he found himself overmatched and inferior. And lest upon FABIVS VALENS, who was now advancing, the whole glory of the War should rest, he hurried, with more impatience than circumspection, to retrieve his honour. Twelve miles distant from Cremona, at a place named *Castores*, he secretly conveyed all the bravest of his auxiliaries into the woods which lie just above the great road. The horse were commanded to march further on, and after having engaged the enemy in a warm fray, then to betake themselves to a voluntary flight, and to humour the pursuit till the hasty pursuers might be opportunely beset by the forces in ambush rising upon them at once. This scheme was betrayed to the Generals of OTHO's army, where PAULINUS took the command of the foot, CELSUS that of the horse. On the left were ranged the detached troops of the thirteenth Legion, four Cohorts of auxiliaries, and five hundred horse. The great road was held by three Cohorts, in close ranks. Upon the right front marched the first Legion, with two auxiliary Cohorts, and five hundred horse. Besides all these, there were led a thousand horse detached from the auxiliaries and Prætorian Guards; a body indeed superfluous, if the rest proved victorious, or a body of succours, if distressed.

BEFORE the two Armies had joined in close combat, that of VITELLIUS turned their backs; but CELSUS who was aware of the artifice, withheld his men from pursuing. The forces of VITELLIUS concealed in the wood, issuing thence overhastily, were by the management of CELSUS, who retired insensibly before them, decoyed so far in pursuing him, till they themselves were at once plunged into snares on every side. For, on both their flanks they were attacked by the Cohorts of the Legions, and the horse suddenly wheeling begirt them in the rear.

Yet SÜETONIUS PAULINUS gave not instantly the signal of battle to the infantry; as he was a man by nature wary and slow, better pleased with deliberate counsels supported by reason, than with prosperous adventures resulting from chance. He ordered the ditches to be filled, the grounds to be cleared, and his front to be extended; since he judged that the time to conquer would then follow abundantly soon, when sufficient precautions were first taken against all danger of being conquered. By this delay, leisure was given to the forces of VITELLIUS to shelter themselves amongst vineyards, places intricate and hard of entrance through the interweaving and obstruction of the branches. To the vineyards there adjoined a small wood, from which they ventured to sally, and slew the most forward and resolute of the Prætorian Horse. Here King EPIPHANES was wounded, while for the cause of OTHO he by his own example animated the fight with great bravery.

Now, OTHO's Infantry advanced to the attack. The gros of the enemy's army was utterly routed, and all the parties who moved to their assistance, were forced to fly. For CECINA had not called in the Cohorts to sustain him in a body, but one after another: a circumstance which greatly heightened their consternation in the battle; since supplies which approached thus piece-meal, and never competently strong, were struck and hurried away by the affright of such as fled. In their camp too they made an insurrection, for that they had not been all led forth against the foe. Forthwith they committed to bonds JULIUS GRATUS, the Camp Marshal, upon a charge, "as
" if he betrayed them by secret intelligence with his brother, who bore arms for OTHO;" when at the same time the soldiers of OTHO's army had already imprisoned that brother of his, JULIUS FRONTO, under an imputation of that very crime. For the rest, the distraction and dread which every where possessed the vanquished, not only those who fled, but those who met them in their flight, not only in the field of battle, but in the camp, were, then so apparent and prevailing, as to create a report, current amongst both parties, "That had not PAULINUS founded a retreat, CECINA and his whole army
" might

“ might have been destroyed.” For himself PAULINUS alledged, “ That he feared the great fatigue further to
 “ have been undergone, with so much more way neces-
 “ sary to have been passed, and the advantage given to
 “ the forces of VITELLIUS, fresh as they were from their
 “ camp, to have fallen upon his, just tired with march-
 “ ing, and destitute of succour or refuge, had they suf-
 “ fered a defeat.” Some few there were who approved this reasoning of the General. With the commonalty it passed under severer censures.

THIS loss and disgrace sustained by the army of VITELLIUS, served rather to reform them into duty and moderation, than to inspire them with dismay. Not only in the camp of CECINA, who threwed the whole fault upon the men, “ as more prone to mutiny than to fight;” but also among the forces of FABIVS VALENS, who was already arrived at Ticinum, it was found, that the soldiers having quitted their late contempt for the enemy, and conceived a passion for retrieving their late fame, were now come to obey their General with much greater reverence and submission. For in the army led by VALENS sometime before there had raged a furious insurrection, which I shall now deduce from the beginning farther back, since it behoved me not to interrupt the detail of the transactions of CECINA. The Batavian Cohorts, the same who, in the War between NERO and VINDEK, were withdrawn from the fourteenth Legion to return to Britain, upon hearing in the capital of the Gauls called Lingones, that VITELLIUS was in arms, had there joined themselves to FABIVS VALENS, as above I have related. They thence grew haughty and turbulent, and, as often as they passed through the quarter of any of the Legions whatsoever, they boasted in the tents of the soldiery, “ That by them-
 “ selves those of the fourteenth had been forced into the
 “ Party, by themselves Italy had been rent from NERO,
 “ and that in their own hands they held the issue and
 “ fortune of the War.” A heavy reproach this to the soldiers, a bitter insult upon the General, a sore blow to discipline, thus corrupted and relaxed, by daily strife and debates. VALENS at last, from such insolent speeches, grew to apprehend treasonable purposes. He had news brought

brought him, “ That the maritime forces of *OTHIO* had
 “ defeated the Squadron of Treverian horse with the
 “ body of Tungrians, and beset the coasts of Narbon
 Gaul.” He therefore, as well through a concern for
 protecting his confederates, as by a military device to
 separate these Cohorts so very mutinous, and when united
 together, so very powerful, ordered one part of the Ba-
 tavians to march, for the succour of the Province. As
 soon as this order was divulged, the Auxiliaries began
 to lament, the Legions to storm, that “ they were bereft
 “ of the aid of men so signally valiant. If to the City
 “ of Rome, if to the welfare and existence of the Em-
 “ pire, that one Province were preferable, they ought
 “ all to follow thither. But, if in Italy only could be
 “ obtained a victory perfectly decisive and salutary;
 “ if there alone were to be fought the grand pillar
 “ and stay of the whole; then from Italy these Batavians
 “ were by no means to be thus rent, like the most vigo-
 “ rous limbs from the body.” During these strains of se-
 dition, vented in great wrath and defiance, when *VALENS*
 attempted to quell the uproar by sending in his *Lictors*
 amongst them, upon *VALENS* himself they fell, assailed
 him with stones, and pursued him as he fled. “ The
 “ spoils, they fiercely cried; the spoils of all the Gauls,
 “ the gold of the Viennese with the price and acqui-
 “ sitions of all their own fatigues, were by him treasured
 “ up in secret;” then plundered his coffers, searched his
 pavilion, (the pavilion of their General!) and, with their
 lances and pointed poles, probed and examined the very
 ground where it stood. For *VALENS* himself lay con-
 cealed under the habit of a slave in the tents of a Cap-
 tain of horse. By this time *ALPHENUS VARUS*, Camp
 Marshal, perceiving that the rage of the tumult was gra-
 dually cooling, to extinguish it quite had recourse to a
 stratagem, by forbidding the Centurions to set the watch
 or to visit the guard, and by forbearing all sound of
 trumpet, such as calls the men to the duties of the army
 and of war. Hence they were to a man struck with
 astonishment, like men insensible: They gazed round
 upon each other with wild wonder and dismay, and dread-
 ing this very thing that no one appeared to direct and
 rule

rule them, they betook themselves to humble silence, to patience and resignation, and in the end to open supplications and tears for mercy and pardon. But as soon as VALENS came forth, his eyes full of tears, his person miserably appalled, and, beyond all hope, alive and unhurt, there broke out a torrent of joy, of commiseration, and of fondness. What followed was a universal change into gladness and transport, (as in all their passions however opposite the multitude know no bounds) and with shouts of applause and congratulations, in the midst of the Eagles and Standards displayed, they bore him to the Tribunal. He there manifested a moderation altogether wholesome and serviceable, nor required the execution of any particular whomsoever. Yet, lest by dissimbling all knowledge of the guilty, his sincerity might be but more suspected, he rebuked a few by name, well apprized as he was, that during all civil Wars, much greater power may be assumed by the soldiers than by their Leaders.

WHILST they were yet fortifying their camp at Ticinum, news arrived of CECINA's disastrous engagement, and thence the sedition was well nigh revived, for that VALENS, they alledged, had through premeditated treachery and feigned delays detained them from assisting at that battle. Forthwith they declared against all further repose, refused to stay for their General, hurried away even before the Standards, pressed forward such as bore them, and continued their march with rapidity till they had joined CECINA. With the army of CECINA, VALENS bore but an ungracious character. They complained, that they who in numbers were so much inferior had been exposed to the united host of the enemy: a complaint which implied an excuse for their own ill success, and at the same time served to flatter the new comers by extolling their mighty strength; with design, that by the new comers they might not be scorned as a body cowardly and routed. In truth, although to VALENS there appertained much greater forces, nay almost double the number of Legions and Auxiliaries, yet the affections of the soldiers leaned to CECINA. Besides his benignity of spirit, in which he was reckoned to excell the other,

they

they were attracted by the bloom and vigour of his age; by his person graceful and tall, and even by other motives to favour altogether unmeaning and vain. Hence an emulation between the two Chiefs. CECINA derided VALENS as one immersed in crimes and black with infamy; and VALENS him as a man vain and pompous. Yet smothering their hate, they concurred in consulting the utility of the same cause, and in frequent letters of theirs boldly upbraided OTHO with his guilt and vileness, without all reserve or view of pardon. Whereas the Commanders in OTHO's party forbore treating VITELLIUS with any invectives and bitter words, tho for such treatment abundant matter was administer'd.

THE truth is, before they came to suffer their last fate, a fate which to OTHO gained immortal fame, to VITELLIUS most glaring infamy, much less dreaded were the gross appetites and stupidity of VITELLIUS, than the abandoned spirit and flaming passions of OTHO. The latter was by the murder of GALBA render'd still more terrible and detested; the former, on the contrary, was by no man charged with having begun the war. In gluttony and banquetting VITELLIUS was an enemy to himself. In profusion, cruelty, and daring iniquities, OTHO was accounted more threatening and pernicious to the Commonwealth. Upon the conjunction of the forces of VALENS with those of CECINA, from the partizans of VITELLIUS no longer delay or obstruction remained against proceeding to a decisive battle. OTHO had recourse to a consultation, whether it were deemed adviseable to protract the war, or to risque the fortune of a battle. Upon this occasion, SÜETONIUS PAULINUS judged that a discourse concerning the whole state of the war, would become his own great name for military prowess, in which no General of those times was thought to surpass him. He therefore argued, “ That to the enemy haste and present
“ action were advantageous; but to themselves procrastina-
“ tion and delay. The entire army of VITELLIUS was
“ now arrived; nor were there any considerable remain-
“ ing forces to follow after, since the Countries of Gaul
“ were still angry and disaffected; and it would be ill
“ policy to divest the bank of the Rhine of its guards,

“ and expose it to nations so implacable, and just ready
 “ for an irruption. The soldiers in Britain were with-
 “ holden by enemies and seas. Spain was far from abound-
 “ ing in armed men. The Province of Narbon Gaul
 “ was sufficiently terrified by their defeat, and by the
 “ insults and hostilities from the fleet. The region of
 “ Italy beyond the Po was enclosed by the Alps, desti-
 “ tute of help from the sea, and even by the passing of
 “ the army exhausted and spoiled. No where to be
 “ found was any grain for the army; nor without plen-
 “ tiful supplies could an army be maintained. More-
 “ over, were the War protracted till the Summer, the
 “ Germans, of all the enemy’s forces the most formidable,
 “ would never endure an exchange so extreme of country
 “ and climate, with bodies like theirs loose and languid.
 “ Many were the instances of enemies, who in a sudden
 “ effort proved potent and prevailing; yet were so wea-
 “ ried and wasted with delays, as utterly to vanish with
 “ all their terrors. To themselves, on the contrary, there
 “ continued all things in abundance, and countries faith-
 “ fully attached, Pannonia, Mœsia, Dalmatia, the East,
 “ with their several armies still entire; Italy, and Rome
 “ itself, the head and centre of the Empire; the Senate
 “ and Roman People, names at no time obscure, tho
 “ sometimes o’ercast with clouds; public and private
 “ abundance, and infinite treasure, more prevalent than
 “ the sword in all civil dissensions; the bodies of the
 “ soldiers either inured to the clime of Italy, or to
 “ climes signally hot. In their front lay the river Po;
 “ their Cities were secure in the strength of men and walls;
 “ and that none of them would yield to the attacks of
 “ the enemy, was sufficiently learnt from the brave de-
 “ fence of Placentia. Upon these considerations he would
 “ do well to protract the war. In a few days would ar-
 “ rive the fourteenth Legion, a Legion mighty in renown,
 “ and with it the forces of Mœsia. He might then re-
 “ sume the present deliberation, and if fighting were
 “ preferred, they should engage with numbers aug-
 “ mented.

WITH the counsel of PAULINUS, MARIUS CELSUS
 concurred; and that ANNIUS GALLUS entertained the
 same

same sentiments, was reported by those who had been purposely sent to learn his advice: for, his horse having fallen with him a few days before, he was still ill of the hurt. OTHO was bent upon engaging. TITIANUS his brother, and PROCULUS, Captain of the Prætorian Guards, hurried headlong by rashness and inexperience, were always averring, “That Fortune, and the Gods, and “the Deity of OTHO attended upon his counsels, and “would attend upon his enterprizes.” To such syco-phancy they had betaken themselves, that no man might dare to thwart their opinion. After it was determined to fight, a doubt occurred, whether it were more advisable that the Emperor should be present in the encounter, or remove elsewhere. PAULINUS and CELSUS, that they might not seem to advise exposing the person of the Prince to perils, had now dropped all opposition. So that those same men from whom the worse counsel had come, obliged him to retire to Brixellum, where secure from the uncertain accidents of battles he should reserve himself, they said, for the direction of the whole and the great ends of Sovereignty. This was the first day that a blow was given to the party of OTHO. For, besides his own departure, with him there not only departed a very brave and powerful band, consisting of Prætorian Cohorts, of troops of horse, and of the body guard; but the forces remaining lost all courage, since they suspected the fidelity of their Leaders; and OTHO upon whom only the soldiers placed all their faith, as, in truth, in none else but soldiers did he himself repose any trust, had left the command of the Generals uncertain and precarious.

OF all these transactions not one was a secret to the army of VITELLIUS, as deserters were perpetually passing to and fro, a thing usual in a civil War: and the spies, from a keenness to learn the measures of the opposite side, did not well conceal those of their own. CECINA and VALENS, without moving themselves, were intent upon the disastrous motions of the enemy, so precipitate and void of foresight, and coolly awaited their own advantage from the folly of others; a course which supplies the place of wisdom. So that feigning a design to pass the

Po, in order to attack the band of Gladiators on the opposite shore, they began to make a bridge, an undertaking which also served to keep their own men the while from a habit of idleness and sloth. Upon the river a row of boats was placed, at equal distances, connected by large beams, and by their anchors steadily secured against the weight of the stream, but with cables unstretched and floating, that when the flood swelled, the whole rank of boats might be lifted up without violence to their order. A tower purposely reared, and beginning from the furthestmost boat, closed and guarded the bridge, that from thence with their warlike machines they might batter and repulse the foe.

THE soldiers of OTHO too had erected a tower, from whence they were pouring volleys of stones and fire. Moreover in the middle of the river stood an Island, into which the Gladiators strove to convey themselves in pinnaces, but were prevented by the Germans who reached it first by swimming. As of these a large number had already passed over, MACER, who had now filled the pinnaces with the bravest Gladiators, sailed thither to attack them. But neither in the Gladiators was there found a bravery or perseverance equal to those of the soldiers; nor could they in a reeling posture from their vessels strike with such certainty and force as did the others from their firm footing on the shore. And when by the many different motions and shiftings of men actuated by consternation and dread, they who fought became mingled with those who rowed, and all were disordered, the Germans leaping into the water boldly seized the vessels, and by climbing boarded them, or by strength sunk them. All which transactions passed under the eye of both armies. Hence the more joy they administer'd to the partizans of VITELLIUS, with the more bitterness and detestation they inspired the followers of OTHO against the author and cause of their sore disaster.

THE truth is, the fray was parted by flight, the remaining boats having been in great haste dragged back again. MACER was required to the slaughter: Nay he was already wounded with a lance darted at him, and already they had assaulted him with their swords drawn, when

when by the sudden interposition and succour of the Tribunes and Centurions, he was rescued. E'er long, VESTRICIUS SPURINNA, by the command of OTHO, leaving a small garrison in Placentia, arrived with a supply of Cohorts: and soon after FLAVIUS SABINUS, Consul elect, was by OTHO sent to take charge of the forces which had been under the command of MACER, to the great joy of the foldiers, pleased with the change of Leaders; whilst the Leaders scared by their perpetual mutinies, abhorred the charge of a soldiery so mischievous and unruly.

IN some authors I find, "that through the shocking
 " apprehensions of war, or from an averfion and disgust
 " to both Princes, two men whose infamy and detestable
 " crimes were by the voice of common fame grown daily
 " more public and glaring, the armies had deliberated
 " about dropping their enmity and strife, and whether
 " amongst themselves they should agree to fet up a pro-
 " per Emperor, or refer the choice to the Senate. That
 " hence the Generals of OTHO's forces had declared for
 " delays and procrastination, PAULINUS particularly,
 " who confidered himself as the most ancient Confular,
 " as one signally renowned in war, and one who, by
 " his exploits in Britain, had acquired much glory and
 " a great name." For my self; as I would allow, that
 there were a few, in whose breasts cordial wishes, but
 wishes smothered in silence, were entertained for public
 tranquillity instead of civil uproar and diffention, and for
 a Prince worthy and innocent in the place of two, of
 all men the worst and most bloated with vileness and ini-
 quities; so neither can I conceive that PAULINUS, a man
 governed by such prudence, could have hoped, in an age
 abandoned to corruption, to have found so mighty a de-
 gree of moderation in the common herd, that the very
 same men, who from a passion for War had violated public
 peace, would out of tenderness for peace relinquish the
 War. Nor can I conceive that armies, in languages and
 manners so dissonant, could ever have been brought to
 concur in this act of unanimity; or that the Lieutenant
 Generals and Leaders, men for the most part wallowing
 in prodigality, pressed by indigence, and under the guilt

and horrors of enormities black and manifold, would have suffered any Prince over them other than one contaminated with crimes and engaged to them for their wicked services done him.

THE lust of dominion, so ancient and now long since rooted in the hearts of men, increased with the growth of the State, and when the Empire was full grown, burst forth with violence. For whilst the condition of our City was but low, easily maintained was an equality amongst her Citizens. But when once the world was subdued, when all competitors for power, whether the same were great Cities or great Kings, had been vanquished and overthrown, and leisure was given to pursue riches with security; then first between the Senate and People fierce broils were kindled. Sometimes seditious Tribunes insulted; anon the power of the Consuls prevailed; and within the City, nay in the Forum were seen the preludes and approaches to a civil War. In a short space, CAIUS MARIUS, one sprung from the lees of the Populace, and LUCIUS SYLLA, a man the most cruel of all the nobility, having oppressed public liberty by the violence of arms, changed it into lawless domination. Then followed POMPEY, one more close and disguised, not more innocent or upright. From thence forward the only public struggle was for sovereign rule. In Pharsalia and Philippi the Legions, tho composed of Roman Citizens, departed not from their violence and arms: much less likelihood was there, that the armies of OTHO and VITELLIVS would of their own accord have abandoned the War. These too were by the same wrath of the Deities, by the same rage amongst men, by the same motives of wickedness and outrage, driven into discord and war. That the Wars were each of them brought to a conclusion as it were by so many single strokes, proceeded from the genius of the Princes, impotent and spiritless. But in collecting the disposition of different times, ancient and new, I have digress'd rather too far. I now resume the order of transactions.

AFTER the departure of OTHO to Brixellum, the name and honour of Generalship remained with his brother TITIANUS, the essence and authority with PROCULUS. For

CELSUS and PAULINUS; as no one had recourse to their counsel and capacity, they bore the empty title of Commanders, and thence served as cloaks for the faults and mistakes of other men. The Tribunes and Centurions were agitated by perplexity and fear, to see men of sufficiency and superior worth neglected, and the very worst men bear sway. The common soldiers were chearful and elated, yet disposed rather to canvass and interpret, than to obey and execute the orders of their Commanders. It was now determined to move their quarters, and to encamp within four miles of Bedriacum; a march so unskilfully conducted, that in it they were extremely distressed for want of water, tho it was then in the spring of the year, and there were rivers on all hands. There was debated the question about proceeding to battle, as OTHO was by importunate letters pressing them to a speedy decision, whilst the soldiers insisted to have their Emperor in person at the engagement. Several urged for calling over the forces quartered beyond the Po. Neither can it be so readily decided what was the best course which they could have taken, as that it was certainly the worst which they took. For,

No wise-like men going directly to the encounter, but like men only marching to carry on a war, they advanced towards the confluence of the rivers Po and Addua; a journey of sixteen miles, and utterly disapproved by CELSUS and PAULINUS, who declared against “ exposing
“ the soldiers fatigued with travelling, and loaded with
“ baggage, to an unequal enemy, who being himself
“ light and unincumbered, and having moved scarce
“ four miles, would never lose the advantage of attack-
“ ing them, either as they marched with their ranks
“ broken, or afterwards while they were separated and
“ entrenching their camp.” TITIANUS and PROCULUS whenever they were vanquished in counsel and reasoning, had always, as now, recourse to the prerogative of power. It must be owned there had arrived a Numidian, dispatched by OTHO upon a swift horse, with orders conceived in a strain very terrible and bitter: In these, having first reprimanded the Generals for their faint proceedings and want of spirit, he gave command, to commit
the

the cause to immediate trial by the sword; sick with anguish as he was, from delay, and impatient of uncertain hopes.

TO CECINA, the same day, as he was still intent upon the structure of the bridge, there came two Tribunes of the Prætorian Guards, and desired a conference. He was already setting himself to receive their overtures and to return answers, when the scouts in vehement haste, apprized him that the enemy was at hand. The discourse with the Tribunes was thus interrupted, and hence it remained uncertain what they meant to have attempted, whether to betray their party, or to contrive a plot against the enemy, or whether they had some design truly worthy and honest. CECINA having dismissed the Tribunes and returned to the camp, found the signal of battle already given by VALENS and the soldiers under arms.

WHILST the Legions were by the casting of lots ascertaining the order of their proceeding to battle, the cavalry sallied forth by themselves, and which is wonderful to relate, were by a party of OTHO's forces, in number much inferior, repulsed, nay flying for shelter to their ramparts, 'till by the vigour and menaces of the Italic Legion they were stopped. That brave Legion opposed them with drawn swords, and forced them back to the encounter. The Legions of VITELLIUS were embattled without any consternation or alarm; for, all fight of an armed host was prevented by a thick coppice, tho the enemy was close by. In the army of OTHO, fearful and disconcerted were the Generals; against the Generals the soldiers were incensed; mixt and crowded amongst the ranks were the carriages and retainers to the camp, and from a deep ditch on each hand the way was too strait even for an army marching safe from an enemy. Some stood round their standards, others enquired where to find their own. On every side was heard the uncertain clamour of men running and roaming different and uncertain ways. Some thrust themselves into the front, some retired to the rear, just as each found himself prompted, by bravery or by dread.

THEIR minds, yet struck and astonished with sudden terror, were quite cooled and enfeebled by an accession

of false joy; as amongst them there were some found who divulged a fiction, that from VITELLIUS the army had revolted. Whether this report was spread by the spies of VITELLIUS, or came from the partizans of OTHO, and sprung from chance or fraud, remains undiscover'd. By it the forces of OTHO were bereft of all ardour for battle, nay accosted the enemy with the salutation of Friends: And as they were received with a hostile and threatening murmur, hence many of their own army, unapprized of the cause of such greeting, were seized with apprehensions that they were betrayed. At the same time, the enemy's host fell on and pressed them hard, with ranks unbroken, and in strength and numbers superior. That of OTHO, tho disjoined, tho fewer and fatigued, yet sustained the fight with notable vigour; and various was the face of the combat, like that of the place embarrass'd with trees and vineyards. Here they encounter'd hand to hand, there at a distance by weapons missive; in this place with their lines extended; in that by battalions sharp in the front. Upon the raised road they closed fiercely, batter'd each other with their bodies and bucklers, and rejecting the use of darts, with swords and axes hewed and broke helmets and breast-plates. To each other the combatants were well known, their efforts were conspicuous to all the rest, and on both sides they exerted all their might to determine the fortune of the whole War.

IN an open plain between the Po and the highway, two Legions chanced to encounter; the one and twentieth entitled *Rapax*, and signal for feats of renown anciently atchieved, in behalf of VITELLIUS. For OTHO engaged the first called *Adjutrix*, one never till then led into the field, but fierce and resolute, and eager for the first earnings of glory. The soldiers of the first having routed the foremost ranks of the one and twentieth, carried off their Eagle; a disgrace which so enraged this Legion, that they too in their turn repulsed and broke those of the first, and having killed ORPHIDIUS BENIGNUS their Commander, despoiled them of many ensigns and banners. In another quarter, those of the thirteenth Legion were defeated, by an onset from the fifth; those

of the fourteenth were quite invironed by a numerous host of foes. And CECINA and VALENS were still strengthening their battle with continual reinforcements, when OTHO's Generals were long since fled. To the former a fresh recruit had arrived of the Batavians led by ALPHENUS VARUS, after he had utterly routed the body of Gladiators, who whilst they passed over in boats, were by the Cohorts posted to oppose them slaughter'd in the very river. So that these troops, already victorious, assailed the enemy in the flank; and their center being thus utterly broken, the forces of OTHO betook themselves every where to flight, bending their course towards Bedriacum. A mighty space this to run. The ways too were filled and obstructed by the carcasses of the slain, and hence occasion administer'd for encreasing the slaughter: for in civil wars captives are not converted into sale and gain.

SUETONIUS PAULINUS and LICINIUS PROCULUS took different routs, both shunning that to the camp. VEDIUS AQUILA Commander of the thirteenth Legion, whilst he was animated by dread void of discretion, became exposed to the fury of the soldiery. While it was yet broad day he enter'd the camp, and was instantly beset and outraged by the insults and clamours of all such as were prompt to mutiny against their officers, and to run away from their enemies. Towards him they spared no violent invectives, nor even violent hands. They charged him as a traitor to his cause, and as a fugitive from battle; not that he had really committed any crime; but such is the custom of the crowd, for every man to cast upon others his own guilt and disgrace. TITIANUS and CELSUS drew their security from the night, since ere they came, the guards were already posted, and the tumults of the soldiery repressed. ANNIUS GALLUS had softened and reclaimed them by his entreaties, by his authority and wholesome reasoning, " That they would not add
 " to the heavy disaster of a battle lost, by intestine rage
 " and the slaughter of one another. That the only re-
 " maining consolation and remedy after their defeat, was
 " that of concord and unanimity amongst themselves,
 " whether the War were now at an end, or whether they
 " rather

“ rather chose to try again the fortune of the field.” Of the generality the courage was utterly sunk; only those of the Prætorian Guards swagger’d, “ That they had been no otherwise overcome than by acts of treachery, and by no superior bravery of the enemy. Nor could the army of VITELLIUS in truth boast of an unbloody victory, since their cavalry had been routed, and the Eagle of a Legion bravely forced from them. Their own forces beyond the Po still remained intire, and with them OTHO in person. The Legions from Mœsia were advancing; and a great part of the army had continued at Bedriacum. These surely were not yet vanquished; or if that must be their lot, more to their glory it would prove to dye fighting.” Struggling with such considerations as these, they were variously transported, now to fury, anon to dread: Yet from their present plight, altogether desperate and forlorn, they found themselves more frequently excited to rage than to fear.

WITHIN five miles of Bedriacum the army of VITELLIUS rested, for the Generals durst not, upon the same day, venture to force the enemy’s camp. They moreover entertained hopes of a voluntary surrender. For themselves; as they had only gone forth accoutred for battle, and unincumber’d with baggage, they had no other bulwarks than their arms and victory. On the day following it was apparent what a pacific disposition reigned in OTHO’s army, where even they who had been most fierce and untractable, were lapsing into acquiescence and remorse. From their camp therefore deputies were dispatched: Nor from the Generals of VITELLIUS was the least hesitation found against the overtures of peace. But as the deputies were for some short time detained with them, from thence arose matter of doubt and deliberation amongst those who sent them, as yet unapprized whether their proposals were accepted. But anon, upon the return of the deputies, the gates of the camp were thrown open. Then it was that both armies meeting; the conquerors as well as the conquered burst into tears, and at once pleased and sorrowing, uttered their detestations of the sad lot of intestine wars. Assembling now without distinction

distinction in the same tents, they tenderly tended and dressed the wounds one of another, some those of their brethren, some those of their friends. Doubtful were the hopes of all, uncertain their recompences: their only sure perquisites were death and woe. Nor was any particular so exempt from affliction as not to have some dead friend to bewail. For the body of ORPHIDIUS the Legate search was made, and it was burned with the accustomed solemnity. A few were buried by their relations. The rest of the common men were left above the ground.

OTHO the while waited for an account of the battle, altogether undismayed, and fixt in his purposes. The first rumours were melancholy but uncertain, till the fugitives from the combat made known the utter defeat. Such now was the zeal and ardour of the soldiers about him, that they staid not for what their Emperor would say: They pressed him, “ to preserve his spirit undaunted. “ There remained still fresh forces; and for themselves, “ they were ready to dare all dangers, to suffer all ex- “ tremities.” Neither was there flattery or deceit in what they said. Like men enchanted with supernatural impulse and with fury inspired, they burned with passion to proceed to battle, to awaken and animate the fortune of their party. They who stood at a distance signified their ardour by extending their hands; they who were nearest embraced his knees; and keenest of all was PLOTIUS FIRMUS. This was Captain of his guards, and by repeated instances besought him, “ not to abandon an ar- “ my so faithful and zealous, soldiers so singularly affectio- “ nate and deserving. In bearing the blows of calamity, “ more greatness of spirit was shewn than in flying from “ them. To support themselves with hope even in spight “ of fortune, was ever the part of the magnanimous and “ brave; as it was that of the timorous and spiritless to “ be drawn headlong by cowardice into utter despair.” As during these expressions the countenance of OTHO happened to unbend or contract, in token of assent or refusal, there followed shouts of joy, or heavy groans. Nor was this spirit restrained to the Prætorian soldiers only, who as his guards were attached to the person of OTHO; but

but those who had been sent before the rest out of Mœsia, declared, that in the approaching army the same steady and invincible perseverance in his cause was to be found; and that the Legions had already enter'd Aquileia. Hence none can doubt, but that a war might have been renewed, terrible and tragical, and its issue altogether uncertain to the conquerors and the conquered. He himself had quite renounced all purposes of war, and said,

“ To expose wantonly to fresh perils such virtue and
 “ so much fortitude, is a price which I deem too high
 “ for the redeeming of my own life. The higher the
 “ hopes are with which you present me, were it my choice
 “ to live and enjoy them, the more amiable and esteemed
 “ will be my voluntary death. I have made trial of For-
 “ tune, as has Fortune of me; nor does it avail to com-
 “ pute how short a space such trial has lasted, since the
 “ greater is the difficulty to possess with moderation that
 “ felicity which you do not expect to possess long. VI-
 “ TELLIVS began the civil War, and thence sprung the
 “ source of our struggling for the Empire by arms. To
 “ me will be owing the example of struggling for it no
 “ more than once. By this rule let posterity judge of
 “ OTHO. VITELLIVS shall again possess in safety his
 “ brother, his children and his wife. By me no revenge
 “ is sought, neither do I need solacements. Others have
 “ held the Sovereignty longer; in a manner so magnani-
 “ mous none ever yet relinquished it. Shall I ever bear
 “ that such a number of Roman youth, that so many
 “ noble armies be again cut off and ravished for ever
 “ from the Commonwealth? With me let me carry this
 “ sentiment and assurance, that on my behalf you were
 “ all ready to perish. But be content to survive me:
 “ Nor let us long retard one another. Let not me de-
 “ lay your care of your own preservation, nor you me
 “ in the pursuit of a design never to be shaken or changed.
 “ To multiply words about the subject of dying, is the
 “ part of a dastardly spirit. How much I am undaunted
 “ in this my purpose, I desire you to take this signal proof,
 “ that I complain of no man: Since to be arraigning the
 “ Gods or men, upon the approach of death, belongs
 “ only to one who wishes for life.

AFTER this discourse, he desired them to speed away, nor by delaying enrage the Conqueror. The young men he pressed with authority, the old by entreaties, addressing himself to all with singular sweetness and courtesy, in language suitable to their different years or dignity. Calm and easy were his looks, his speech flowing and assured, and he even applied himself to chide, as ill judged and unreasonable, the tears and wailings of his friends. To such as were about to depart he ordered boats and carriages to be given. All such memorials and letters as were signal for strains of zeal towards himself, or for bitterness and invectives against VITELLIUS, he committed to the flames. He distributed money, yet with discretion and a sparing hand, no wise like one about to relinquish life. Anon perceiving his brother's son SALVIUS COCCIANUS, one just in the bloom of youth, under the agonies of dread and sorrow, he set about relieving him by consolatory expressions, extolled his tenderness, but rebuked his fear. " Could VITELLIUS, he said, " prove of a spirit so implacable and unrelenting, as in " recompence for his whole house preserved in safety, " to refuse a return of mercy in this single instance? The " clemency of the Conqueror was, in truth, no more " than what he had purchased by thus hastning to die: " since pressed by no desperate distress, but at a juncture " when his army were craving to be led to battle, he " had, only for the sake of the Commonwealth, forgone " the trial of a last effort. To himself he had acquired " abundant name, to his posterity abundant lustre. It " was he who first into a house newly raised had translated the Sovereignty, after the same had been vested " in families so illustrious, namely the Julian, the Claudian and the Servian. COCCIANUS should therefore " with a spirit undaunted resolve to live. That OTHO " had been his uncle he must never forget, neither over- " much remember.

AFTER this, causing all who were about him to retire, he reposed himself a while. As he was thus exercising his thoughts about his last moments, a sudden tumult interrupted him; for notice was carried him of the uproar and violence amongst the soldiery, who threaten'd with
present

present slaughter all who were about to depart, but against VERGINIUS particularly aimed their fiercest vengeance, and even besieged his house which for his security he had shut up. OTHO having reprimanded the authors of the insurrection, gave time for audience to such as were departing, and continued thus employed till they were all gone in perfect security. Towards the close of the day he allayed his thirst with a draught of cold water. Then calling for two poynards, and having carefully examined the points of both, he placed one under his head. He next took care to be fully assured that all his friends were already on their way, afterwards passed the night in perfect repose, and as is affirmed, not without sleep. At the first dawn he fell with his breast upon the point of the steel. Upon hearing his dying groans, his freedmen enter'd, as did his slaves, with PLOTIUS FIRMUS Captain of his guards; and found no more than one wound. His Funeral was dispatched with great expedition: Such had been his own desire, often repeated with earnest suit, to prevent his head from being cut off and exposed to public derision. The Prætorian Cohorts bore his corps with many praises and many tears, kissing his wound and kissing his hands. At his funeral pile some of the soldiers slew themselves, for no guilt which they had incurred, nor for any dread which they entertained; but purely to emulate the glory of his end, and from their fondness to the person of their Prince. Amongst them afterwards, at Bedriacum, at Placentia, and in other their quarters, this kind of death became frequent. For OTHO a sepulchre was raised, of structure mean and thence like to remain.

SUCH was the issue of his life, in the thirty seventh year of his age. From the municipal city of Terentium he derived his original. His father had sustained the dignity of Consul, his grandfather that of Prætor. His mother's line was not of equal lustre, yet far from sordid. How he passed his tender years and how his youth, we have before shewn. By two signal feats of his, one crying and horrid, the other exemplary and noble, he has from posterity merited a mighty portion of evil fame, nor less of good. As unworthy the gravity of this my subject I should hold it to collect fabulous stories, and to amuse with fictions
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the minds of my readers; so neither would I boldly divest of all credit such traditions as have publicly spread and been handed down as matter of history. The people of Regium Lepidum recount “ that on the day of the battle at Bedriacum, a certain bird, such as was never before seen there, perched upon a neighbouring grove much frequented, and that neither by the great course of persons, nor by the flock of other birds flying about her, was she terrified or driven thence, till the moment OTHO put an end to his life: She then instantly disappeared; and by such as compared the conjuncture with the events, the beginning and end of the marvellous appearance were found to coincide with the death of OTHO.”

THE grief and wailings of the soldiers at his funeral, drove them into a fresh mutiny: nor was there any one to restrain them. To VERGINIUS they applied, and with many entreaties, with many menaces, pressed him, now to accept the Sovereignty, anon to go as their Ambassador to CECINA and VALENS. Already they were breaking into the house, when VERGINIUS by a back way stole out and escaped them. Of the Cohorts which lay at Brixellum, the petition was presented by RUBRIUS GALLUS, and for them pardon forthwith obtained; while at the same time by the influence of FLAVIUS SABINUS the forces under his command went over to the Conqueror.

WHEN war had now every where ceased, a great part of the Senate found themselves exposed to danger extreme and capital; namely all they who had accompanied OTHO from Rome, and were by him afterwards left at Mutina. Thither had word come of the defeat: but the soldiers slighted it as a rumour void of truth; and as they guessed the Senate to be disaffected to OTHO, they watched the words of particulars, and to a malignant sense wrested even their countenances and demeanour. At last they proceeded to insult them with invectives and revilings, thence seeking a pretence and introduction to carnage and murder. By another terror too the Senators were at the same time pressed, lest while the party of VITELLIUS thus prevailed and prosper'd, they might be suspected to have been slow and cool in taking part in the victory. Together

ther therefore they met full of tremor, between the two perils perplexed and anxious. Nor had any one concerted a scheme or counsel of his own; since each reckoned himself the safer for that the offence was common to many. To the Senators labouring under such difficulty and dread, a new weight of distress accrued from the magistracy of Mutina, who made them an offer of money and arms, nay treated them with the high title of *Conscript Fathers*; an honour altogether ill timed.

IN the assembly there ensued a signal debate and contest, as LICINIUS CECINA arraigned EPRIUS MARCELLUS; for that “he reasoned in a strain equivocal and suspicious.” In truth none of the rest declared their sentiments freely. But the name of MARCELLUS, one abhorred from the memory of the accusations by him exercised, and one still exposed to public hate, was what prompted CECINA, that he who was only a new man and lately assumed into the Senate, might by thus declaring enmity against men of great name, signalize his own. They were appeased by the moderation of men more worthy than either. And now they all returned as far as Bononia, with design there again to assemble upon counsel. In the interval it was presumed other advices more copious would arrive. At Bononia several men were posted upon the several roads about it, purposely to examine every the latest comer; and by these a freedman of OTHO’s being questioned upon the cause of his departure from his Lord, answered, that “he had about him his Lord’s last will
“and commands: alive indeed he left him, but divested
“of every care save such as regarded posterity, and having
“utterly renounced all the enjoyments of life and
“every inducement to continue it.” Hence their admiration of the man, and shame to make farther enquiry. And thus at once upon VITELLIUS were turned the thoughts and obedience of all the Senators.

AT their deliberations was present his brother LUCIUS VITELLIUS, and now presented himself to be flattered, as did they all to flatter, when on a sudden CENUS a Freedman of NERO’s, by an impudent and horrible lie, astonished the whole assembly. He affirmed, “that by
“the arrival of the fourteenth Legion, in conjunction

“ with the forces from Brixellum, the army which had
 “ lately conquered was intirely routed, and the fortune
 “ of the other party retrieved and changed.” What
 prompted him to such forgery was, that OTHO’S warrants
 for post horses, now growing neglected, might by tidings
 so joyful be restored to force. CENUS, in truth, by such
 carriage was borne in great speed to Rome, and there,
 a few days after, by order from VITELLIUS suffer’d the
 pains of death. This fiction of his heighten’d the peril
 of the Senators, since by the soldiers of OTHO the rela-
 tion was believed to be true. It added notably to their
 dread, that upon the appearance of public council solemn-
 ly holden, they had departed from Mutina, and relin-
 quish’d the party. Nor thereafter did they meet or con-
 sult in a body, but every one for himself, till letters from
 FABIVS VALENS removed their affright. Moreover the
 death of OTHO, the higher praise it claimed, with the
 more velocity it flew.

BUT at Rome the while was felt no sort of terror or
 alarm. The interludes sacred to CERES were in their
 annual course of celebration; and when into the Theatre
 were brought news credibly attested, “ That OTHO had
 “ ended his days, and that by FLAVIVS SABINVS, Go-
 “ vernor of the City, all the soldiers in it were drawn to
 “ swear allegiance to VITELLIUS,” forthwith upon the
 name of VITELLIUS the spectators bestowed their shouts
 and applaudings. Around the Temples the people bore the
 Images of GALBA, crowned with laurel and bedecked with
 flowers, and piled up heaps of coronets into the fashion
 of a sepulchre close by the Lake of Curtius, a place con-
 taminated by the blood of GALBA when he perished. In
 the Senate all the many honours devised for former Princes,
 at intervals and during a long course of reigning, were
 at once decreed to VITELLIUS. To these were sub-
 joined commendations upon the German armies, with pub-
 lic thanks, and an embassy sent to carry them greetings
 and congratulations. The letters addressed by FABIVS
 VALENS to the Consuls were recited, and found to be
 conceived in terms no wise arrogant or assuming; but
 more acceptable was the modesty of CECINA, for that he
 had not presumed to send any.

FOR

FOR the rest, Italy was afflicted with calamities more oppressive and barbarous than during the war she had suffered. The soldiers of VITELLIUS, distributed amongst the Colonies and municipal Cities, let themselves loose to spoil and ravage, by feats of cruelty and pollution filling and contaminating all places; and abandoned to universal rapine, or compounding for rapine at a price, without any regard had to right or wrong, they spared neither things sacred or prophane. There were those too who, under the guise of soldiers, killed their particular enemies. And the soldiers themselves, as they well knew the country, were every where marking out all the well replenished farms, with all the opulent possessors, and devoting both to plunder, or to fire and sword without mercy, if any resistance were offer'd. Nor dared their Generals to restrain them; they who were themselves guilty, and awed by their men. Of the two CECINA was less addicted to avarice, but more to court the favour of the soldiery. VALENS was infamous for pillage and feats of rapine, and thence blind to the faults and excesses of others. For a good while past had Italy been exhausted and languishing; so that at present, so mighty a force of foot and horse, with such heavy acts of violence, so many depredations and insults, were borne with great difficulty and regret.

VITELLIUS in the mean time, unacquainted with the success of his own arms, was marching with the residue of the German army, as to a war still in its vigour. In the winter quarters very few of the old soldiers were left; and by fresh levies hastily made amongst the Gauls, was supplied the just number of men in the Legions remaining behind. To HORDEONIUS FLACCUS he committed the defence of the Rhine; and to his own army added eight thousand men drawn from Britain. Having marched a few days, he had intelligence of the victory at Bedriacum, and that by the death of OTHO the war was concluded. He then assembled his men, and from the Tribunal accumulated many praises upon the bravery of the soldiers. As the army now made him a general request, that to the Equestrian Dignity he would raise his freedman ASIATICUS, he checked a strain of flattery so disgraceful:

graceful: Anon, through unsteadiness of spirit, what in the face of the public he had refused he at a banquet privately conferred, and with the gold ring (the badge of Knighthood) dignified ASIATICUS, a slave infamous and vile, and grasping at power by all wicked ways.

ABOUT the same time came messengers with tidings, that to his party had acceded both the Mauritanias, ALBINUS, who in quality of Procurator governed there, being slain. LUCEIUS ALBINUS had been by NERO preferred to the Government of Mauritania stiled Cefariensis; that of Tingitana he received afterwards from GALBA; and thus came to be Leader of no mean force, that of nineteen Cohorts, five Squadrons of horse, and of Moors a mighty host, a body from their daily exploits in robbing and ravaging, fit for those of war. After the murder of GALBA, he became devoted to OTHO, and not content with Africa, was meditating a descent upon Spain, severed from thence only by a narrow Channel. A matter of terror this to CLUVIUS RUFUS, and he ordered the tenth Legion to march down to the shore, as if he had been just about to transport them. Before hand were sent over certain Centurions, to conciliate to VITELLIUS the affections of the Moors; nor proved it a hard task, so mighty and prevalent through all the Provinces was the renown of the German army. A rumour moreover was spread, that ALBINUS, scorning the title of Procurator, had usurped the ensigns of Majesty and the Royal Name of JUBA.

As from hence an utter change was wrought in the minds of the people there, they fell upon ASINIUS POLLIO, who commanded a Squadron of horse, and slew him, a man who was one of the most assured friends of ALBINUS. FESTUS too, and SCIPIO were slain, both Captains of Cohorts. ALBINUS himself, as he passed by sea from the Province Tingitana to that named Cefariensis, was murdered upon landing: his wife, who indeed purposely presented herself to the assassins, was butcher'd with him. Nor into any part of these transactions, or of any other, did VITELLIUS make any enquiry. In truth, a hasty hearing was all that he afforded to any affair however momentous, unequal, as he entirely was,

to every important deliberation. His army he commanded to pursue their progress by land; he himself sailed down the river Arar, utterly devoid of the lustre and appointments of an Emperor, but only conspicuous in the display of his late and ancient indigence, till JUNIUS BLESUS, Governor of the Lyonesse Gaul, a man nobly born, of a soul great and liberal, and of opulence proportionable, furnished him with a princely train, and accompanied him in person, with great state and magnificence. But by this very behaviour he administered distaste, tho' VITELLIUS disguised his hate under many courteous expressions, all servile and hollow. To Lyons were come to attend him the Generals of both parties, the victorious and the vanquished. The praises of VALENS and CECINA he celebrated in public, and placed them on each side his chair of state. Anon he ordered the whole army to march out and meet his son, yet an infant. He was brought covered with an imperial coat of armour; his father holding him thus dressed in his arms, bestowed upon him the surname of *Germanicus*, and bedecked him with all the ensigns and decorations peculiar to sovereign fortune: honours which were conferred upon him in the transports of prosperity, and altogether excessive, yet served him for consolation in his ensuing distress and calamity.

NEXT, all the Centurions signal for their faith and bravery in the cause of OTHO, were by order slain. Hence the principal disgust amongst the forces from Illyricum, and their estrangement from VITELLIUS. Moreover the rest of the Legions, smitten by their intercourse with the others, and urged by malice towards the German soldiery, were already meditating fury and war. He had long postponed to admit SUTTONIUS PAULINUS and LICINIUS PROCULUS, and held them like wretches in miserable expectation. When at length they were heard, the defence which they made was rather what necessity forced, than what honour allowed. Upon themselves they freely took the shame of treason, and to a fraud deliberately concerted between them, ascribed "the long and wearisome march before the battle, the great fatigue of OTHO's soldiers, the intermixing the carriages amongst the embattled bands;" with many other incidents purely

fortuitous, by them imputed to contrivance. In effect, VITELLIUS gave credit to the confession of their treachery, and acquitted them as men of sound faith and allegiance. SALVIUS TITIANUS, OTHO's brother, incurred no sort of peril, as there pleaded for him the instinct and tenderness of nature, and his own impotent spirit. To MARIUS CELSUS was reserved the Consulship to which he had been formerly designed. That CECILIUS SIMPLEX brigued for that preferment by the means of money, and thence sought the destruction of CELSUS, was a rumour currently believed, and anon charged upon him in the Senate. VITELLIUS opposed this intrigue, and thereafter conferred the Consulship upon SIMPLEX, without the intervention of guilt or price. TRACHALUS was by GALERIA, the wife of VITELLIUS, protected from the pursuits of his accusers.

AMIDST these instances of illustrious men under arraignment and terrors, it is shameful to relate that of one MARICCUS by birth a Boian, and one of the meanest; who, under the lying pretence of a mission and authority divine, adventured to throw himself upon the favour of fortune during the public struggles, and to provoke the Roman arms. Already, as deliverer of the Gauls, and as a God (for this was the title which he assumed) he had drawn together eight thousand men, and invaded the adjoining villages of the Eduans; when that State exerting her wonted providence, by arraying the flower of her young men, aided by some Cohorts detached from VITELLIUS, routed the mad and visionary multitude. In the fray MARICCUS was taken, and soon after thrown amongst the wild beasts; but because they rent him not, the Commonalty, gross and stupid, believed him not subject to any effort of violence, till in the presence of VITELLIUS he was put to death.

NEITHER against the Rebels was further vengeance shewn, and to a man they escaped confiscation of effects. The last Wills of such as died fighting for OTHO continued in force, or the Law in behalf of those who died intestate. In truth, had the Prince set bounds to his luxury, he was no wise to be dreaded for avarice. To banqueting and voraciousness he was continually borne by

an appetite quite beastly and boundless. From Rome and all Italy was brought him whatever tends to stimulate the palate, with every incentive to gluttony; while with the dinn of carriers loaded with viands, the roads from both seas were continually filled. By the expence of magnificent feasting, the Grandees of the municipal Cities were beggar'd and consumed, nay the Cities themselves reduced to desolation. The foldiers by being inured to voluptuousness, and a thorough contempt of their Leader, became debauched from all inclination to military fatigues, from all sense of virtue and bravery. Before him he sent an edict to Rome, to signify that he deferred receiving the name of *Augustus*, and would not accept that of *Cæsar*; when at the same time, from the prerogative of Imperial Power he receded nothing. He likewise banished the Astrologers out of Italy, and enjoined, under a rigorous penalty, that henceforth no Roman Knight should debase himself to the exercises of Fencing and of the Theatre. A practice this to which by former Emperors they had been obliged, sometimes by the force of money, oftner by the violence of power. The Colonies too and municipal Cities, from a spirit of emulation, studied, by the allurements of price, to engage in such prostitution every young man signal for vicious manners.

VITELLIUS upon the arrival of his brother, and the influence of the many prompters of lawless power, men officiously winding themselves into favour, was now grown more lofty and tyrannical, and thence commanded DOLABELLA to be slain, the same whom I have already related to have been by order of OTHO confined in the Colony of AQUINE. DOLABELLA, upon tidings of the death of OTHO, had returned to Rome. This was the charge alledged against him before FLAVIUS SABINUS Governor of the City, by PLAUTIUS VARUS, a man of Prætorian dignity, and one of DOLABELLA'S intimate friends. The crimes specified were, “ That he had broken out of prison, and presented himself as a new Leader to the party vanquished.” The accuser added, “ That he had attempted to corrupt the Cohort quarter'd at Ostia.” But all proof of crimes so sounding and mighty, utterly failing, PLAURIUS fell into remorse, and besought forgiveness

giveness too late for an iniquity already fatal. Whilst about a matter so momentous FLAVIUS SABINUS wavered, he was driven from his suspense by a terrible warning from TRIARIA, wife to LUCIUS VITELLIUS, a woman outrageous and merciless beyond her sex, “to take heed, “that he exposed not the Prince to eminent danger, by “courting for himself the fame of clemency.” SABINUS in his own temper gentle, yet when seized by dread, easy to change, and in the peril of another fearful to involve himself, that he might not seem now to have succour’d and upheld the accused, lent his hand to push down a man already falling.

VITELLIUS, therefore, struck with present fear and indeed with former rancour, for that PETRONIA his divorced wife had been by DOLABELLA forthwith espoused, sent for him, by letters, from Rome, with directions to avoid the Flaminian road, so great and frequented, and to come round by Terni: there he ordered him to be murdered. To the assassin this course seemed too tedious: at an inn upon the way, as DOLABELLA lay stretched at length upon the ground, he cut his throat. Mighty was the hate and abhorrence by his blood derived upon the new reign, a sample of which was now first exhibited in this tragedy. The arbitrary insolence too of TRIARIA became more glaring by a singular instance of meekness in the same family, that of GALERIA the Emperor’s wife, who never insulted the afflicted. Moreover of the like character, one benevolent and good, was SEPTILIA his mother, a lady ever conforming to the virtuous model of primitive times: She is even reported, upon the first letters from her son, to have said, “That no GERMANICUS “was born of her, but a VITELLIUS.” Neither was her mind afterwards elated to joy by any of the charms and inticements of Imperial fortune, or by the general caresses and assiduity of the City; nor in the different fortunes of her house felt she any emotion save for its adversity and fall.

VITELLIUS having departed from Lyons was overtaken by MARCUS CLUVIUS RUFUS. He forsaking Spain, where he held the administration, came with many congratulations, much assumed gladness in his countenance, much

real anguish in his soul, and well apprized that he was assaulted by imputations various and highly criminal. Against him HILARIUS the Emperor's Freedman had urged, "That upon advice of the contest for empire between VITELLIUS and OTHO, he had attempted to establish an independent principality, and to appropriate to himself both the Provinces of Spain: And with this view, in the warrants which he had issued, the name of no Emperor whomsoever was inserted." Out of his public harangues the accuser presented certain passages, which he construed to have been so many malignant invectives against VITELLIUS, and so many artful baits for popular favour to himself. The credit of CLUVIUS prevailed, insomuch that VITELLIUS frankly doomed even his Freedman to punishment. CLUVIUS was taken into the class of the Emperor's companions and favourites, yet not deprived of the government of Spain, which he still administer'd tho absent, after the example of LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS: him TIBERIUS CÆSAR had detained from his Province through jealousy and fear. In detaining of CLUVIUS, VITELLIUS was moved by no apprehension at all. To TREBELLIVS MAXIMUS the like honour was not shewn. He had fled out of Britain, scared by the fury and menaces of the soldiers; and in his place was sent VETTIUS BOLANUS then attending in the Court.

A SORE torment it proved to VITELLIUS, that the spirit of the vanquished Legions continued still fierce and utterly unsubdued. As these Legions were dispersed over Italy and mixed with the vanquishers, they were continually breathing the language of disaffection and war. Foremost in ferocity and sternness were they of the fourteenth Legion, who denied confidently "that ever they had been vanquished; for that, in the fight at Bedriacum, only the vexillary bands were repulsed; nor were the forces of the Legion in the field." It was therefore resolved to remand them back to Britain, from whence they had been by NERO called over, and that with them in the mean time the Batavian Cohorts should always quarter, in consideration of their old quarrel with that Legion. Nor did tranquillity long hold amongst men thus furnished with arms and thus mutually enflamed by mortal hate.

At Turin, whilst a Batavian arraigned and insulted an Artificer as having defrauded him, and a foldier of the Legion protected the Artificer as his host, the soldiers of each side flocked together to support their companion. After much railing they were proceeding to slaughter, and a tragical battle had ensued, but that two Prætorian Cohorts, by espousing the party of the Legionaries, assured them of mastery, and intimidated the Batavians as the weaker. The latter VITELLIUS ordered, as his faithful adherents, to be incorporated with his own army, and the Legion to be led over the Graian Alps, bending their rout so as to avoid Vienne: for of the Viennese too fears were entertained. The night when the Legion marched away, by the fires which in several quarters they left unextinguish'd behind them part of the Colony of Turin was burnt down. A disaster this which was obliterated, as were many other evils of the war, by the calamities more mighty and consuming which befell other Cities. The fourteenth Legion no sooner descended from the Alps, but all the most prone to mutiny turned their ensigns towards Vienne, and were marching thither, till by the union of the better disposed they became restrained, and thus were transported in a body to Britain.

THE Prætorian Cohorts proved the next object of fear to VITELLIUS. First therefore they were separated, then discharged, but sweeten'd with the complements of an honourable dismissal, and of surrendering their arms to the Tribunes, like men who had fully served their term of warfare. But as soon as the war raised by VESPASIAN waxed hot, they again betook themselves to the exercise of arms, and proved the bulwark of the Flavian party. The first Legion, entitled that of the *Marines*, was sent into Spain, there to become tame by a course of tranquillity and repose. The eleventh and the seventh were remanded to their old quarters. The thirteenth was order'd to erect two amphitheatres, since CECINA and VALENS were preparing each a public combat of Gladiators, the former at Cremona, the other at Bononia. For upon no counsel or affair was VITELLIUS ever so intent as to forego his diversions and pleasures.

HE had now in truth with competent discretion separated the forces of the disaffected. Amongst the vanquishing party arose an insurrection which derived its beginning from matter of pastime, yet such was the number of the slain in it as brought fresh hate and horror upon the war. It happened when VITELLIUS had sat down to a banquet in company with VERGINIUS. Now the Commanders of Legions and Tribunes usually adopting the humour and demeanour of the Emperors, practise, like them, rigour and abstinence, or delight in voluptuousness and banqueting; and the common men thence become vigilant and regular, or prone to acts of licentiousness. About VITELLIUS was only seen universal disorder, universal drunkenness, and all things resembling rather nocturnal revellings and the debauches of Bacchanals than an army quarter'd and the discipline of war. In this situation two soldiers, the one of the fifth Legion, the other from amongst the auxiliary Gauls, having while they sported together provoked each other to wrestle, the legionary soldier was thrown, and over him the Gaul triumphed with great scorn: hence they who had assembled only as beholders, divided straight into two parties interested and angry, and the soldiers of the Legions falling with fury upon the Auxiliaries, put two Cohorts to the sword. To this tumult another tumult proved a remedy. Dust at a distance and the lustre of arms were discerned; and instantly a general cry ran that the fourteenth Legion had turned back, and was approaching purposely to fight. But it proved only the rear of their own army, a discovery which banish'd their concern. They chanced in the mean time to meet a slave belonging to VERGINIUS: him they charge as one employ'd to assassinate VITELLIUS, and rush at once into the banqueting room, where they insist that VERGINIUS should be put to death. In truth VITELLIUS, even he who was subject to all suspicions, and open to every alarm, entertained not the least doubt about the innocence of VERGINIUS. Yet much difficulty he found in restraining the vengeance of men so outrageous, as to demand with vehemence the bloody doom of one who had borne the supreme dignity of Consul, and been once their own General. In all seditions VERGINIUS found
I himself

himself threaten'd and assaulted; nor was any one so often as he. Amongst them their admiration of the man still remained as did his signal fame; but for their offer of Empire rejected they hated him as having despised them.

ON the following day, VITELLIUS heard the Embassadors from the Senate, having ordered them to await him there; then enter'd the camp, and upon the affectionate zeal of the soldiers heap'd much applause. But the Auxiliaries storned that the soldiers of the Legions should dare to commit so much outrage, yet find so much impunity. The Batavian Cohorts therefore, to divert them from venturing upon any tragical exploit, were sent back to Germany: for the Fates were already concerting the rise of war at once intestine and foreign. To their several territories were dismissed all the auxiliary Gauls, in number immense, and levied at the beginning of the revolt, as proper to swell the pomp and terror of the war. For the rest; that the revenues of the Empire, already impaired and exhausted, might be able to supply his extravagant largesses, he order'd the number of men in the Legions and auxiliary Troops to be retrenched; all recruits were forbid; nay discharges without distinction were proffer'd. A deadly blow this to the Commonweal, and to the soldiers matter of great disgust; since upon them, now reduced to a few, rested all the military duties before shared amongst many, and they were exposed to returns more frequent of perils and fatigue. Moreover their vigour was daily broken and corrupted by their luxurious living, so opposite to the ancient discipline and institutions of our ancestors, in whose days, for the support of the Roman State, virtue was found to excel money.

VITELLIUS from thence bent his course to Cremona, and having there beheld the public sports exhibited by CECINA, conceived a longing to visit the field at Bedriacum, and, with his own eyes to survey the scene and traces of the recent victory: A spectacle horrible and tragical, not quite forty days since the battle; bodies all rent and deformed; limbs and joints torn from their several trunks; the carcases of horses and of men, putrid and dissolving; the ground dyed and drenched with corruption

and gore; all the trees fell'd, all the corn trod under foot; the whole a scene of destruction shocking and sad. Nor fewer were the ghastly remains of cruelty and slaughter still to be seen upon part of the road itself, even that part which the people of Cremona had now bestrewed with roses and laurel, having reared many altars, and slain many victims, according to the servile behaviour of foreign nations to their Royal Tyrants. Flights of festivity these, by which, however gladsome at present, they anon brought desolation and the sword of vengeance upon their own heads. VALENS and CECINA accompanied him, and pointed out the several quarters of the combat; "here it was where the embattled Legions rush'd to the onset; here the horse in a body began the assault; from thence the bands of Auxiliaries encompassed the foe." Then the several Tribunes and Captains recounted and magnified their own feats of bravery; a wild medley of facts and of falsehood, at least of truths heightened by boasts and invention. The common soldiers likewise, in a transport of joy and shouts, turned aside from the road, to review the field. From space to space they called to mind every piece of ground where the several conflicts passed; they fixt their eyes upon the high heaps of arms, they beheld the bodies of the slain piled up in hills, beheld and marvell'd. Some too there were sensibly touched with concern for the variable lot of all things human, and overcome with commiseration and tears. But from the sad scene VITELLIUS turned not once his eyes, and at the sight of so many thousand Roman Citizens slain and unburied, felt no horror. Nay hence he even found cause for much joy, and presented a pompous sacrifice to the tutelar Deities of the place: so little was he aware of his own doleful fate so near at hand.

THERE followed the combat of Gladiators, by FABIVS VALENS exhibited at Bononia, whither all the decorations of the entertainment had been brought from Rome. The nearer VITELLIUS advanced to Bononia, the more debauched and loose proved his march. Amongst his military bands were blended bands of comedians, and herds of eunuchs, with all the other ludicrous pageantry agreeable to the genius of the Court in NERO's reign: for

of NERO himself too VITELLIUS always spoke with admiration and praise. In truth as the former went about finging, the other had never failed to follow him from place to place, by no necessity constrained, as was every man most conspicuous for worth, but purely as the sold slave of voluptuousness, and purchased by the price and allurements of gorging. That he might to VALENS and CECINA procure some vacant months for exercising the Consulship, the term appointed for others was abridged. Of the appointment of MARTIUS MACER no notice was taken; for that he had been a General in the party of OTHO. VALERIUS MARINUS, one designed Consul by GALBA, he postponed to a further time: for no offence given, but as a man gentle and patient, and apt to acquiesce under an injury. PEDANIUS COSTA was passed over; one distastful to the Prince, as having engaged in the design against NERO, and urged VERGINIUS to arms. But for depriving COSTA other causes than these were assigned. Nay to VITELLIUS, for such instances of partiality, solemn thanks were besides returned, suitable to the habit of tameness and servitude long since established.

NOT beyond a few days prevailed the cheat and delusion then current, tho its first rise and efforts were vigorous and popular. A certain person had started up, alledging "himself to be SCRIBONIANUS CAMERINUS, " and that during the days of NERO he had, through dread " of the Tyrant, liv'd concealed in Histria; for that, there, " still were found the followers and possessions of the ancient Craffi, and, there, yet remained partiality and " fondness for the name." As he had therefore assumed a number of associates, fellows the most abandoned, to assist him in conducting his plot, the populace, ever prone to credulity, were already flocking to him with contending zeal; as were some of the soldiers, whether unapprized of the truth, or from a passion for public commotions; when he himself was haled away, as a prisoner, before VITELLIUS, and questioned what manner of man he was. When to his words no credit was given, and as his Lord knew him to be GETA his fugitive slave, (such was his name and condition of life) he was doomed to die after the manner of slaves.

SCARCE

SCARCE credible it is to recount, to what an amazing degree of pride and senselessness VITELLIUS swelled, when by his intelligencers from Syria and Judea he was informed that the Provinces in the East had taken the oath of fidelity to him. For, the name of VESPASIAN, however fleeting the rumours about him were, and no wise to be traced to any certain authors, yet employed popular fame, and the mouths of men; and upon the mention of him VITELLIUS would frequently start. Upon the arrival of this tidings, both Emperor and Army, as having now no rival power to dread, assuming the hostile demeanour of aliens and barbarians, became abandoned to all the excesses of cruelty, lust, and rapine.

NOW VESPASIAN the while was carefully weighing the business of war and arms, and estimating the several forces, those at a distance and those at hand. To himself his soldiers were so devoted, that when before them he took the oath to VITELLIUS (as a precedent for them to follow) and wished him a prosperous reign, they heard him with disgust and silence. The spirit of MUCIANUS was no wise indifferent to VESPASIAN, and even fond of TITUS. ALEXANDER, Governor of Egypt, had already engaged in the design. For his own he accounted the third Legion then in Mœsia, since out of Syria it had been translated thither. Hopes too were entertained, that the other Legions in Illyricum would espouse the same interest. For all the armies, wheresoever, had been incensed by the insults and arrogance of the soldiers who were daily arriving from VITELLIUS; for that these men, in their persons fierce and turbulent, in speech hideous and savage, scorned all the rest as men despicable and inferior. In concerting, however, the scheme of the war, one so arduous and mighty, there intervened frequent hesitation and doubt; and VESPASIAN, tho sometimes confirmed in hope, yet often revolved upon the dangers incurred, and a disastrous issue. “What an awful and
“important day to him must that prove, when upon
“the fate and caprice of war he cast himself at the age
“of sixty, and his two sons in the prime of their years?
“In private pursuits, room was always left for retreat,
“and for making more or less use of fortune, at the
“pleasure

“ pleasure of the pursuers. To those who strive for Sove-
 “ reignty no middle lot remains; but reign they must,
 “ or perish they shall.”

BEFORE his eyes he set the great strength of the Ger-
 man Army, a thing perfectly known to him who was a
 military man. “ In the struggles of the civil War, his
 “ own Legions had no part or trial, when those of VI-
 “ TELLIVS had been the conquerors; and amongst the
 “ conquered, complaints were found more abounding
 “ than force. Slippery and frail had public combustions
 “ and the strife of parties render’d the faith of the soldiers,
 “ and from every individual amongst them danger was
 “ to be apprehended. For in truth, what security could
 “ accrue from battalions of foot and squadrons of horse,
 “ if one particular man or two were resolved, by a bold
 “ murder, to earn a ready reward from the opposite party?
 “ It was thus SCRIBONIANUS was slain under CLAUDI-
 “ US: it was thus VOLAGINIUS his assassin, from a com-
 “ mon soldier, came to be promoted to the highest posts
 “ in the army. A much easier task it were to excite
 “ them in a body to any design, than to escape the wicked
 “ designs of particulars.”

WHILST under apprehensions like these he continued
 wavering, not only the rest of the Commanders and all
 his personal friends strove to invigorate his hopes, but
 MUCIANUS too, after many reasonings with him in se-
 cret, applied to him openly in the following stile. “ To
 “ all who deliberate about attempts great and important,
 “ it is expedient, that they estimate whether what they
 “ undertake be profitable to the State, and to themselves
 “ honourable: whether to be readily accomplish’d, at
 “ least not attended with glaring difficulties. Of him
 “ too who proposes the counsel a judgment is to be made,
 “ whether to support his counsel he freely ventures his
 “ person; as also, if fortune prosper the enterprize, upon
 “ whom it is that the glory of the whole devolves. It
 “ is I who call thee, VESPASIAN, to Imperial Power;
 “ a proposal equally salutary to the Commonweal, as to
 “ thy self illustrious and grand: And, with the concur-
 “ rence of the Deities, in thy own hands the issue rests.
 “ Nor needst thou in this proposal fear any shadow of
 “ flattery.

“ flattery. Nearer it borders upon matter of ignominy
 “ than upon matter of praise, to be chosen Emperor af-
 “ ter VITELLIUS. It is not against the lively spirit of
 “ the deified AUGUSTUS that we have a revolt to main-
 “ tain, nor against the old age of TIBERIUS crafty and
 “ cautious; nor in truth against the family of CALIGULA,
 “ CLAUDIUS, or NERO, a family so long established in
 “ the possession of Sovereignty. Nay to GALBA too, in
 “ honour of the ancient splendor of his lineage, thou
 “ didst yield place. Further to linger in acquiescence and
 “ sloth, and abandon the Commonwealth to this mise-
 “ rable lot of debasement and perdition, would argue a
 “ soul quite cowardly and benumbed, were it even pos-
 “ sible that from such a state of servitude thou couldst
 “ reap, as of infamy an inevitable stock, so an equal
 “ share of security. Already elapsed and vanished is the
 “ time when thou mightest have been thought to have
 “ entertained a passion for the pleasure of reigning. At
 “ present, it behoves thee to fly to the possession of So-
 “ vereignty, as to a shelter for thy life. Canst thou for-
 “ get the doom of CORBULO, how that great General
 “ was murdered? A man for blood and descent more re-
 “ nowned, I confess, than we are: but NERO too in the
 “ splendor of his race surpassed VITELLIUS. Ever suf-
 “ ficiently illustrious, in the eyes of him who dreads, is
 “ the man who causes his dread. And, that a provincial
 “ army may create an Emperor, VITELLIUS himself is
 “ a living example; he who had never been bred a sol-
 “ dier, he who had no reputation in war, he who was
 “ thus promoted only because GALBA was hated. Even
 “ OTHO, who in truth was overcome by no conduct in
 “ the opposite Leader, nor by any superior force of arms,
 “ but by his own over hasty renouncing of life, is by the
 “ behaviour of VITELLIUS render’d a Prince great in
 “ name and highly regretted. Yet even now he is dispersing
 “ the Legions, disarming the Cohorts, and daily furnish-
 “ ing fresh materials for war. Whatever ardour and bra-
 “ very might have been heretofore found in his soldiers,
 “ is wasted and enfeebled by chambering and riotous liv-
 “ ing, and by emulating the excesses of their Emperor.
 “ At your command you have nine Legions, intire, from
 Vol. II. M m “ Judea

“ Judea and Syria and Egypt; forces by no wars exhausted,
 “ by no mutinies debauched, but men assured by long
 “ regularity and trial, and accustomed to victory over
 “ foreign foes. From your shipping and fleets, from auxi-
 “ liary battalions of foot, and squadrons of horse, you
 “ have powerful succours and reserves. You have con-
 “ federate Kings for your faithful adherents; and, what
 “ surpasses the assistance of all men, you have your own
 “ ability and experience.

“ To my self I arrogate nothing, further than that I
 “ be not ranked behind VALENS and CECINA. Yet do
 “ not therefore scorn MUCIANUS for an associate, because
 “ you find that he pretends not to be your rival. I
 “ prefer my self to VITELLIUS, and to my self you.
 “ Your house is distinguished with triumphal honours,
 “ and you are the father of two sons both in the bloom
 “ of life; one of them already capable of sustaining the
 “ weight of Empire, one who in his first essays in war,
 “ amongst the German Armies, acquired with them too
 “ a name of renown. Absurd it were in me not to yield
 “ the Empire to him whose son I should presently adopt,
 “ if I my self were Emperor. For the rest; of the good
 “ and evil of fortune an equal measure will by no means
 “ accrue to us both; since if we conquer, the honour
 “ which you shall chuse to bestow, I shall enjoy. Risques
 “ and dangers we shall bear alike: or, which is more eli-
 “ gible, do you command these armies here: and upon
 “ me confer the direction of the war, and the ambiguous
 “ events of battle. More rigidly at this very time are
 “ rules and discipline practised by the conquered than by
 “ the conquerors; as the former are through indignation,
 “ through despite and thirst of vengeance awaken’d and
 “ prompted to magnanimity; while the others from a
 “ spirit of conceit and loftiness, and disdain of duty, are
 “ lapsing fast into effeminacy and languor. Amongst the
 “ victorious party there are grievous wounds now covered
 “ and inflamed, such as the war it self will not fail to
 “ discover and lay open. Nor do I place higher confi-
 “ dence in your known vigilance, parsimony and wis-
 “ dom, than in the stupidity, folly and cruelty of VITEL-
 “ LIUS. Add, that safer is our lot in war than in peace:
 “ for,

“ for, they who consult about revolting, have already
“ revolted.”

AFTER this discourse from MUCIANUS, the rest grew more confident. They surrounded him, exhorted him, and before him laid the propitious responses of Oracles, and position of the Stars. Neither was he exempt from such superstition; he, who coming soon after to be Emperor, retained openly about him one SELEUCUS a Fortuneteller, to guide his counsels and prognosticate events. In his mind he revolved certain presages past. In his grounds a cypress tree signally tall had suddenly fallen, and on the day following, rising again upon the same foundation, resumed fresh growth and verdure, with more height and a thicker trunk. A mighty omen this and big with felicity, according to the concurring testimony of the Soothsayers; and hence to VESPASIAN, then in his early bloom, assurance was given of signal grandeur in the State. Yet at first, by his investiture with the decorations of triumph, by bearing the dignity of the Consulship, and his renown in vanquishing the Jews, the whole presage seemed to have been literally accomplished. When he had passed through these honours, he grew to believe that the Empire was verily the thing presaged. Between Judea and Syria stands mount Carmel, the place and the Deity of the place bearing the same name. Nor is the God distinguished by any statue or any temple, but only by an altar reared and worship offered. Such is the primitive institution by tradition preserved. To VESPASIAN, as he offered sacrifice there, and while his soul was labouring under the agitations of his own occult hopes and views, BASILIDES the priest, having diligently surveyed the entrails, declared, “ whatever design it is which thou dost meditate, O
“ VESPASIAN, whether to build a house, or to extend
“ thy domains, or to enlarge thy train of slaves; to thee
“ is granted a settlement large and mighty, infinite bounds,
“ and multitudes of men.” Mysterious words these which popular fame failed not then presently to disperse, nor at this juncture to explain and apply. Neither did ought more commonly employ the tongues of the populace, or furnish more frequent matter of discourse in his own hearing;

ing; as to those who rely upon hope, such soothing speeches are more abundantly used.

HAVING now ascertained their common pursuit, they parted, MUCIANUS to Antioch, VESPASIAN to Cesarea; this the Metropolis of Judea, the former that of Syria. At Alexandria first was begun the example of transferring the Empire to VESPASIAN, through the haste and zeal of TIBERIUS ALEXANDER, who brought the Legions there to swear allegiance to him on the first of July. And this was the day kept and solemnized ever afterwards, as the first of his reign; tho the army in Judea took to himself in person the same oath on the third of July, with such signal ardour, that they would not wait the arrival of TITUS, who was then on his journey back from Syria: For by him negotiated were all the measures taken between his father and MUCIANUS. By the mere vehemence and passion of the soldiers the whole affair was transacted, without any assembly called, without drawing the Legions together.

WHILST a proper time and place were awaited for beginning the revolt, and it was yet uncertain who should declare first, a circumstance of eminent difficulty in transactions of this moment; whilst his mind was still exercised with the impulses of hope and of fear, with the call and dictates of prudence, with the force and operation of casualties; once when he came forth from his chamber, certain soldiers, in number very few, posted in their usual order and station, as if they had been ready to salute him by the wonted name of General, saluted him by that of Emperor. Thither then instantly thronged all the rest, and upon him accumulated the titles of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, and every one else peculiar to Sovereignty. His spirit now relinquished fear to follow fortune. In his aspect nothing of loftiness appeared, nothing arrogant, nor any new behaviour under his new character. As soon as he had recovered the full use of his sight dazzled at first by the glare of a change so sudden and so mighty, he spoke to them in the language and spirit of a soldier, and received returns of wishes and acclamations altogether affectionate and manifold. MUCIANUS, who only waited for these glad tidings administer'd to his soldiers, who
were

were themselves in truth chearfully disposed, the oath to VESPASIAN. He then went into the Theatre at Antioch, the place where that people are wont to assemble upon all matters of deliberation; and there to the crowd flocking to attend him and abandon'd to humour him with all fervile sycophancy, made an harangue: For, even in the Greek eloquence he could acquit himself with abundant grace, and possessed a particular talent, of heightning with notable pomp whatever he spoke and whatever he acted. Nothing so effectually enflamed the Province and the Army as what MUCIANUS affirmed, "That it was the fixt purpose of VITELLIUS to transplant the German Legions into Syria, there to enjoy a service full of gain and full of tranquillity; and, in exchange, to convey the Legions in Syria to cold encampments in Germany, a horrid climate, and a sad scene of fatigues." The truth is, not only were the inhabitants of Syria well pleased with the soldiers their accustomed guests, and in many instances were linked with them in blood and alliances; but to the soldiers too, from their ancient settlement there, their quarters were become natural and familiar, and dear as their own native dwellings.

BEFORE the fifteenth of July the whole Province of Syria had taken the same oath. To the party too there acceded King SOHEMUS with the forces of his Kingdom, a power very considerable; as did ANTIOCHUS, mighty in weath long since acquired, and of all the Kings who were vassals to Rome, the most opulent. Presently after AGRIPPA, roused by expresses secretly dispatched from his friends in the East urging him to leave Rome, departed ere VITELLIUS was aware of his design, and returned with great expedition by sea. Nor with less vigour did Queen BERENICE support the same interest, then in her full bloom of youth and beauty, and even to VESPASIAN, old as he was, very agreeable for her liberality and magnificent gifts. Allegiance was likewise sworn by all the maritime Provinces extending to Asia and Achaia, and by all the midland regions bordering upon Pontus and both Armenias; countries however where the Lieutenant Generals, their Governors, ruled without armies:

for, hitherto there were no Legions quartered in Cappadocia. At Berytus a council was established for the direction of all momentous affairs. Hither repaired MUCIANUS with a train of General Officers and Tribunes, and of all such Centurions and private men as made a signal appearance. From the army too in Judea came a number of those who were accounted the principal ornaments and glory of the camp. A multitude so mighty of foot and horse, with the pomp and parade of Kings, striving to surpass each other, furnished the appearance of the court and grandeur of an Emperor.

THE first step taken for prosecuting the war, was to enlist men, and to recall to the service the dismissed veterans. For the forging of arms fortified Cities were allotted. At Antioch money was coined, gold and silver. And all these undertakings were, in their several quarters, diligently dispatched by careful and capable inspectors. VESPASIAN himself was continually applying to all, continually pressing and encouraging them: the deserving he animated by commendations, the lazy and slow by his example more frequently than by correction; ever more forward to be blind to the vices of his friends and followers than to their virtues. Many of them he kindly raised to military commands of horse, many to be governors of Provinces with the title of Procurators, several to the dignity of Senators; men who proved to have signal merit and renown, and thereafter acquired the highest honours in the State. Some there were whose defect of virtue was supplied by fortune. Of any donative to the soldiery, neither did MUCIANUS, in his first speech, present them with other than very narrow hopes, nor in truth did VESPASIAN, in the heat of civil War, propose one higher than others had been wont to do during full peace; as he was a Leader of exemplary firmness against courting the soldiers by largesses, and thence followed by an army better and more uncorrupt. To the Parthians and Armenians Embassadors were sent, and provision made that, when the Legions were withdrawn to prosecute the civil War, the Countries behind should not be left naked and defenceless. It was resolved that TITUS should push the war in Judea, and VESPASIAN
seize

seize the streights leading into Egypt. To encounter VITELLIUS part of the forces were judged sufficient, with MUCIANUS for their Leader, and the name of VESPA-
SIAN, and propitious fate which scorns all terror and every obstacle. To all the Armies and Generals letters were sent, with orders, “ That the Prætorian soldiers, who bore
“ enmity to VITELLIUS for discharging them, should be
“ invited to arms by the offer of a reward, that of restor-
“ ing them to their former station.

MUCIANUS at the head of an expedite band, and acting like a colleague rather of the Empire than a minister of the Emperor, proceeded on his march, neither with a lingering pace, lest he should be thought to pause and procrastinate, nor with notable haste, since he would allow space for fame to swell the terror of his approach; well aware as he was, how few his forces were, and that of things remote and unseen much higher are the apprehensions than the reality. After him however there marched a huge body, the sixth Legion and thirteen thousand Vexillaries. The Fleet he commanded to be removed from Pontus to Byzantium; wavering in opinion, whether he should not let alone Mœsia, and leading his forces foot and horse straight to Dyrrhachium, beset at the same time with his Gallies the sea towards Italy; since by this course he should leave Achaia and Asia in perfect security behind him, countries which, were they left without the protection of forces, would be exposed void of arms and defence to those of VITELLIUS. Thus too VITELLIUS himself would be perplexed what quarter of Italy to guard, when he found Brundisium and Tarentum, as also the coasts of Calabria and Lucania, at once assaulted by hostile fleets.

THROUGHOUT the Provinces therefore, there prevailed the mighty uproar of warlike preparations, those of ships, and of men and of arms. But nothing proved so great an embarrassment as where to procure funds of money. This MUCIANUS urged to be the sinews of civil War, and in all processes and trials regarded neither law nor right, but only mighty treasure. On all hands accusations and delinquences were framed; and every man noted for wealth was ensnared and consigned to spoil. Afflicting grievances these
and

and intolerable; for which however the craving necessities of war furnished then an excuse. Yet afterwards too they were continued even during peace. VESPASIAN himself, it is true, in the beginning of his reign, was not wont to be rigorous in authorizing acts of injustice and oppression; but afterwards, encouraged through the continual careffes of Fortune, and by wicked advisers mis-taught, he learnt the art and pursued it confidently. Out of his own treasure too MUCIANUS helped to support the war; thus liberal of a private sum, which he was sure to repay, with large amplifications, out of the public. The rest contributed money after his example; but it was rare to find any favoured with the like latitude in recovering their share.

IN the mean time, the undertakings of VESPASIAN were notably quickened by the zeal found in the Illyrian army. In Mœsia, the third Legion revolting to his party afforded thence an example to the others there, namely the eighth, and the seventh entitled *Claudiana*, both personally devoted to OTHO, tho they had not been in the last fight. They had indeed advanced as far as Aquileia, and there meeting melancholy tidings of OTHO, used them who brought the same with insults and outrage, rent to pieces the standards bearing the name of VITELLIUS, nay at last, making spoil of the public money and sharing it amongst themselves, they acted with open hostility. Hence consciousness and dread possessed them, and from their dread proceeded their counsel and contrivance, “ That to VESPASIAN they might
 “ urge as matter of service and merit these deeds of vio-
 “ lence, for which else they must plead submission and ex-
 “ cuses to VITELLIUS.” Infomuch that these three Legions in Mœsia sent letters to solicit the army in Pannonia into the confederacy, and, if they refused, were preparing to have recourse to force and the sword. During this combustion APONIUS SATURNINUS Commander in Mœsia attempted to perpetrate a crying enormity, by dispatching a Centurion to murder TERTIUS JULIANUS, Colonel of the seventh Legion, purely to satiate his own particular pique and vengeance, which he now disguised under other names, and for his motives alledged the cause
 and

and interest of the party. JULIANUS, who had learnt his peril, furnishing himself with guides acquainted with the situation of the country, fled through the desarts of Mœsia quite beyond the mountain Hemus. Nor thenceforward was he engaged in any transaction of the war: for tho he undertook a journey to VESPASIAN, he prolonged it by divers pretences and delays, and according to the quality of the tidings brought him, speeded or lingered.

Now in Pannonia the thirteenth Legion, and the seventh called after the name of *Galba*, acceded without hesitation to the cause of VESPASIAN; as, for the defeat at Bedriacum they yet retained much grief and wrath, and yielded to the instigations of ANTONIUS PRIMUS, foremost in spirit and vigour. This man, one subject to the sentence of the law, and under NERO condemned for falsification, amongst the other evils of war, had recover'd his rank as a Senator. Being by GALBA preferred to the command of the seventh Legion, he was believed to have made frequent applications to OTHO by letters, offering to serve him in capacity of a General: he was neglected by OTHO, and remained without part in that war. Then, when the fortune of VITELLIUS appeared to be falling, he betook himself to that of VESPASIAN, and to the cause proved an addition mighty and momentous, brave as he was in his person, a prompt speaker, a rare artist in bringing other men under hate and disgust, a powerful man in popular tumults and uproar, rapacious, profuse, one during peace altogether wicked and corrupt, in war too considerable to be flighted. The Mœsian army and that of Pannonia having thus joined, drew after them the soldiers in Dalmatia, tho in this movement the Consular Commanders had no participation. In Pannonia TITUS AMPIUS FLAVIANUS bore rule, in Dalmatia POMPEIUS SILVANUS; two men very wealthy and very old. But in those quarters was found CORNELIUS FUSCUS the Procurator, one in the vigour of his age, and his descent illustrious. He had in his early youth, from a passion for solitude and repose, divested himself of the dignity of a Senator. He afterwards defended his own Colony, as Leader in behalf of GALBA,

and having for that service gained the employment of Procurator, at this time embraced the party of VESPASIAN, and to the flame of war added most furious fuel. In the rewards of perils he delighted not so much as in the perils themselves, and to acquirements long since attained and safely possessed, preferred new pursuits doubtful and dangerous. Wherever therefore they discovered minds uneasy and distemper'd, there they exerted all their might to blow up disaffection and rage. Into Britain dispatches were sent, to the fourteenth Legion, others into Spain, to the first; for that both had engaged for OTHO against VITELLIUS. Over all the Territories of the Gauls too letters were dispersed. And thus in a moment blazed forth a war extensive and terrible, as the armies in Illyricum were openly revolting, and all the rest watching the tendency of fortune and ready to follow it.

WHILST these things were transacted in the Provinces by VESPASIAN and the Leaders of his party, VITELLIUS waxed daily more contemptible, daily more stupid and resigned to sloth. In all the Villas and great Towns through which he passed, every pleasure and every diversion proved a bait to stop him: and thus he proceeded to Rome with an host vast and cumberfom. There accompanied him threescore thousand armed men, a body utterly dissolute and licentious; of underlings and attendants of the camp a larger number, with a swarm of sutlers, a crew known to be, by the bent of nature, even of all slaves the most disorderly and impudent. Add the train of so many principal officers, that of so many of the Emperor's friends; a multitude untractable to the rules of obedience, even though with a strict hand the reins of authority had been holden. The crowd, great in itself, was further surcharged by the arrival of the Senators and Roman Knights, who came from Rome to meet the Emperor; a complement which some paid from fear, many from flattery, others, and by degrees all, because they would not be singular and remain behind when the rest were going. Of the rabble there flocked thither all who through the merit of former services low and infamous, were known to VITELLIUS; Buffoons, Mimicks, and Charioteers; as in familiarities thus disgraceful he felt

marvellous

marvellous pleasure. Neither were the Colonies alone and municipal Cities consumed by furnishing such vast supplies of provision, but, as the grain was then ripe, the husbandmen themselves and their lands were stripped and laid waste, like a hostile soil.

MANY and barbarous were the murders by the soldiers committed amongst themselves, ever since the insurrection at Ticinum; as towards one another the Legions and the Auxiliaries still harbour'd mutual rancour, tho in contesting with the Peasants they were always unanimous. But the heaviest slaughter was perpetrated seven miles from Rome. Here VITELLIUS caused to be distributed amongst his soldiers a quantity of meat ready dressed, to every man his portion, as if he had been fattening a number of Gladiators; and the populace coming in droves to the camp, were scattered all over it. Some of these, aiming at a feat of archness in vogue with them, while the soldiers heeded them not, cut and conveyed away their belts without being perceived, and then asked them merrily, whether they were not begirt with their swords? The soldiers, not wont to be scorned, could not bear such mockery, and with their swords drawn fell upon the people destitute of arms and defence. Amongst others was slain the father of one of the soldiers whilst he was accompanying his son: he was soon after known, and upon his death being divulged, they ceased slaughtering innocent men. In Rome however great dread prevailed, for that the soldiers running thither before the host, were perpetually arriving and roving about. The Forum was the quarter to which they most eagerly repaired, from an earnest curiosity to behold the place where GALBA fell. Nor less horrible was the spectacle which in their own persons they afforded, their bodies covered with the skins of wild beasts, and carrying javelins huge and massy, both in their coverings and their weapons savage and grim, in behaviour too equally hideous: for, whenever they were pressed by the throng of people, which they wanted discretion to shun, or whenever they tumbled through the slipperiness of the streets, or were thrown down by the jolt of any one who was passing, they betook themselves to threats and clamour, and then instantly to violence and
their

their arms. Already too the Tribunes and Captains of horse, followed by bands of armed men, were bounding to and fro with great terror and parade.

VITELLIUS himself mounted upon a stately steed, and in his coat of armour, with his sword girt on, was advancing from the Milvian Bridge, making the Senate and People to pass on before him; but being restrained by the advice of his friends from entering the City in his warlike dress, as if the same had been taken by the sword, he put on the robe of a Senator and made an entry altogether orderly and pacific. In the front were borne the Eagles of four Legions, round about them an equal number of Standards belonging to other Legions, next twelve Ensigns of so many squadrons of horse, then the files of infantry and behind them the cavalry: There came after thirty four Cohorts distinguished suitably to the diversity of their nations or of their arms. Before their several Eagles marched the Camp Marshals, the Tribunes and principal Centurions, all apparell'd in white rayments. At the head of their several companies the other Centurions appeared, glittering with arms, and their military gifts displayed. The chains also of the common soldiers, and the trappings of their horses, yielded a resplendent shew. The whole a glorious sight, and an army worthy of an Emperor not resembling VITELLIUS. In this state he enter'd the Capitol, and there embracing his mother, dignified her with the title of *Augusta*.

THE next day he made a public speech, and in it, as if he had had for his audience the Senate and People of another City, uttered very high and pompous things of himself. Upon his activity and temperance particularly he bestowed many lofty praises, even in the presence of such as had beheld his vile doings and excesses; as indeed had all Italy, through which he had marched in a course most infamous, continually intoxicated and drown'd in voluptuousness. The crowd however, they who are ever void of thought and care, and, without discerning truth from falsehood, only skilled in the flights of flattery become long since habitual, broke out into an uproar of wishes and acclamations: and, as he refused the name of *Augustus*, they pressed him so that he

accepted it, but to as little purpose as before he had denied it.

IN a City like Rome, prone to pass censure upon every transaction whatsoever, it passed for an omen of evil portent, that VITELLIUS, who was created chief Pontif, had on the eighteenth of July published his edict concerning the celebration of solemnities divine: a day this holden inauspicious from antiquity downward, for that on it happened the tragical overthrows at Cremera and Allia. So unattentive he was, and unknowing in ordinances human and religious: and, as amongst his freedmen and friends equal stupidity was found, he behaved as if he had none about him but men infatuated and drunken. Yet in holding the assembly for creating Consuls, he assisted with apparent moderation, and towards the candidates as no other than their equal: nay studying to gain the good graces and applause of the rabble, he courted them by frequenting the Theatre as a spectator amongst them, and the Circus as a partizan: actions when proceeding from principles of virtue, truly engaging and popular, but in him accounted unseemly and vile, upon remembrance of his former life. Into the Senate he often came, even when the deliberations there were about things of small moment: and as HELVIDIUS PRISCUS, Prætor elect, chanced to offer his sentiments against those of the Emperor, he at first waxed angry, yet no further than to call upon the Tribunes of the people to support his authority thus brought under contempt. Anon, upon the interposition of friends, who dreading deeper resentment, accosted him with mitigations, he made answer, “No-thing new had happen’d, that in the Commonwealth two Senators should be of different opinions: he himself too had been wont to oppose THRASEA.” Many ridiculed the impudence of the comparison. To others it proved well pleasing, that, in representing an example of true glory, he had mentioned THRASEA, and none of the minions of power.

FOR Captains of the Prætorian Guards he appointed PUBLIUS SABINUS, raised from the command of a Cohort, and JULIUS PRISCUS then only a Centurion. PRISCUS held his authority from the interest of VALENS, SA-

BINUS from that of CECINA. Between these two favourites, always at variance with one another, no portion of power remained to VITELLIUS. All the functions of Sovereignty were administer'd by CECINA and VALENS, men long since embitter'd by mutual hate, which even during war and amidst armies had been ill disguised, and was now highly enflamed by the malignity of their several friends, and indeed by the genius of the City ever fertile in producing seeds of enmity; whilst they strive to excell each other in credit and sway, in greatness of train, in numerous levees and dependents, and whilst by others comparisons are made of their influence and grandeur. Various too and wavering were the inclinations of VITELLIUS, now partial to one, anon to another. Nor, in truth, can ever any certain assurance be placed in the possession of authority which knows no measure. Add that they despised VITELLIUS and dreaded him, as a man by every gust of passion, or by any wild strain of flattery, apt to be suddenly changed. Yet this render'd them not the more slack or remiss in seizing for themselves fine houses and gardens, and the wealth of the Empire, whilst to all the many nobles by GALBA recalled with their children from exile, a multitude indigent and deplorable, no sort of support was administer'd by the Prince, no acts of compassion shewn. That he had restored to such as were returned from banishment their jurisdiction over their Freedmen, was a concession well pleasing to the Grandees of the City, and what even the populace approved. Tho this kindness was render'd intirely abortive by the fraud of these servile spirits, who conveyed their money into hiding places, or lodged it for security in the hands of men powerful at Court. Nay some of them having enter'd into the family of the Emperor, became more mighty than their Lords and Patrons.

Now the multitude of soldiers being such as the camp could not contain, the residue, when that was full, quarter'd in the public Portico's or in the Temples, and were continually roaming all over the City. They grew unacquainted with their stations and places of arms, kept no watch, nor by any exercise or fatigue preserved their
vigour.

vigour. Surrendring themselves to the voluptuous enticements of the City, and to practices too abominable to be named, they impaired their bodies by idleness, their courage by feats of lewdness and riot. At last renouncing all regard even to health, great part of them betook themselves to the malignant quarters of the Vatican. Hence followed great mortality amongst the common men. The Germans too and Gauls, men who have bodies very subject to diseases, as they now lay upon the banks of the Tiber, were become quite baned through the extreme heat, which they could not bear, and through an intemperate delight in cooling themselves in the stream. Moreover the state and order of the soldiery, either by the efforts of malice or the drifts and intrigues of ambition, was quite vitiated and broken. A body was formed of sixteen Prætorian, and four City Cohorts, each containing a thousand men. In this enrollment VALENS assumed the larger share and superior direction; for that he claimed the merit of having redeemed CECINA himself out of impending peril. It is indeed certain, that to his arrival the party owed its vigour and revival, and by a successful battle he had stayed the severe rumour and impressions occasion'd through the slowness of his march. Add that all the soldiers of the lower Germany were wholly attached to the person of VALENS. Hence, it was believed, the fidelity of CECINA first began to fluctuate.

For the rest, VITELLIUS gave not such absolute scope to the Generals, but that to the humours of the soldiers he allowed a latitude much larger. Every particular changed his place in the service, as he listed: One desired to be enlisted into the City Troops, and however unworthy, was admitted because he himself preferr'd it: Others again, deserving of that service, were suffered to continue in the Legions or auxiliary Squadrons, if such was their own choice. Nor were there wanting some who chose it, afflicted as they were with diseases, and full of complaints against the intemperate heat of the climate. Yet from the Legions and auxiliary Squadrons their principal strength was withdrawn, and the uniformity and beauty of the camp at Rome abolished; since these twenty thousand
men

men drawn from the whole army, were rather mingled at random than chosen with discretion. As VITELLIUS was making a speech to the soldiers, they demanded the execution of ASIATICUS, FLAVIUS, and RUFINUS, Leaders amongst the Gauls; for that they had raised war in behalf of VINDEX. Neither did VITELLIUS repress such daring clamours: for, besides that he had a spirit naturally impotent and stupid, he was sensible that the day for the donative approached, and as the money still was wanting, to the soldiers he copiously granted every other concession. Upon all the Freedmen of the former Emperors a tribute was imposed in proportion to the number of their slaves. He himself, who was only solicitous to dissipate and confound, erected stables for the use of Charioteers, filled the Circus with spectacles and combats, those of Gladiators, those of wild beasts; and, as in the most flowing plenty, wantonly scatter'd treasure.

MOREOVER CECINA and VALENS, in celebrating the birth day of VITELLIUS, exhibited public entertainments of Gladiators in every street, with transcendent pomp and parade, and till that day unknown. A notable matter of joy it proved to all the profligate and debauched, as to the virtuous it gave sore disgust and regret, that in the field of MARS upon altars purposely reared, VITELLIUS solemnized the obsequies of NERO. Victims were publicly slain and burnt, the torch for kindling the sacrifice was even administer'd by the Augustal Priests, an order consecrated to the Julian Family by TIBERIUS, like that to King TATIUS by ROMULUS. Four months were not yet elapsed since the victory for VITELLIUS was gained, and already his manumised slave ASIATICUS was come to equal the Polycleti, the Patrobii, and all former Imperial Freedmen by whatever other names long since known and abhorred. In that Court no man strove to rise by virtue or ability. One only road there was to power, namely by the means of consuming banquets, by extravagant expences and efforts in beastly luxury, thus to gorge the appetites of VITELLIUS, ever craving and never satiated. He, who judged it sufficient to enjoy present pleasures, and troubled himself with no deliberations about concernments future, is believed, in so very
few

few months, to have scattered in prodigality near thirty millions of crowns. The City, one so mighty and so miserable, in the space of one year bore the burden of OTHO and of VITELLIUS; and, between such sons of wickedness as VINIUS, FABIVS ICELVS, and ASIATICVS, subsisted under a lot disgraceful and various, till to them succeeded MUCIANVS and MARCELLVS, and in truth rather different men than different measures.

THE first revolt declared to VITELLIUS, was that of the third Legion, by letters from APONIUS SATURNINVS, dispatched before he too had joined the party of VESPASIAN. Yet neither had APONIUS transmitted all and the worst, as he himself was struck with dismay upon a turn so violent and sudden; and the Emperor's friends, soothing him with flattery, softened the ill tidings with constructions overstrain'd and favourable, "That it was
" no more than an insurrection of a single Legion; in
" all the rest of the armies firm faith was found." VITELLIUS too in his speech to the soldiers reasoned in the same strain, and inveighed against the Prætorians lately discharged; "As by them, he asserted, lying rumours
" were published, and that there was no ground to fear
" a civil war." The name of VESPASIAN he took care to suppress; and all over the City soldiers were roaming, with directions to silence the bruitings amongst the populace. A precaution this which proved the chief incentive to augment the public rumour.

FROM Germany however, from Britain and both Spains, he sent for succours; but in a manner negligent and slow, as he studied to conceal the necessity which pressed him. Neither in the Provinces, and Commanders of the Provinces, was there found less remissness and lingering. In Germany HORDEONIUS FLACCVS, who already suspected that by the Batavians rebellious designs were entertained, was thence solicitous about a war which threaten'd himself; as was VETTIUS BOLANVS about the posture of Britain, a country never settled in perfect composure: and in truth both FLACCVS and BOLANVS were wavering in their views. Nor in Spain was any forwardness or expedition shewn. Over it there then presided no ruler of Consular dignity. The Commanders of the three

Legions there, men equal in authority, and such as during the prosperity of VITELLIUS would have contended for priority in acts of submission and observance, equally concurr'd to desert his falling fortune. In Africa the Legion and Cohorts levied by CLODIUS MACER, and anon by GALBA discharged, upon orders from VITELLIUS returned to the service: The youth too of the Province offered themselves to be enlisted, with signal alacrity. For, with great uprightness and popular favour had VITELLIUS ruled as Proconsul there; as had VESPASIAN in the same quality with ignominy and public hate. From hence our allies drew their conjectures concerning the reign of each; but the same were falsified by trial.

MOREOVER VALERIUS FESTUS, Governor of the Province, promoted the zeal and inclinations of the people, with exemplary fidelity at the beginning: In a short space he began to halt, and whilst to the eye of the public, he, in letters and edicts, asserted the cause of VITELLIUS, he by secret intelligence encouraged VESPASIAN; like a man who, whether this or that side prevailed, was resolved to maintain the justice of the stronger. Certain soldiers and centurions, as they passed through Rhetia and the Regions of Gaul, with letters and edicts from VESPASIAN, were seized and carried to VITELLIUS, who doomed them to execution: A greater number, concealed by faithful friends, or by artifices of their own, escaped detection. Thus all the measures and dispositions of VITELLIUS came to be daily known, whilst the counsels and schemes of VESPASIAN remained, for the most part, undiscover'd, at first through the sloth and improvidence of VITELLIUS, and afterwards the guards posted upon the Pannonian Alps obstructed the arrival of intelligence. The sea too, by the constant blowing of the Etesian wind, afforded a favourable passage to the East, but denied one from thence.

AT last, upon the irruption of the enemy into the boundaries of Italy, dismal advices on all hands arriving thoroughly alarmed him, and he ordered CECINA and VALENS to prepare for taking the field. As VALENS, who had just then arisen from a severe sickness, was staid by weakness, CECINA was sent forward. The appearance

of the German Army, so awful upon its late entry, proved far different upon this its departure: No robustness in their bodies, no vigour in their souls, their march lazy and slow, their ranks open and thin, their arms untrimmed and loosely borne, their horses foggy and lifeless; the men grown too delicate to bear the sun, or dust, or weather; and the more listless to labour they were, the greater propensity they had to disobedience and mutiny. To the rest must be added the qualities of CECINA their Commander, the arts by him long since practised to court and humour the soldiery, with his indolence lately acquired, like one by the overflowing benignity of fortune quite unbent to excess and riot. Or perhaps having already conceived designs of treason and desertion, it was an effort of his policy to break the spirit and bravery of the army. Very many believed that, through the address and intrigues of FLAVIUS SABINUS, and by the interagency of RUBRIUS GALLUS, the mind of CECINA came to be shaken, under assurances that, whatever stipulations were made previous to his changing of sides, VESPASIAN should confirm. He was likewise reminded of his old jealousy and hate towards FABIVS VALENS, that being unequal to him in favour with VITELLIUS, it behoved him to think of earning betimes countenance and authority from the new Prince.

CECINA, after VITELLIUS had embraced and dismissed him with high marks of honour, departing from Rome, sent forward part of the Cavalry to possess themselves of Cremona. Anon followed the Vexillaries of the *fourteenth and sixteenth Legions; next the fifth and the twenty second Legions. The rear of the host was composed of the one and twentieth, surnamed *Rapax*, and of the first, called *Italica*, accompanied by the Vexillaries of the three British Legions, and a chosen band of Auxiliaries. After the departure of CECINA, FABIVS VALENS wrote to those forces which he had been wont to lead, "To stay their march and await his coming; for that thus it had been settled between him and CECINA." The latter, who was present amongst them, and thence

* Here seems to be a mistake which the Commentators have not with any certainty removed.

his words of more weight, feigned to them, "That this
 " counsel had been since changed, on design that with
 " the whole might of all their forces, they might be
 " ready to sustain a terrible war just impending." He
 therefore ordered the Legions to advance with dis-
 patch to Cremona, and some part to repair to Hostilia.
 He himself turned away to Ravenna, under colour of
 conferring with the Fleet. Anon he proceeded to Pavia,
 as a secret scene proper for concerting the measures of
 treason. For, LUCILIUS BASSUS, who from the com-
 mand of a squadron of horse had been by VITELLIUS
 preferr'd at once to that of two Fleets, one at Ravenna,
 the other at Misenum, because he was not presently ap-
 pointed Captain of the Prætorian Guards, revenged this
 his unreasonable animosity by detestable treachery. Nor
 can any certainty be had, whether he drew CECINA into
 his own guilt, or whether the same pravity of spirit prompted
 both; an event usual amongst wicked men, who being
 wicked are alike. In accounting for this their revolt, the
 historians of the time have assigned motives apparently
 devised to flatter the Flavian Family, under whom they
 composed the relation of this war; namely, "That BAS-
 " SUS and CECINA were guided by a sincere concern
 " for public peace, and affection for the Commonwealth."
 It is my own opinion, that besides the temper of the men
 naturally light and unsteady, besides their utter contempt
 of faith and conscience, after they had once betrayed their
 trust to GALBA, they were likewise instigated by jealousy
 and despight, and that, rather than others should surpass
 them in interest with VITELLIUS, they would overthrow
 VITELLIUS himself.

CECINA having rejoined the Legions, employed many
 and various devices to seduce and alienate the affections
 of the Centurions and common soldiers, of themselves
 strongly devoted to VITELLIUS. By BASSUS, who was
 engaged in the same task, smaller difficulty was found;
 as the Fleet, who remember'd how lately they had served
 under OTHO, were very supple to abandon their faith to
 VITELLIUS.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
T A C I T U S.
B O O K III.

The S U M M A R Y.

THE Forces of VESPASIAN, at the instigation of ANTONIUS PRIMUS and under his leading, arrive in Italy. Military transactions in several places, and some light encounters. The Fleet at Ravenna revolts to VESPASIAN. CECINA discovers his treasonable purposes, but is seized and imprison'd by his own soldiers. The battle at Bedriacum; the army of VITELLIUS overthrown, yet, strengthened by the accession of fresh Legions, renew the battle, even in the night, but are again overcome. The Camp at Cremona assaulted, at last taken by storm. The great slaughter there. Cremona itself sacked and burnt down. VITELLIUS the while drowned in luxury; his feats of cruelty: orders PUBLIUS SABINUS to be put in bonds, JUNIUS BLESUS to be slain. FABIUS VALENS advances against ANTONIUS, but learns the late overthrow, and flies attended only by a few: he is taken at sea. Commotions in Britain, in Germany, in Dacia. VESPASIAN's Generals march towards Rome. VITELLIUS orders the passes of the Apennine to be guarded, but anon, weary of the war, makes a treaty of pacification with SABINUS, VESPASIAN's brother. The treaty broken by the violence of the German soldiers: They force SABINUS to seek refuge in the Capitol, besiege him there, storm the Capitol, and burn it to ashes. The exploits of IUCIUS VITELLIUS, the Emperor's Brother, in Campania. The whole Forces of VESPASIAN arrive at Rome; which, after much resistance and many encounters, they enter: The terrible havock and licentiousness which ensue. The tragical death of VITELLIUS. These transactions all of the same Year.



WITH fortune more propitious and greater fidelity did the Leaders of VESPASIAN's party pursue their measures for war. At Pctovio, the winter quarters of the thirteenth Legion, they met for consultation, and there deliberated, "Whether to con-

"tent themselves with only guarding the passes of the

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R r

"Pannonian

“ Pannonian Alps, till their forces from all quarters be-
 “ hind them had advanced in a body to join them; or,
 “ by a resolution more daring, march forward and venture
 “ a struggle for Italy.” They who held it adviseable to
 await the arrival of succours, and to protract the war,
 magnified “ the might and renown of the German Le-
 “ gions. Moreover there had since arrived with VITEL-
 “ LIUS the chief strength of the army in Britain. With
 “ themselves they had a smaller number of Legions;
 “ these Legions were lately routed, and tho in words
 “ they were undaunted and terrible, yet still in men
 “ vanquished less bravery was found. But by securing
 “ the Alps, they should have leisure to expect MUCI-
 “ ANUS advancing with the bands of the East. To
 “ VESPASIAN there would still remain the command of
 “ the Sea, of Fleets, and of the Provinces, all affectionate
 “ to his cause; a source whence he might raise mate-
 “ rials ample enough as it were for another and a fresh
 “ war. Thus, by a prudent and salutary delay, new for-
 “ ces would certainly accrue, and of the former none
 “ would be lost.”

IN answer to these reasonings, ANTONIUS PRIMUS
 (who in truth, from the beginning, with infinite ardour
 incited the war) argued, “ That to themselves dispatch
 “ was altogether advantageous, and to VITELLIUS only
 “ pernicious. A greater share of sloth and indolence had
 “ possessed the conquerors, than of valour and ferocity;
 “ as men no longer inured to the regularity of a camp
 “ and prepared for feats of war, but separated over all the
 “ great Towns of Italy, resigned to idleness and ease,
 “ and dreadful to none but their hosts. Nay the more
 “ furious and stern they formerly had been, with the more
 “ greediness they swallowed pleasures so ravishing and
 “ new. Moreover, by haunting the Theatres and the
 “ Circus, and following the delightful pastimes at Rome,
 “ they were utterly softened and debauched, or by dis-
 “ eases utterly wasted. But, were time allowed them,
 “ their ancient vigour would still return, by their appli-
 “ cation to the cares and pursuits of war. Not far from
 “ them lay Germany, from whence a sure recruit of for-
 “ ces; beyond the channel, Britain; just by, France; as
 “ also

“ also both Spains; from all a ready supply of men, and
 “ horses and contributions; Italy too itself in their pos-
 “ session, with the immense treasures of Rome. And
 “ should they resolve, for prevention, to recur to offen-
 “ sive arms, they were furnished with two fleets, and
 “ the Illyrian sea was open. What would then avail
 “ the streights and defence of the mountains? what the
 “ protracting of the war till another summer? Where, in
 “ the interval, was money to be had, where provisions?
 “ Doubtless, much better it were to improve the occasion
 “ presented by the soldiery; for that the Pannonian Le-
 “ gions, who had been deceived rather than vanquished,
 “ were impatient to signalize their vengeance; and with
 “ them the armies of Mœsia had brought forces by no
 “ rout diminished. If upon the number of men stress
 “ were to be laid, rather than upon the number of Le-
 “ gions, in this host was to be found superior strength,
 “ nothing dissolute, and, from a sense of disgrace, disci-
 “ pline amended. The horse, in truth, were not even
 “ then defeated, but, tho the issue proved unfortunate,
 “ had routed the cavalry of VITELLIUS. Yes, two
 “ Squadrons from Pannonia and Mœsia, in that fight,
 “ pierced quite through the ranks of the enemy. At
 “ present were united the banners of sixteen Squadrons;
 “ a body, who, with the shock and thunder of the on-
 “ set, nay, with the very cloud raised by them, will
 “ not fail to overwhelm and cover yonder troops of
 “ horsemen and their horses, both become unacquaint-
 “ ed with feats of war. The same measures which I ad-
 “ vise, if I am not restrained, I will pursue. You who
 “ are yet free to follow fortune on either side, stay and
 “ with you detain the Legions. To me a few Cohorts
 “ lightly equipt will be sufficient. Anon you will hear
 “ that I have opened my way into Italy, and shaken the
 “ power of VITELLIUS. You will then be glad to fol-
 “ low, and travel in the tract of one who had conquered
 “ for you.”

THESE and the like strains he uttered with eyes dart-
 ing fire, with a voice fierce and vehement, to be thence
 further heard, (for into the Council the Centurions and
 several soldiers had conveyed themselves) and with such
 effect,

effect, that he moved and influenced even such as were most cautious and provident. The crowd and the rest loaded him with praises, and scorning the resolutions of the others as cold and spiritless, extolled him as the only brave man, the only vigorous leader. This renown of his he first acquired in the late military assembly, where the letters from VESPASIAN were publicly recited. For, there he reasoned not, like most others, in a stile equivocal and obscure, with intent to wrest the interpretation hither and thither, as interest should require: He appeared to have fallen into the subject of debate with openness of expression, free from all disguise, and hence became more acceptable to the soldiers, since he thus offered himself as a sharer in their lot, whether of guilt or of glory.

THE second to him, in authority, was CORNELIUS FUSCUS the Procurator. He too was wont to treat VITELLIUS with implacable invectives, and therefore had left himself no room for hope upon ill success. TITUS AMPIUS FLAVIANUS, a man both by nature and old age slow and irresolute, provoked the suspicion of the soldiers, as if he too well remember'd his affinity with VITELLIUS; as likewise, for that having upon the first uproar of the Legions betaken himself to flight, and then of his own mere motion returned, he was believed to watch an occasion for executing some traiterous purpose. For, FLAVIANUS after deserting Pannonia, and arriving in Italy at a distance from hazard, yielded to a passion for public innovations; whence he was prompted to resume the command of Lieutenant General, and to imbroil himself in the strife of civil arms. He was excited by the persuasions of CORNELIUS FUSCUS, out of no need that he had of any vigour which was in FLAVIANUS, but only for the lustre of a Consular name, as an honourable pretence to recommend a party, just labouring to rise.

FOR the rest; to render the march into Italy secure and important, letters were sent to APONIUS SATURNINUS, to follow in haste, with his army from Mœsia. And that the Provinces thus bereft of their armies might not lye exposed to the inroads of the barbarous nations adjoining, the Chiefs of the people Jazyges (a nation of the Sarmatians) namely, those amongst them who sway their
their

their State, were taken into a fellowship in the war and retained in pay. They also offered their populace to the service, and their power of horse, in which only their whole force lyes. This civility was rejected, lest whilst we were engaged in struggles at home, they should undertake to assail us from without, or perhaps upon larger reward from the opposite side, renounce all regard to trust and obligation. Into the party were drawn *SIDO* and *ITALICUS*, Kings of the Suevians, and noted for their long reverence and constant duty to the Romans; as their people too were more observant of their plighted faith. On the side towards Rhetia guards of Auxiliaries were posted, as a country breathing great hostility to the cause, and under the Government of *PORTIUS SEPTIMINUS* the Procurator, a man in his fidelity to *VITELLIUS* steadfast and incorruptible. *SEXTILIUS FELIX* was therefore sent away with the Squadron of horse stiled *Auriana*, eight Cohorts, and the youth of Noricum under arms, to possess himself of the bank of the Oenus, a river flowing between Rhetia and Noricum. But, while of these neither side would venture an engagement, the grand competition was determined elsewhere.

WHILST *ANTONIUS* with great dispatch conducted a body of Vexillaries taken from the Cohorts, and part of the horse, to invade Italy, he was accompanied by *ARRIUS VARUS*, an Officer signal for bravery in war; a glorious character, which he derived from having served under *CORBULO*, and from the successful achievements of that great Captain in Armenia. The same man was said, in secret conferences with *NERO* to have accused *CORBULO*, and blackened his merit and great qualities. Hence by favour infamously gained, he rose to the rank of a principal Centurion; a promotion which for the present proved matter of joy, but, as it was wickedly obtained, turned afterwards to his overthrow. Now *ANTONIUS* and *VARUS*, when once they had taken possession of *Aquileia*, were admitted into all the neighbouring Towns, and particularly received at *Opitergium* and *Altinum* with many demonstrations of joy. In *Altinum* a garrison was left to oppose the Fleet at *Ravenna*; for of its revolt news were not yet arrived. Then they strengthened their party

ty with the addition of Padua and Ateste. There they learnt that three Cohorts of VITELLIUS, with the Squadron of horse called *Scriboniana*, had erected a bridge at Forum Allienum, and were posted there. To assail this band, lying void of circumspection (for this too was reported) the opportunity was gladly taken. At the dawn of day they suddenly encounter'd and subdued them, most of them unarmed. Previous orders had been given to the assailants, to content themselves with the slaughter of a few, and by terror to constrain the rest to exchange their allegiance. There were indeed some who instantly furrender'd: The greater part, by flying and breaking the bridge, escaped the violence of the foe.

AFTER the victory was grown public, and as to the party of VESPASIAN the first actions of the war had proved prosperous, there arrived at Padua two Legions, both possessed with signal alacrity of spirit, the seventh surnamed *Galbiana*, with the thirteenth named *Gemina*, and VEDIUS AQUILA its Commander. There a few days were allowed for repose: The while, MINUCIUS JUSTUS, Camp Marshal of the seventh Legion, was sent away to VESPASIAN, and snatched from the fury of the soldiers, for that he exerted an authority more rigorous than suited with a civil war. ANTONIUS at this time accomplished a thing, which having been long wished, was through popular construction heightened into a feat of high glory, by causing the Statues of GALBA, which by the violence and vicissitude of the times had been thrown down, to be restored to their wonted place and reverence in all the municipal Cities. For, he judged that by appearing to approve the reign of GALBA, and to countenance the revival of his party, credit would be derived upon his own.

It was then examined, which was the most proper place for the seat of war; and Verona was preferr'd, as it was situated amongst spacious plains, fit for encounters of horse, in which their prime force lay: besides it was deemed an exploit of notable advantage and renown, to deprive VITELLIUS of a Colony so powerful and opulent. In their march they became masters of Vicetia; an acquisition which, tho small in it self, (for 'tis a City of mean force) passed for one of mighty moment, when it

was consider'd that in it CECINA was born, and from the General of the enemy the place of his nativity was snatched. The possession of Verona was a valuable prize, and by its wealth and example strengthened the party. Moreover, by this middle situation, the Army having hemmed in Rhetia and the Julian Alps, had precluded all accession of forces from Germany. Measures these to VESPASIAN either not known, or by him forbidden: for he ordered, that beyond Aquileia no efforts of war should be made, but there the coming of MUCIANUS be expected. To his authority he added reasoning, "That
 " since Egypt, since the magazines for supplying Italy
 " with provision, since the revenues of the most opulent
 " Provinces, were all under his power; the Army of
 " VITELLIUS, through want of grain and pay, might
 " be driven to come over." MUCIANUS in repeated letters urged the same counsels, contending for "a victory void of slaughter, and exempt from tears and sorrow;" with the like false colourings, but in reality from a passion for gaining all the glory, and studying to reserve for himself the intire honour of the war. But, from quarters of the world so remote, the counsels arrived after the affairs were determined.

ANTONIUS therefore making an excursion extremely sudden, assaulted the quarters of the enemy; where having in a light encounter tried their vigour, they parted on both sides upon equal terms. In a short space, CECINA pitched his camp between Hostilia, a village in the territory of Verona, and the marshes of the river Tartarus; secure in his situation, as behind he was defended by the river, on each side by the marsh. What he wanted was fidelity; else 'twas in his power, with the whole forces of VITELLIUS under his command, either to have utterly overwhelmed such a small band as two Legions, or driven them back again, and forced them to abandon Italy by a shameful flight. But CECINA framing delays manifold, to the enemy traiterously sacrificed the first season and opportunities of fighting; continuing by letters to reprimand them, when by arms it was easy to have routed them; till by the intercourse of messengers he had settled the stipulations of his disloyalty. In the mean time
 arrived

arrived APONIUS SATURNINUS, with the seventh Legion, named *Claudiana*. Over the Legion there commanded VIPSTANUS MESSALLA, in quality of Tribune, a man sprung from a race signally noble, in his own person illustrious, and the only one who upon worthy designs engaged in that War. To these forces, no wise equal to those of VITELLIUS, (for as yet they were no more than three Legions) CECINA sent letters. In them he condemned their rashness, that men just vanquished should again venture upon arms. The bravery of the German Army he displayed in high praises. His expressions of VITELLIUS were scanty and no other than common; and against VESPASIAN not a contumelious word was dropt. In conclusion, nothing was said tending either to tempt the enemy, or to terrify them. In answer, the Leaders of VESPASIAN's forces, without excusing their fortune past, mentioned VESPASIAN in strains high and swelling, expressed mighty assurance in their cause, declared themselves secure of the issue, and treated VITELLIUS in the stile of enemies avowed. To the Tribunes and Centurions they gave room to hope, that whatever favours they had from VITELLIUS received, they should still retain; and, in terms sufficiently plain, exhorted CECINA to desert one cause for the other. In a public assembly of the soldiers both letters were recited, and served to heighten their confidence, since CECINA had written in language so submissive, like one under awe of VESPASIAN; and their own Generals in a stile of scorn, with bold and open insults upon VITELLIUS.

UPON the arrival, thereafter, of two Legions, the third led by DILLIUS APONIANUS, the eighth by NUMISIUS LUPUS, it was judged proper to make a display of their forces, and to draw an entrenchment round Verona. As to the Legion named *Galbiana* it fell to work upon the quarter fronting the opposite camp, the sight of some horse of their own, mistaken at a distance for the enemy, filled them with panic fear. In an instant they grasped their arms, and against TITUS AMPIUS FLAVIANUS, now charged as a traitor, the wrath of the soldiers raged, from no proof or indication of guilt; but, as they had long since borne him mortal rancour, his bloody doom was demanded

demanded with uproar, like that of a tempest. In vehement and repeated clamours they accused him, “ as the kinsman of VITELLIUS, a traitor to OTHO, and “ guilty of appropriating to himself the donative intended “ for them.” Liberty for defence there was none, tho in the posture of a suppliant he implored it, with his hands humbly extended, his body for the most part prostrate upon the earth, his garments rent, his face and bosom convulsed with the emotions of anguish. To men enflamed with bitterness and rage, even this his distress proved a fresh incentive, as if by dread so excessive he bewrayed his guilt. A PONIUS, as he attempted to speak, was silenced by the cries of the soldiers. In clamours too, and fierce noise they refused to hear the rest. To ANTONIUS only their ears were found open: For, besides the talent of eloquence, and his arts in soothing a multitude, he was withal of great weight and estimation. He, when the sedition was growing extreme and tragical, and from bitter words and revilings they proceeded to deeds of violence and the sword, ordered FLAVIANUS to be cast into irons. The soldiers perceived the evasion, and forcing away such as guarded the Tribunal, were about to perpetrate the murder. ANTONIUS opposed them with his sword drawn, with protestations that he himself would first perish by their hands or his own; and wherever he espied any particular known to him, or distinguished by the ornaments of their station in the army, all such he called by name to assist him. Then turning towards the Ensigns and Deities military, he besought them, “ That upon the armies of their enemies “ they would rather pour that blind fury, and that spirit of dissention.” By this means the sedition came to subside, and the day now closing, they all dropped off to their several tents. That very night FLAVIANUS departed, and, on his way to VESPASIAN met letters from him, such as left him no longer any cause of fear.

THE Legions, as if they had run mad with some infectious phrenzy, next assailed A PONIUS SATURNINUS, General of the forces from Mœsia, with outrage the more implacable, for that they began not as before, when fatigued with the toil and duty of the day, but burst into

this insurrection at noon, provoked by certain letters dispersed abroad, which SATURNINUS was believed to have written to VITELLIUS. As amongst the soldiers of old, to surpass each other in modesty and feats of valour was their only contention, they at this time vied in impudence and mutinies: hence they resolved that they would demand the execution of APONIUS with no less boldness and violence, than they had that of FLAVIANUS. For, as the Mœsian Legions urged that in procuring vengeance to the Pannonian, they themselves had assisted; and, as the Pannonian Legions appeared to think that by the sedition of others their own was obliterated; both rejoiced in repeating their guilt. To the gardens where SATURNINUS was retired, they straight proceed: Nor to ANTONIUS, nor to APONTIANUS nor to MESSALLA, tho they used every effort, did he so much owe his deliverance as to a hiding place singularly obscure, having conveyed himself into the furnaces of some baths by chance not then used. Anon having dismissed his Lictors, he retired to Padua. When the Leaders of Consular name were withdrawn, to ANTONIUS alone remained the power and sway over both armies, by the concession of his equals, the other Commanders of Legions, and by the bent and partiality of the soldiers. Neither were there wanting those who believed both these seditions to have been moved by the intrigues and contrivance of ANTONIUS, that upon himself alone might devolve the glory and emoluments of the war.

NEITHER in the party of VITELLIUS were their spirits found more pacific and composed; nay, amongst them prevailed convulsions more fatal, as their disorders arose not from suspicions harboured by the crowd, but from the infidelity of their Leaders. The Marines at Ravenna, men already wavering in their inclinations, as the greater part were natives of Dalmatia and Pannonia, (Provinces engaged to VESPASIAN) were gained over to his party by the influence of LUCILIUS BASSUS, Commander of the Fleet at that City. For the execution of the treason the night was chosen, that the authors of the revolt only might, unknown to the rest, assemble in the quarter of arms. BASSUS, whether he were ashamed, or whether he

he feared what the issue might prove, awaited the success privately at home. The Captains of the Gallies fell upon the Images of VITELLIUS, demolishing them with terrible uproar, and after some few who resisted were slaughtered, the rest of the crowd, from fondness for public changes, espoused the cause of VESPASIAN. Then went forth LUCILIUS, and publicly owned, that from his own counsels and orders the defection had sprung. The Fleet for their Commander chose CORNELIUS FUSCUS, who thither made quick dispatch. BASSUS, put under custody, but honourably treated, was conveyed by some light vessels to Hadria, and by MENNIUS RUFINUS, who commanded a squadron in garrison there, thrown into bonds, but presently released upon the arrival of HORMUS Freedman to VESPASIAN: for, he too was considered in the rank of General Officers.

CECINA, when he found that the revolt of the Navy was divulged, assembled in the quarter of arms all the principal Centurions and a small number of common soldiers, whilst the rest were dispersed upon the several duties of the service; for, he warily chose the season of most solitude in the camp. He there extolled “ the
“ magnanimity of VESPASIAN, and the power of his
“ party. The Fleet, the magazin of provisions, was re-
“ volted; both Spains, and all the Gauls, were enemies
“ declared; upon Rome, where was nothing sound, there
“ could be no reliance:” with the like representations concerning VITELLIUS, all in the worst colours. He then forthwith gave them the oath to VESPASIAN, and they who were his accomplices setting an example, the rest, astonished and disconcerted by an event so sudden and strange, took it after them. At the same instant the Images of VITELLIUS were pulled down and defaced, and messengers dispatched to acquaint ANTONIUS with the whole. But, as soon as through the whole camp news of the defeat were spread, the soldiers flocked to the quarter of arms; and, as they beheld the name of VESPASIAN set up, the effigies of VITELLIUS flung down, the first effect of their surprize was a silence profound and universal: then, in a moment burst out, as from one mouth, a torrent of resentment and expostulations. “ Was
“ the

“ the glory of the German Army fallen thus low, that
 “ without fighting a battle, without receiving a wound,
 “ they should yield their hands to be bound, like men
 “ vanquished, or surrender their arms like captives? For,
 “ in truth, what Legions had they to dread? were they
 “ not the Legions already routed? and even from these
 “ were wanting the first and the fourteenth; men who
 “ constituted the only strength of OTHO’s army, yet men
 “ whom, in the same field, they had routed and over-
 “ thrown; that thence they themselves, yea so many
 “ thousand brave men in arms, might now be presented
 “ to ANTONIUS a fugitive and exile, like a drove of
 “ slaves such as are exposed to sale in a market. Yes,
 “ eight Legions were to appertain, as subordinate succours,
 “ to a single Fleet. Such was the good pleasure of BAS-
 “ SUS, such that of CECINA; that after they had divested
 “ the Emperor of his houses, of his gardens, of his trea-
 “ sures, they would also divest him of his soldiers, tho
 “ in their force not impaired, in their persons no wise
 “ maimed, but in full vigour; thus to be render’d def-
 “ picable even in the eyes of VESPASIAN’s party. To
 “ such as should thereafter ask them either concerning
 “ their exploits and success, or their losses and disasters,
 “ what answer should they be able to make?” These
 were the cries of each, these the cries of the whole, all
 fiercely uttered, suitably to the indignation of particulars:
 and with the fifth Legion who began, the rest readily
 concurr’d, in replacing the Images of VITELLIUS, and
 putting CECINA in irons. For their Leaders they chose
 FABIVS FABVLLVS, Commander of the fifth Legion,
 and CASSIVS LONGVS, Camp-Marshal. Certain Marines
 belonging to the three light Gallies, they butchered; men
 unapprized of what had passed, free from guilt or design,
 and only through hazard falling in their way. Their
 camp they relinquished, and breaking the bridge, marched
 back again to Hostilia, from thence to Cremona, there
 to rejoin the first Legion named *Italica*, and the one and
 twentieth surnamed *Rapax*, the same which CECINA had
 sent forward with part of the cavalry to take possession
 of Cremona.

WHEN

WHEN to ANTONIUS these transactions were known, he resolved forthwith to attack the enemy thus involved in animosities, and divided in their forces and affections, ere the Leaders had recovered authority, the soldiers their discipline and obedience, or the Legions spirit and boldness by uniting. For he imagined that FABIVS VALENS must ere now have left Rome, and would upon learning the desertion of CECINA, travel with great celerity. FABIVS too bore firm faith to VITELLIUS, and was no novice in war. Besides, it was feared that a huge host of Germans were advancing through Rhetia; and VITELLIUS had ordered succours to repair out of Britain, and Gaul, and Spain; the whole a source of war terrible and consuming, had not ANTONIUS, in dread of this very thing, by hastening to engage, anticipated the victory. With his whole army he marched from Verona, and the next evening encamped at Bedriacum. The day following, he sent abroad his auxiliary Cohorts into the territories of Cremona, that under colour of supplying the army with provisions, they might become hardened in the practice of civil plunder. The Legions were detained the while, to fortify the camp. He himself at the head of four thousand horse, travelled eight miles from Bedriacum, thence to afford the Cohorts greater security and latitude in their ravages. The scouts, according to custom, were at a greater distance, intent upon discoveries.

It was now about the fifth hour of the day, when there arrived one upon a fleet horse with tidings, “ that
“ the enemy approached; before the rest a small band
“ advanced; and, on every side was heard the agitation
“ and tumult of their march.” Whilst ANTONIUS was concerting what measures to take, ARRIUS VARUS forward to acquit himself a notable champion, rushed out with a party of the most resolute horse, and routed the front of the enemy, yet with small slaughter; since, as there flew many to support their fellows, the fortune of the encounter changed, and whoever had been keenest in pursuing, proved only the last in flying. Nor indeed was this hasty step taken by the approbation of ANTONIUS, who judged that the issue would be such as it

happened. He now exhorted those about him, to prepare with undaunted spirit for battle, and posting his troops upon each hand, left a passage between for the reception of VARUS and his horsemen. To the Legions orders were dispatched to arm: Over the country notice to the Cohorts was every where given, to quit their pillage, and hasten the several nearest ways to the combat. VARUS in the mean time, in terrible affright, had conveyed himself into the thickest of his band, and upon them brought general dread. Routed they were, not the wounded only, but such as had received no hurt, all miserably struggling under their own fears, and with ways streight and obstructed.

No part belonging to the duty of an undaunted commander or to that of a most courageous soldier, did ANTONIUS omit during this consternation. Such as were dismayed he animated, such as had recoiled he stayed. Wherever the greatest efforts were required, wherever any hope was presented, he readily assisted, here with counsel and orders, there with his sword; to the enemy remarkable by his voice, to his own soldiers manifest in person. At last to such a degree of fervour he was transported, that with his javelin he transfixt a standard bearer who was flying, and seizing the standard, with it instantly confronted the foe. An hundred, and no more, struck with shame to desert their General, returned to the fight. From the place where they fought they drew their advantage and relief; for the way was but narrow, and the river too running behind (now that the bridge was broken) by its high banks and uncertain depth, interrupted the flight. This necessity it was, or perhaps it was fortune, which restored the forces of VESPASIAN just sinking under a defeat. As they were firmly compacted together, they sustained, with ranks close and impenetrable, the assaults of VITELLIUS his men, who poured in, like a rash multitude, loose and unguarded: hence consternation seized them, and dismay. ANTONIUS urged their disorder, pursued the discomfited, broke and overthrew such as stood. The rest, the while, betook themselves to plundering, to making captives, to seizing horses and arms, just as their several inclinations prompted them. Such
too

too were the shouts of joy as to reach those whom fear and flight had just before scattered over the country; and they now returned to share in the victory.

FOUR miles from Cremona were descried the refulgent Eagles of two Legions, that called *Rapax*, and that named *Italica*. Thus far they had come, encouraged by the success of their cavalry, who, in the first encounter, had proved victorious. But when fortune changed, they would not open their ranks, would not afford reception to their unfortunate friends, beaten and flying; would not advance towards the enemy nor take the opportunity of falling upon forces spent with fighting and long pursuit; an opportunity which probably might have rendered them victorious. In truth, during prosperity they perceived not so sensibly the use of a General, as in adversity that they wanted him. Upon this body already fluctuating and irresolute, the conquering cavalry made an onset, supported by VIPS TANUS MESSALLA with the Auxiliaries from Mœsia; men who, however suddenly they had been levied, were in feats of war deemed equal to the soldiers of the Legions. Moreover the neighbouring walls of Cremona, the surer hopes of refuge they yielded them, left them so much the less spirit to maintain the conflict.

NEITHER did ANTONIUS further urge his victory: He was mindful of the condition of his men and horses, wasted with heavy fatigue and afflicted with many wounds, in a battle which, however successful in the issue, had proved so doubtful and perillous. In the close of the evening arrived the whole power of VESPASIAN'S army. As they marched over hills of slain, and through the monuments and traces of a carnage so recent, they concluded the war to be completely finished, and insisted to be led directly to Cremona, either to bring these vanquished forces to surrender, or to force the place. This was the plausible language which openly they used: but privately every particular reasoned with himself in the terms following; "That the City, as it was situated in
" a plain, might be taken by storm. In forcing an en-
" trance in the dark, they should be prompted with the
" same resolution, and have greater latitude for spoiling.
" Now if they awaited the return of day, presently sup-
" plications

“ plications would be offered, presently peace would be
 “ accepted; and for their toils and wounds they should
 “ only reap renown and the praise of clemency, grati-
 “ fications barren and vain; but to the Commanders of
 “ Legions and principal Officers would accrue the wealth
 “ of Cremona: since to the soldiers belonged the plunder
 “ of a town taken by the sword, as to the Leaders,
 “ when gained by surrender.” The authority of their
 Tribunes and Centurions they utterly slighted; and to
 drown the voice of any one who offered to reason with
 them, they thundered with their arms, ready to renounce
 all command unless they were forthwith led on.

ANTONIUS having now conveyed himself into the
 crowd, after he had by his presence and authority pro-
 cured silence, declared, “ That of no part of their glory,
 “ of no part of their recompence sought he to deprive
 “ men so well deserving: but between an army and its
 “ Leaders the duties were shared and distinct. To the
 “ soldiers it appertained to dare danger, to long for the
 “ combat. The Generals shewed their excellence in pro-
 “ viding against exigences, in concerting judicious mea-
 “ sures; nay oftner by patience and procrastination, than by
 “ haste and hazard, their success was obtained. As he
 “ had, at the peril of his life, and by the dint of his sword,
 “ promoted the late victory with all his might, he was
 “ ready to contribute the assistance of his counsels and
 “ opinion; parts essential to a General. In truth, the
 “ difficulties to be encounter’d, admitted no question
 “ or doubt; namely, the night, the unknown situation
 “ of the City, the enemy masters of it, on all hands
 “ opportunities for circumvention and ambush. Enter
 “ they ought not, even though the gates were thrown
 “ open, even though it were full day, till after sure search
 “ and intelligence. Would they indeed begin the assault,
 “ while yet bereft of light to discover where lay the
 “ most easy and accessible places, or what was the height
 “ of the walls? Or before it was determined whether the
 “ City were to be attacked by missive engines and flights
 “ of darts, or by works and machines for battery?” Then
 turning round to particulars, he enquired of each, “ If
 “ with him he had brought a hatchet, a pickax, and other
 “ utensils

“utenfils for besieging towns?” As they owned that they had not; he cried, “With swords and spears alone can any hands possibly break through and overthrow City-walls? Should we be constrained to throw up a rampart; should it prove necessary to shelter our selves under penthouses of boards, and sheds of hurdles; must we not, in such distress, remain like the vulgar herd, ever thoughtless and improvident, impotently staring at the lofty towers and strong bulwarks of our enemies? Better it is to delay for one night; and, when our warlike engines and machines are brought, carry with us power and victory.”

AT the same instant he dispatched to Bedriacum the attendants and followers of the camp, accompanied by the freshest of the cavalry, to bring a supply of provisions, with whatever else the present exigency required. As the soldiers could not bear this but with impatience and regret, an insurrection was just beginning, when some horsemen, who had advanced close to the walls of Cremona, there seized certain stragglers from thence. By them a discovery was made, “That six Legions of VI-
“TELLIUS, and the whole host which had quartered at Hostilia, having learnt the defeat of their fellows, had that same day marched thirty miles, and were just approaching arrayed for battle.” The minds of the men, otherwise stubborn and ungovernable, upon this terrible alarm, became pliant and open to the counsel of their Commander. The third Legion he ordered to post themselves upon the Posthumian highway. Adjoining to it, upon the left, stood the seventh, called *Galbiana*, in the plain; next to this the seventh named *Claudiana*, to which a common ditch, such as the country presented, served for an entrenchment. Upon the right was placed the eighth, in fields open to the great road; then the thirteenth, interspersed in a close copse. Such was the disposition of the several Eagles and Ensigns of the Legions. The soldiers were intermixt in the dark, at the allotment of chance. Next to the third Legion stood the banner of the Prætorians; the auxiliary Cohorts upon the wings; and the Cavalry covered the flanks and the rear. SIDO and ITALICUS from Suevia, at the head

of a choice band of their nation, served in the foremost ranks.

Now the army of VITELLIUS, who in all discretion ought to have rested at Cremona, and, having by meat and sleep recover'd their vigour, fiercely beset the enemy next day, and pushed them to an overthrow, while spent and disabled with cold and fasting; yet, wanting a ruler and destitute of counsel, about the third hour of the night, rushed precipitately upon the forces of VESPASIAN already prepared and even embattled. Under what form they came on to the assault, I dare not undertake to explain, disorder'd as it was by darkness and their own rage: though others have recounted, that the fourth Legion named *Macedonica* occupied the right wing; that the fifth and fifteenth, strengthened with the Vexillaries of the ninth, the second, and the twentieth, (all three British Legions) constituted the main battle, and, that the sixteenth, the two and twentieth, and the first, furnished the left wing. The soldiers of those called *Rapax* and *Italica* had mingled themselves throughout all the companies. The cavalry and auxiliary bands chose their own station. During the whole night the combat held ambiguous, shifting, tragical; now destructive to these, anon to those. Nothing availed bravery, and nothing strength, nor in truth the eyes, now deprived of discernment. In both hosts the arms were alike, and the watch word of each, by being frequently asked and repeated, became known to the other. Intermingled without distinction were the standards, just as opposite parties could seize them from their enemies, and pull them hither and thither. Most sorely beset was the seventh Legion, one lately by GALBA enrolled. Out of it six Centurions of principal rank were slain, and some of the ensigns were taken. The Eagle itself ATILIUS VERUS had preserved; the chief Centurion this, who in its defence slew heaps of the enemy, and at last perished himself.

To his sinking battalions ANTONIUS administer'd support, by calling to their assistance the body of Prætorians. They at the first encounter repulsed the foe, and anon suffered a repulse. For, the soldiers of VITELLIUS had now removed their missile engines, and planted them

upon the ridge of the Posthumian way, that thence with more room and over the clear fields they might discharge their deadly contents, which before flew at random, and without annoying the foe, smote the bushes. One of amazing bulk, of the sort called *Balistæ*, belonging to the fifteenth Legion, overthrew the enemy's ranks, by pouring upon them great massy stones; and destruction more extensive had followed, but for two common soldiers, who adventur'd upon an exploit of signal renown. From amongst the slain they furnished themselves with shields, and passing undiscover'd, cut the ligatures and springs of the engines. They were indeed presently slaughter'd, and thence their names have perished: Of the action itself, no doubt is made. To neither side was fortune yet leaning, when the night being well nigh spent, the moon rising presented the contending armies to sight, but deceived the eye. More favourable however she proved to that of VESPASIAN, as she shone upon their backs: for, against the shadows of the men and horses, thus magnified, as against their real bodies, the darts and arrows of the enemy were deceitfully directed, and fell ere they reached their aim. The bands of VITELLIUS, who from the reflection in front stood clear in view, were exposed, quite defenceless and surprized, to be galled by men who thus annoyed them as it were from a hiding place.

ANTONIUS therefore, now that he could distinguish his own men, and be by them distinguished, set himself to animate them severally by different instigations, some by shame and reproof, many by applause and exhortation, all by hopes and promises. The Legions from Pannonia he asked, "From what motive they had again
 "betaken themselves to arms? This was the field in which
 "they might obliterate the stain of their former disgrace;
 "here they might recover their glory." Then turning to those from Mœsia, he roused them, "As the men
 "who began the revolt, and were the first movers of the
 "war. In vain they had defied the powers of VITEL-
 "LIUS with big words and menaces, if they could not
 "bear their looks and blows." In this manner he reasoned with such as he happened to accost. To the third Legion he discoursed more copiously, and to their memory recalled

recalled their feats of renown ancient and late; “ How
 “ under ANTHONY they had overthrown the Parthians,
 “ under CORBULO the Armenians; and not long since
 “ discomfited the Sarmatians.” He next applied, with
 great wrath, to the Prætorians. “ For you, said he, if
 “ you conquer not now, what other General will ever
 “ receive you, what other camp will admit you, who
 “ are no longer soldiers, but degraded? Yonder amongst
 “ the foes are your banners and your arms, and yonder,
 “ if you are vanquished, death abides you; for, of your
 “ shame you have already seen the end.” There ensued
 from every quarter cries and shoutings; and just then the
 third Legion, according to the Custom in Syria, paid
 their adoration to the rising sun.

FROM this incident a rumour flew, whether fortui-
 tous or by the General contrived, “ That MUCIANUS
 “ was arrived, and between the armies mutual salutations
 “ had passed.” Instantly they pressed to a closer charge,
 as if really reinforced by fresh succours. In truth, VITEL-
 LIUS his host were already become looser and disjoined;
 as men who, without a Leader to controul them, closed
 or opened just as particulars were moved by the impulse
 of their own fury or fear. When ANTONIUS perceived
 them disorder’d and plying, he pushed them vehemently
 with a strong and condensed band; and their ranks yield-
 ing were utterly broken: nor was it possible to restore
 them, as they were embarrassed and obstructed by their
 own carriages and engines. The conquerors too, eager
 to pursue, covered in parties the whole way. The more
 signal was this slaughter, for that in it a son slew his fa-
 ther. I shall here recount the fact and the names of the
 men, as the same are recorded by VITSTANUS MESSALLA.
 JULIUS MANSUETUS, a native of Spain, lifting in the
 Legion called *Rapax*, left behind him at home a son,
 then a boy. He afterwards growing up, and having been
 under GALBA enrolled into the seventh Legion, happened
 here to confront his father, and wounded him so that he
 fell. Whilst he rifled this his parent just expiring, he
 was by him known, and knew him again. He then em-
 braced his pale corpse, and with a voice doleful and sad,
 supplicated the manes of his father “ to be atoned, nor
 “ to

“ to hold him in horreur as a parricide; upon the Public only the crime was to be charged; and, in a general tumult of civil arms, poor and diminutive was the part of a single soldier.” He at the same time lifted up the body, digged a grave, and towards his parent discharged the last duty. Such who were nearest observed what passed, as did then many more. Hence through the whole host the wonderful accident flew, with many wailings, and with bitter execration upon a war thus unnatural and barbarous. Yet with ne’er the more reluctance they proceeded first to butcher, then to spoil their kinsmen, their relations, nay their brethren. They tell, what a crying iniquity has been done, and do it.

UPON their approach to Cremona, there presented it self a task altogether new and immense. In the war against OTHO, the soldiers from Germany had pitched their camp quite round the walls, and quite round their camp had drawn a great trench; and to this too had since added fresh bulwarks. At sight of all these the conquerors were checked, and hesitated, as in truth their Leaders were unresolved what directions to give. To proceed to the assault with an army already wasted and weary with the continued toils of a day and a night, were an enterprize full of difficulty; and, as no succour or refuge was nigh, it were full of danger. If to Bedriacum they should return, intolerable were the fatigue from a journey so long, and vain and abortive would then prove their victory gained. Should they here stay and encamp, this too was a course to be dreaded so near the enemy: for that by a sudden fall he might attack and distress the men when dispersed and employed in their works. Above all their apprehensions was that administer’d by their own soldiers, men apter to tempt perils than to bear delays. To them all measures that were safe were distasteful, and in feats of temerity they placed their hopes: so that for all the slaughter which they suffered, for all their gorings, and their blood spilt, they found full compensation in the lust and fruition of spoil.

To this humour ANTONIUS yielded, and ordered the soldiers, in the form of a ring, to invest the entrenchment for an equal assault. At first the conflict was main-

tained by distant volleys of stones and arrows; whence upon the forces of VESPASIAN the forest havock fell, as against them blows were dealt with force superior from above. Anon he assigned different stations to the Legions, round the ramparts and against the several gates; that by thus dividing the task into lots the coward might be distinguished from the brave, and a competition for glory animate all. To the third Legion and the seventh belonged the quarter facing the road to Bedriacum; as did that upon the right hand to the eighth, and to the seventh named *Claudiana*. The ardour of the thirteenth Legion carried them directly to the Port towards Brixia. There ensued a short respite, till from the neighbouring fields were brought spades and pickaxes by some, by others hooks and ladders. Then raising their shields over their heads, and thence forming a continued shell, under its shelter they advanced to the foot of the bulwarks. On both sides was possessed the military prowess of Romans: The bands of VITELLIUS hurled down quantities of stones immensely large; and as the shell thus battered became loose and tottering, with spears and long poles they pierced and rent it, till they had thus quite dissolved the contexture of the shields; then beat to the ground the men beneath, and slaughter'd or maimed them with huge havock.

THE onset began to slacken and discontinue, till the Leaders who found the soldiers exhausted, and unmoved by exhortations barren of profit, pointed to Cremona and offered it as their spoil. Whether by HORMUS this device was started, as MESSALLA recounts, or whether more credit be due to the authority of CAIUS PLINIUS, who charges it upon ANTONIUS; is a doubt which I cannot easily clear. I shall only say that, even in this proceeding, crying and horrible as it was, neither did ANTONIUS, nor did HORMUS, in the least vary from the course of their past lives and infamy. Thus encouraged nothing could scare or retard the men: regardless of wounds and blood, they laboured to demolish the rampart, pressed and battered the gates, stood upon the shoulders of one another, climbed upon the shell of shields now restored, and seized the weapons in the hands of the enemy, nay the

the hands too which held them. Together headlong tumbled the hale and the maimed, such as were half dead with such as were just dying; and together they perished under various forms: so that here in all its ghastly views, the horrors of death were displayed.

By the seventh Legion and the third the fiercest conflict was maintained. The General too, ANTONIUS, with a select detachment of Auxiliaries, exerted himself in the same quarter. When the party of VITELLIUS were no longer able to sustain the shock of men all obstinately combined to succeed or die, and as their discharges from above were all dissipated by the shell of shields below; they at last hurled down upon the assailants the missile engine itself, huge and ponderous as it was. As this failed not to crush and overwhelm those upon whom it fell, so in its own overthrow it involved that of the pinnacles and ridge of the ramparts. At the same instant the tower adjoining yielded to the continual volleys of stones, and fell. Whilst here the seventh Legion, formed into a band sharp in front, strove to enter, the third with their swords and axes broke the gate. That CAIUS VOLUSIUS, a soldier of the third Legion, was the first who forced an entrance, is apparent from the concurrence of all historians. He having mounted the rampart, pushed down all who resisted, and by his hand and his voice manifesting himself to his fellows, cried aloud that the camp was taken. The rest then burst in: for VITELLIUS his men were reduced to utter dismay and leaping with great hurry from the battlements. With the bodies of the slain was filled the whole space between the camp and Cremona.

HERE again was presented a new scene of difficulties and fatigues, the walls of the City mighty and high, strong towers of stone, with vast bars of iron the gate secured, the soldiers already brandishing their instruments of destruction, the inhabitants numerous and devoted to the party of VITELLIUS, in the town a great part of Italy assembled at the fair now holden there upon stated days: An incident this which to those who defended it yielded matter of succour, because of the multitude; and, to those who attacked it, matter of stimulation, because of the
I
prey.

prey. ANTONIUS ordered fire to be immediately set to all the most sumptuous and beautiful buildings in the neighbourhood of the City; if peradventure the people of Cremona might, by seeing their possessions destroyed, be induced to change their allegiance. Into such houses as stood near the walls and in height exceeded the battlements, he conveyed all his bravest men, enow to fill the upper stories; from whence with rafters, tiles and flaming torches, they drove away all who made opposition.

ALREADY the Legions had compacted and formed themselves into a shell, whilst others were now pouring volleys of stones and darts, when the bravery of the Vitellian bands began by little and little to droop. Each, in proportion as he excelled in rank, was forward to yield to fortune: they feared that, were Cremona too once stormed, there would be no longer room for pardon left, and all the fury of the conquerors would recoil, not upon the rabble of soldiers, bare and indigent, but upon the Tribunes and Centurions, men whose blood promised booty. The common men persisted in their opposition, they who beyond the present think not, and from the lowness of their lot derive the greater safety. They roved through the streets, or lay retired in the houses, and sought not peace even at a time when they had dropped all efforts of war. The chief Officers abolished the name and images of VITELLIUS: from CREMONA too they removed his bonds (for even then he was under them) and besought him to plead in their behalf for mercy. As he denied their suit and swelled with haughtiness and scorn, they persevered to importune him with many tears. The last instance this surely and the highest of affliction and abasement, when so many brave men were reduced to supplicate the succour of a traitor. Next they hung from the walls the sacred hoods and vails from the Temples; and, when ANTONIUS had ordered all violence to be stayed, they bore forth their Eagles and Banners. After followed the sorrowful host without their arms, and with their eyes fastened to the ground. Around them gathered the conquerors, and at first insulted them with revilings, nay were near chastising them with blows:
yet,

yet, as it was perceived how tamely the vanquished presented their persons and faces to all indignities, how they had relinquished all pride and fierceness, and bore with signal patience all their calamities, it began to be remember'd, that these were the same men, who having gained the late victory at Bedriacum, had tempered their success with lenity. But, as soon as CECINA approached, arrayed and attended with Lictors and the Robe of State, and passed in the pomp of Consul, through a lane purposely made in the throng, rage seized the conquering host. With his pride they bitterly upbraided him, with his cruelty; nay, such is the abhorrence naturally annexed to deeds of villany, that they even upbraided him for his revolt. ANTONIUS checked their violence, and furnishing him with a guard, sent him away towards VESPASIAN.

THE populace of Cremona, the while, were sorely oppressed amongst such a multitude of armed men. They were in truth threatened with a present massacre, till, by the entreaties of the Leaders, the raging soldiers became asswaged. ANTONIUS moreover calling an assembly made a speech, full of high applauses upon the conquerors, full of gentleness towards the vanquished. To Cremona his expressions boded neither mercy nor wrath. The army, besides their inherent lust of plunder, were stimulated by an old rancour to seek the overthrow of that Colony. The inhabitants were believed, even in the war against OTHO, to have supported the cause of VITELLIUS. Soon after, when the thirteenth Legion had been left to rear an Amphitheatre there, as the lower Citizens every where have spirits pert and scornful, they of Cremona had with biting and petulant jests constantly provoked and derided the men. To heighten this ill humour and despight there concurred the late combat of Gladiators presented there by CECINA, and that the same place had been now twice the seat of the war, that it had furnished the army of VITELLIUS with provisions, that even some of the women were slain in the fight, carried thither by their passionate zeal for the cause. Moreover, by means of the Fair, the City, though in itself very rich, was filled with a display of wealth still more abundant. The other Leaders were all eclipsed by ANTONIUS. Upon

him his signal fortune and fame drew all eyes. He, to wash himself from the stains of blood, had present recourse to a bath, where a word which he happened to drop, was quickly remarked and divulged. As he complained of the imperfect warmth, he added, that "it" would suddenly prove abundantly hot." A saying this which, tho' pleasantly uttered to his slaves, upon him turned the whole odium and indignation of the Public, as if by this he had given the watch word for setting fire to Cremona, which was already all in a blaze.

INTO it there had rushed forty thousand men, all in their arms; of the base retainers to the camp, a greater number and more abandoned to feats of licentiousness and barbarity. No security accrued from the age of persons, none from dignity of place, and neither proved a restraint from joining acts of constupration to those of murder, and acts of murder to those of constupration. Men stooping under a load of years, and matrons past their age, as they would yield no price, were dragged along in mockery and mirth. When in their way there fell any virgin grown, or lovely boy; after all the limbs of the tender prey were rent asunder by the struggles and competition of these sons of cruelty; then, in the rage of disappointment, with their bloody hands they butchered each other. Whilst from the several Temples they were carrying loads of treasure, or the sacred gifts and ornaments of massy gold, every one under a burthen of his own, they were themselves spoiled and slaughtered by others who were stronger. Some despising the booty which was present and obvious, by merciless tortures and stripes forced the proprietors to search out whatever they had concealed, to dig up whatever they had buried. In their hands they bore flaming torches: These they threw, as notable sport, into empty houses, such as they had just stripped, and into Temples which they had first made desolate. And, as in an army different in language and customs, an army variously composed, of Roman Citizens, of confederates and of strangers; various too and different were their passions and pursuits; and to every one some or other act of violence seemed right: nor was any act whatsoever forborn as unjust. During four whole days did Cremona
I bear

bear depredations and the flames. When under the fury of the fire all things, whether sacred or profane, had subsided, the Temple of *MEPHITIS*, standing without the walls, remained intire, whether, by its situation, not exposed, or by the interposition of the Goddess preserved.

SUCH was the end of Cremona, two hundred and eighty six years after its rise. It was founded under the Consulship of *TIBERIUS SEMPRONIUS* and *PUBLIUS CORNELIUS*, when *HANNIBAL* was ready to fall into Italy, as a barrier against the Gauls on the other side the Po, or any other power meditating an irruption from beyond the Alps. Thus it grew and flourished in number of people, convenience of rivers, richness of territory, and affinities with other nations of Italy; a Colony in all our foreign wars never hurt, but in our civil dissensions signally unhappy. *ANTONIUS*, struck with shame for the barbarity committed, which upon him was continually drawing fresh abhorrence; issued a public order, "That no one should presume to hold captive any citizen of Cremona." Vain too and unprofitable to the soldiers had such prey been rendered by the unanimous combination of Italy, to refuse the purchase of such for their slaves. Thus they who had them began to murder them. When this inhumanity became known, their kindred and relations made haste to redeem them. Shortly after the remainder of the people returned to Cremona. The places of public resort, and the Temples were restored by the liberality and contribution of the Colony. They had moreover, to encourage them, special countenance and exhortation from *VESPASIAN*.

FOR the rest; as through putrefaction and carcases the ground was polluted and noisome, the vanquishers could not long lodge upon the ruins in which the City was buried. They therefore retired three miles from thence, and finding the soldiers of *VITELLIUS* scattered and dismayed, replaccd them again, each under his former banner. Over *Illyricum* too they dispersed the conquered Legions; lest, as the civil War still subsisted, they might form dangerous designs. They thereafter sent messengers into Britain and into both Spains, there to blazon their victory;

victory; as into Gaul they also dispatched JULIUS CALENUS a Tribune, and into Germany ALPINUS MONTANUS Commander of a Cohort, two Officers chosen for ostentation and parade, as the latter was of Treves, the former an Eduan, both partizans of VITELLIUS. At the same time, guards were posted upon the passes of the Alps, from a jealousy entertained of Germany, as if for the succour of VITELLIUS that country were arming.

NOW VITELLIUS, when CECINA was departed, having in a few days after caused FABIVS VALENS to take the field, abandoning the functions of an Emperor, smothered all his cares in voluptuousness and excess, made no warlike preparations, by no military exercises preserved the vigour of the soldiers, by no pathetic harangues inspired them with confidence and zeal, shewed himself not in public, nor courted the affection of the people, but buried in the bowers and alleys of his gardens, had in oblivion equally drowned all thoughts of things past, present, and future; like certain beasts so listless and heavy, that if you throw them but provender, lye still for ever, resigned to stupidity and slumbering. Under this plight of sloth and gluttony, in the grove at Aricinum, he was alarmed with tidings of the desertion of LUCILIUS BASSUS, and the defection of the Fleet at Ravenna. Soon after came another melancholy account yet blended with joy, that CECINA had revolted but by the army was cast into bonds. In his spirit undiscerning and stupid, joy overcame anxiety. Back he returned to Rome with mighty alacrity and exultation, and in a full assembly accumulated many praises upon the duty and devotion of the soldiers. Upon PUBLIVS SABINUS, Captain of the Prætorian Guards, because of his intimacy with CECINA, he ordered chains to be put, and in his place substituted ALPHENUS VARUS.

HE presently after met the Senate, and to them addressed himself in a speech purposely framed, with strains high and boasting. To these the Senators replied in many flights of elaborate flattery. The first who proposed judgment to pass against CECINA, a judgment deadly and terrible, was LUCIVS VITELLIUS. Immediately all the rest, in a stile of indignation well studied, declared their
 abhorrence,

abhorrence, “ That he who was Consul should thus betray the Commonwealth, he who was General, his Emperor, he, upon whom had been poured riches so vast, public honours so many, his friend and benefactor.” Thus they appeared to complain in behalf of VITELLIUS, but in reality uttered their own just grief and resentment. In all their speeches not a man dropped the least invective against the opposite Leaders. They only blamed “ the mistake and indiscretion of the armies,” and with great circumspection avoided all mention of VESPASIAN. One too was found who by servile court obtained the Consulship for one day, (as so much remained of CECINA’S term) with infinite derision upon him who bestowed, as well as upon him who accepted. Upon the last day of October, ROSCIUS REGULUS began this his Magistracy, and with the day his Magistracy ended. It was by wise men observed, that never till then had one Consul been substituted to another, till the office were first abrogated, or a law solemnly published. For there had been before a Consul for one day, CANINIUS REBILUS, during the Dictatorship of JULIUS CAESAR, at a juncture when offices were shortened to gratify such as had merited in the civil War.

DURING these days was publicly known the death of JUNIUS BLESUS, and employed the tongues of all men. Concerning it I have learnt the following account. VITELLIUS, whilst he laboured under a grievous malady in the gardens of SERVILIUS, perceived, during the night, a tower in the neighbourhood illuminated with a multitude of lights. As he expressed curiosity to know the occasion, he was informed, “ That CECINA TUSCUS celebrated at his house a great banquet for many guests, but the foremost in dignity was JUNIUS BLESUS.” In recounting particulars, terrible aggravations were made and every thing misrepresented, “ What pompous preparations and parade, to what flights of gayety and mad revellings they had let loose their minds.” Nor were there wanting some to arraign TUSCUS himself and others: but they charged BLESUS as more criminal than all, “ That whilst the Emperor languished under sickness, he thus kept days of festivity and rejoicing.” When to

such as eagerly watch the passions and disgusts of Princes, it appeared manifest, that the Emperor was exasperated, and the doom of BLESUS might be accomplished, upon LUCIUS VITELLIUS was presently devolved the task of maintaining the accusation. He, from a spirit of malignity and envy, bearing special enmity to BLESUS, for that in a reputation glorious and popular, he so far surpassed himself, contaminated with every sort of infamy, went directly and opening the Emperor's chamber, caught in his arms the Emperor's son, and before him fell upon his knees. To the other, who enquired into the cause of such his confusion, he answered, "That from no dread
 " of his own, from no anxiety for himself, he came thus
 " to pour out his prayers and tears: No; it was for his
 " brother, it was for the children of his brother, that
 " these prayers were uttered and these tears flowed. In
 " vain was VESPASIAN feared, he whom so many Ger-
 " man Legions, whom so many Provinces, all faithful
 " and brave, whom finally tracts so immense of land and
 " sea, concurred to repel and confine to regions far
 " remote. It behoved him rather to guard against an
 " enemy within the walls of Rome, nay an enemy in
 " his own bosom; one who for his ancestors boasted the
 " Junian House and that of MARK ANTHONY; one
 " sprung from the race of the Cæsars, and officiously pre-
 " senting himself to the soldiers, to win their affections
 " by his complaisance, to raise their admiration of his
 " magnificence. Upon this object centered the minds of
 " all men, whilst VITELLIUS, regardless of friends and
 " enemies, cherished his supplanter, him who from amidst
 " the frolicks and wantonness of banqueting, beheld the
 " pains and agonies of the Prince. Upon the Emperor
 " it was incumbent for this night's insolent and ill timed
 " mirth, to repay him with a night doleful and deadly;
 " whence he might be convinced that VITELLIUS still
 " lived, that he still reigned, and, should fate happen
 " to remove him, had a son to succeed him."

WHILST between the iniquity proposed and fear for himself VITELLIUS wavered under perplexity and dismay, lest by deferring the doom of BLESUS he should hasten his own, and from openly ordering the execution

much public hate and horror might ensue, he found it the best expedient to dispatch him by poison. To the guilt of this black exploit he added credit and proof, by visiting BLESUS in his last moments, with glaring marks of joy. He was also heard to drop an expression full of barbarity, by declaring (for I shall repeat the very words) “That he had glutted his eyes by beholding the death of his enemy.” In BLESUS, besides the signal splendor of his race, and the elegance of his life and accomplishments, there had been found faith and allegiance not to be changed. He had been before courted by CECINA and other Grandees of the party, to join with them against VITELLIUS, whom even then they were casting off whilst his cause yet prospered without check; but, with constancy unshaken he rejected their suit, and ever shewed himself a man void of all stain, free from all faction, fond of no sudden elevation whatsoever, and so much less fond of Sovereignty, that he narrowly missed being deemed worthy of it.

FABIUS VALENS, in the mean time, at the head of a huge and effeminate host of eunuchs and harlots, advancing with a pace too slack and indolent for one who proceeded to war, received tidings sent express, that LUCILIUS BASSUS had to the enemy betrayed the Fleet at Ravenna: and had he quickened his march, he might have prevented the defection of CECINA, then halting, or at least overtaken the Legions ere the battle had been risked. Nor were there wanting some to advise him, “That with a few faithful attendants, chusing private ways, and avoiding Ravenna, he should travel directly to Hostilia or Cremona.” To others it seemed more eligible, “to send to Rome for the Prætorian Guards, and then with a powerful band force their way.” He himself, yielding to fruitless procrastinations, wasted in consulting the opportunities for acting. Anon, flighting both these counsels, and shewing neither sufficient resolution nor sufficient providence, he chose a part which in desperate exigencies is ever the worst, by following a middle course: He wrote to VITELLIUS and desired succours.

FROM VITELLIUS came three Cohorts with the Squadron of horse from Britain: a number ill concerted, too
great

great to be led by stealth, not great enough to break through the enemy. For VALENS; even under all the distress and peril that encompassed him, he forbore not to earn fresh infamy, but was branded for rioting in wicked and impure pleasures, and for defiling the houses of his several hosts with feats of adultery and constupration. He was invested with power, he was furnished with treasure, and he was now exerting the last efforts of debauchery in the overthrow of his fortune. At last, upon coming of the foot and horse, appeared the unhappy absurdity of the measures taken; since a band so small, however faithful in their adherence they had been, were neither able to march through an enemy's country, nor had with them brought perfect steadiness and fidelity. They were, however, checked by shame, and by reverence for the presence of their General; restraints these which were not likely to last amongst men thirsting after dangers, hardened against all sense of reproach and dishonour. Moved with this apprehension, and retaining with himself a few such as had not changed their affections upon the change of fortune, he sent forward the Cohorts to Ariminum: The Cavalry he ordered to guard their rear. He himself turning aside bent his course to Umbria, and from thence to Etruria. Having here learnt the issue of the battle at Cremona, he conceived a design no wise dastardly, nay one which, had it been accomplished, would have produced very terrible events. He proposed to embark for Narbon Gaul, and landing upon any part of that coast, rouse all the Provinces of Gaul, and all the Roman forces there, as also the several nations of Germany, and thence a new war.

AGAINST the garrison of Ariminum, dismayed upon the departure of VALENS, CORNELIUS FUSCUS advanced with an army, and sending small gallies round the neighbouring shore, beset them by land and sea. He also possessed himself of the plains of Umbria, and of the territories of Picenum all along the Adriatick Gulph. Thus between VESPASIAN and VITELLIUS all Italy was shared, and the ridges of the Apennine the common boundary. FABIUS VALENS having embarked in the Port of Pisa, was by a contrary wind or a calm, forced to

to land at Monaco. Not far from thence abode MARIUS MATURUS, Procurator of the Maritime Alps, a faithful adherent to VITELLIUS, one who, though all the country round espoused the opposite party, had never swerved from his allegiance. From him VALENS found a kind reception, but was deterred by him from venturing rashly into Narbon Gaul. His followers at the same time began to warp, their faith yielding to the force of fear. For into the oath to VESPASIAN, VALERIUS PAULINUS the Procurator had drawn all the States round about; an Officer this of known bravery, and VESPASIAN's friend before his elevation. In the Colony of Forojulium too, as a City which commanded all access from the sea, he held a garrison, consisting of men discharged by VITELLIUS, now again all invited to take arms, and all frankly resuming them. So much the greater also was his sway, for that Forojulium was his native City; and amongst the Prætorians he possessed much personal reverence, as having been once their Tribune. Moreover the inhabitants, through partiality to their fellow-citizen, and in prospect of aggrandising themselves, exerted all their might to support the party. When all these terrible dispositions with such care settled, and by the voice of rumour amply heightened, were currently related amongst the adherents of VITELLIUS, already anxious and perplexed, FABIVS VALENS returned directly to his vessels with four of the Emperor's body guard, three friends, and as many Centurions. To MATURUS and the rest, if they listed to stay, and swear to VESPASIAN, full liberty was left. For what remains; to VALENS the sea doubtless yielded greater security than any abode in cities or upon the shore; but, whilst he remained under painful doubt about his future fortune, and rather certain what to avoid than upon what to rely, he was by the violence of contrary winds driven upon the Stechades, Islands near Marseilles. There some gallies, purposely sent by PAULINUS, took him prisoner.

WHEN VALENS was taken, all places followed the fortune of the conqueror; as in Spain the example began from the first Legion named *Adjutrix*, which, in tenderness to the memory of OTHO, bearing despatch to VITELLIUS, drew at this time along with it the tenth also and

the sixth. Nor, in the Provinces of Gaul, was any hesitation found. And, as in Britain signal was the affection found for VESPASIAN, who had, in the reign of CLAUDIUS, commanded the second Legion there, and acquitted himself with great glory and martial prowess; that country too acceded to his party; yet not without struggle and opposition from the other Legions, in which many Centurions and many soldiers had been promoted by VITELLIUS, and were brought with regret to change a prince whom they had already experienced.

FROM this animosity and contest in the army, and from the rumours of our intestine war, continually flying, the Britains resumed their ancient defiance and hostilities, led by the sway of VENUSIUS, who besides his inherent ferocity of spirit and settled hate to the Roman name, was enflamed by personal enmity and rage towards Queen CARTISMANDUA. This Lady ruled over the Brigantes, mighty in the lustre of her race. Her puissance too had been largely augmented, since her taking of King CARACTACUS, whom by guile she had seized, and delivering him to the Romans had thence the merit of having embellished the triumph of the Emperor CLAUDIUS. Hence her great opulence, and hence the wild riot following prosperity. Rejecting VENUSIUS, who was her husband, she espoused VELLOCATUS his armour bearer, and upon him with her person conferred her crown. By this act of reproach she wrought the present dissolution of her House. With her husband remained the zeal and inclinations of the State: for the adulterer was engaged the lewdness of the Queen, and all her cruelty exerted. VENUSIUS having called in succours, and gained the Brigantes themselves to revolt, reduced CARTISMANDUA to extreme peril and distress. From the Romans she then implored a reinforcement; and indeed our Cohorts and Squadrons of horse, after several encounters with variable success, rescued the Queen herself from impending peril. The Kingdom continued to VENUSIUS, and upon us the war.

DURING the same conjuncture, commotions prevailed in Germany, as well through the spiritless conduct of our Generals, as through the turbulent behaviour of the Legions.

gions. Infomuch that by assaults from foreign nations, and by the perfidiousness and defection of nations allied, the Roman interest there had well nigh been abolished. I shall hereafter recount the story of this war, with its causes and events; for it continued long. The people of Dacia too were up in arms, a nation never well affected, and then by no awe restrained, since the army was withdrawn out of Mœsia. The first movements of affairs they had watched with attention, but in quiet: Anon, when they had learnt that all Italy was in a blaze of war, and on both sides hostile minds and hostile doings, they stormed the winter lodgments of the auxiliary Cohorts and Cavalry, and became masters of both banks of the Danube. They were already proceeding to demolish the entrenchments of the Legions, had not MUCIANUS sent the sixth Legion to oppose them: for he was apprized of the victory at Cremona, and apprehended what a terrible storm of foreign violence must from each quarter ensue, should the Dacians and Germans once break in through different limits. Present and assisting, as often else, so then surely was the good fortune of the Roman People, which thither just at that instant drew MUCIANUS and the forces of the East: besides that, ere he came, we had finished the contest at Cremona. FONTEIUS AGRIPPA, just arrived from Asia, where he had governed for a year with Proconsular authority, was appointed Governor of Mœsia, with a supply of forces taken out of the late army of VITELLIUS; since, to disperse them through the Provinces, and hold them entangled in a war against foreigners, was a measure concerted to preserve domestic peace.

NOR in other nations was there composure found. Throughout Pontus, one who was a barbarian and a slave, and once Commander of the navy Royal there, had with notable suddenness excited an uproar of arms. It was ANICETUS Freedman to King POLEMON, and under him in times past mighty in power, now full of bitterness and regret, ever since the Kingdom had been changed into a Roman Province. Arraying therefore in the name of VITELLIUS, the several nations that dwell in Pontus, and with the prospect of spoil, seducing all
such

such as were extremely indigent, he saw himself Leader of no inconsiderable band, and with great rapidity assailed and entered Trapezund, a City of Asia exceeding ancient, founded by the Grecians upon the utmost confines of Pontus. There a Cohort was slain, the same formerly retained in the service of the King: they had thereafter been presented with the privilege of Roman Citizens, and thence in their arms and banners adhered to the usage of the Romans, yet still followed the idle life and licentious spirit of Greeks. He likewise burned the Fleet, and with scorn and insults scoured the sea then unguarded, as from thence MUCIANUS had called the choice Gallies and all the Marines to Byzantium. Nay the neighbouring Barbarians, casting off all reverence and fear, roved about for spoil, in vessels hastily built, such as they call sheds, shallow in the sides, wide at bottom, and framed without bandage of iron or brass. When the sea rages, in proportion to the swelling of the waves they heighten the shell of their boats with additional planks, till by degrees they close above like a roof. Thus they roll amongst the surges, with both ends sharp, and formed to row indifferently hither or thither, with ease and safety.

AN affair this which merited the attention of VESPASIAN, who, to end it, chose out a body of Vexillaries from the Legions, and for their Leader; VERDIUS GEMINUS, an Officer distinguished in war. He, assailing the enemy whilst they were disconcerted and roaming afunder in pursuit of prey, drove them into their vessels; then in some gallies made with dispatch, chased ANICETUS into the mouth of the river CHOBUS; where he relied for safety upon the protection of SEDOCHUS King of the Lazians, an ally whom he had purchased by money and presents. And at first the King, in defence of his suppliant, betook himself to menaces and arms: but, as soon as a recompence for his treachery was proposed, and a war threatened, if he refused, his fidelity vanished, like that of other Barbarians: He struck a bargain for the life of ANICETUS, and surrender'd all the fugitives. Thus ended that servile war. Whilst VESPASIAN was yet rejoicing over this victory, to see that upon all his measures there attended a torrent of success surpassing his own wishes,

wishes, tidings of the battle at Cremona overtook him in Egypt. Hence he speeded the faster to Alexandria, that, since the army of VITELLIUS was utterly broken, he might now also distress Rome itself by famine, a City ever needing supplies from abroad. For he was moreover preparing to invade Africa by land and sea, a country situated upon the same coast, and by intercepting the sources of bread, to bring upon the enemy the calamity of hunger and with it that of dissention.

WHILST by such changes as these over the face of the whole earth, the fortune of the Empire was passing from one head to another, ANTONIUS PRIMUS proceeded by no means in the same measure of innocence after his success at Cremona. As he judged that what war could do he had amply done, and whatever was to follow would be easily accomplished; or whether it were that, in a spirit like his, a flow of felicity only laid open the avarice, pride and other vices hitherto smothered and lurking in it. He oppressed Italy as a country by conquest doomed to spoil; he soothed and courted the Legions as his own; in all his sayings, in all his doings, he sought to fortify himself, sought to lay a mighty foundation of power: and that he might inure the soldiers to wantonness and wild freedom, to the discretion of the Legions he frankly committed the choice of Centurions in the room of such as were slain. By these popular suffrages, every the most factious and turbulent spirit came to be chosen: nor were the soldiers any longer under the controulment of their Leaders, but the Leaders forced headlong by the fury of the soldiers. Proceedings these apparently seditious, and contrived to debauch the army. Anon, he betook himself to feats of rapine, without the least awe of MUCIANUS who was approaching; a neglect of more terrible consequence than if he had contemned VESPASIAN in person.

FOR the rest; as winter advanced, and the plains were flooded by the overflowing of the Po, the army marched forward, lightly equipped, free from incumbrance and baggage. At Verona were left the Banners and Eagles of the victorious Legions, with all that were aged, and all that were maimed, as also many who were hale and un-

hurt. As the rage of the war was already extinguished, sufficient it seemed to lead on the auxiliary Cohorts and Cavalry, with a chosen band from the Legions. The eleventh Legion joined the host; a Legion which at first had halted, but now, seeing the issue prosperous, grieved that in it they had had no share. There accompanied these, six thousand Dalmatians lately levied. Of all these additional forces POPPEUS SILVANUS, a man of Consular quality, was Leader: but in ANNIUS BASSUS, Commander of that Legion, the whole controul and management lay. He, under the guise of submitting and obeying, ruled SILVANUS, as one of himself impotent in war, and ever wasting in talk the seasons of action: nor did ANNIUS fail to assist at whatever required dispatch, with constant industry void of ostentation. To these forces were added all the select Marines from Ravenna, men who made suit to be employed in the Legions. Their places in the Fleet were supplied by the Dalmatians. The Army and its Leaders halted at the Temple of Fortune, under doubt and hesitation about the pursuit of their main design: for they had heard that the Prætorian Cohorts were led out of Rome. They judged too that upon the Apennine they should find guards posted to oppose their passage. Besides, they were terrified with want, in a country utterly desolated by war, terrified with the seditious clamours of the soldiers now importunate for the donative which they call *Clavarium*. In truth, neither of money nor of grain had they made any provision. What disconcerted them and prevented it, was the temper of the soldiers so rapacious and eager, since what they should have received as allowance they ravished away and wasted as prey.

By writers greatly celebrated I find it recorded, that amongst the conquering army such barbarous indifference was found to all feats whatsoever, natural or against nature, that a common soldier in the cavalry having avowed, that in the late combat he had killed his brother, demanded a recompence from the Commanders for the exploit. Nor were they at liberty, either by the laws of humanity, to distinguish such murder with an honourable reward, or, by the nature and policy of the war to punish

it. They postponed the man, as if to his service and merit higher obligations were due than could presently be discharged. Any further account about it I find not in the historians. Yet in our civil Wars past there happened the like unnatural stroke: for, in the conflict against CINNA at Janiculum, a soldier of Pompey's slew his brother, and anon himself, upon discovering his sad mishap, as the story is related by SISENNA so much more prompt, in the days of our ancestors, as was glory to crown acts of virtue, so was remorse to follow evil deeds. Such incidents as these, revived from ancient story, it will not prove foreign to recount, whenever the passage or place requires the same, either as examples of worthy actions, or solacements for those which are wicked.

By ANTONIUS and the other Leaders of the party, it was after deliberation agreed, to send forward the horse, in order to make special search through all Umbria for a tolerable passage over the ridges of the Apennine, to bring up the Banners and Eagles, and all the soldiers left at Verona, and by sea and the Po to have abundant provisions brought. Some amongst the Leaders there were, who studied to frame obstacles and delays: For, ANTONIUS was already grown too mighty and assuming, and from MUCIANUS they hoped a treatment more equal and friendly. The truth is, MUCIANUS fretted at so quick a victory, and judged that were he not present at the entry into Rome, he should be deprived of all share in the war, and in the glory of the war. Hence to PRIMUS and VARUS he sent frequent letters, full of doublings and uncertainty, now urging them to pursue their designs with vigour, anon recommending the advantages of procrastination and coolness, in a stile so contrived, that conformably to the issue, whatever it were, he might easily disown all miscarriages, or easily challenge all success. With much more openness did he transmit his meaning and aims to PLOTIUS GRIPHUS, one lately dignified by VESPASIAN with the rank of Senator, and Commander of a Legion, and to other Officers such as he trusted. They too all returned answers such as censured the over-hasty motions of PRIMUS and VARUS, and such as complemented MUCIANUS, who by conveying these letters to

VESPASIAN,

VESPASIAN, had effectually caused all the proceedings and counsels of ANTONIUS to be prized far beneath his hopes. This was what ANTONIUS could brook with no patience, and upon MUCIANUS he cast all the blame, as one by whose calumnies all his own exploits and perils were render'd of no estimation. Nor spared he bitter words, in his speech ever violent, and a stranger to submission. To VESPASIAN he wrote letters, in strains more pompous and assuming than towards an Emperor are allowed, and not without severe reproaches tacitly aimed at MUCIANUS. He said, " It was he himself who had urged the Pan-
 " nonian Legions to action and arms; by his instigation
 " and address the Leaders in Mœsia had been influenced
 " and roused; by his vigour and perseverance the mighty
 " Alps had been attempted and passed, Italy possessed,
 " all succours from Rhetia and Germany precluded. That
 " the Legions of VITELLIUS, when found to be at va-
 " riance and even disjoined, had been broken by a furi-
 " ous onset from the horse, then utterly discomfited by
 " the infantry continuing the conflict and slaughter for
 " a whole day and night, was an action of consummate
 " lustre and an action by himself accomplished. To the
 " fortune of war only must be ascribed the fall of Cre-
 " mona: in truth, with public damage much greater,
 " nay to the destruction of many noble Cities, had our
 " civil dissensions of old been carried on. He was not
 " one who fought for his Emperor with letters and mes-
 " sengers, but for him exposed his person and wielded
 " his arms. Yet he meant not to lessen the glory of such
 " as had attended the while to the establishment of Asia.
 " The tranquillity of Mœsia had been their study: it had
 " been his to preserve and secure Italy. By his persuasi-
 " ons and authority had the Provinces of Gaul and Spain,
 " the most powerful quarters of the Roman world, been
 " brought to espouse the cause of VESPASIAN. But vain-
 " ly bestowed had been all his efforts, and fatigues, if
 " the recompences of so many perils were to be reaped
 " by such only as had risked none." Neither did these things escape the knowledge of MUCIANUS. Hence between them ensued deadly enmities, in the exercise of which ANTONIUS acted with an openness unguarded,

MUCIANUS with closeness and craft, and thence with rancour more implacable.

FOR VITELLIUS; as, after the sore reverse of his fortune at Cremona, he carefully smothered the news of the calamity, by such stupid dissimulation he postponed not his distresses themselves, but the remedies of his distresses. For, had he declared the disaster, and had recourse to advice, a resource would have been found still remaining of hopes and of forces. Whilst, on the contrary he feigned that all his proceedings prospered, he by such false representations left his condition desperate. About his own person was observed a wonderful silence concerning the war, through the City all discourses about it were prohibited, and for this very cause these discourses grew more common. Nay such as, had they been left to their liberty, would have recounted events truly, finding themselves restrained, published them now with tragical aggravations. Nor were the Leaders of the enemy's host wanting to blazon the fame of their victory: with this view whatever spies of VITELLIUS they seized they carried all over the camp, that they might behold the mighty force of the conquering army, and then sent them back to Rome. All these VITELLIUS, when he had secretly examined them, caused to be murdered. Signal was the firmness of spirit at this time manifested by JULIUS AGRESTIS the Centurion; who, after many conferences with VITELLIUS, in which he had in vain laboured to awaken him to magnanimity and manhood, at last prevailed with him, that he himself might be sent to survey the forces of the foe and to learn the late transactions at Cremona. Neither attempted he to assume the lurking behaviour of a spy, and escape the notice of ANTONIUS, but declaring to him the instructions from the Emperor and his own design, demanded to view the whole in person. With him certain persons were readily sent, who shewed him all the scene of the fight, the desolation and remains of Cremona, and the Legions taken prisoners. AGRESTIS returned to VITELLIUS, and finding him to reject as so many falsifications all the accounts which he brought, nay hearing himself accused of corruption and infidelity; " Since then, said he, some re-

“ markable confirmation is necessary, and since neither
 “ my life nor my death can henceforth avail thee, I will
 “ furnish thee with an evidence which thou mayst credit.”
 Having so said, he left his presence, and with a voluntary death confirmed to be true what he had declared. Some authors relate that by orders from VITELLIUS he was murdered, but of his faith and fortitude give the same testimony.

VITELLIUS, as it were roused out of a deep sleep, ordered JULIUS PRISCUS and ALPHENUS VARUS, with fourteen Prætorian Cohorts and all the several Squadrons of horse to beset the passes of the Apennine. After them marched a Legion drawn from the Marines. So many thousand forces, composed of select men and select horses, had a different General commanded them, were abundantly able to have made even an offensive war. The other companies of the guards he committed to LUCIUS VITELLIUS his brother, for the defence of the City. For himself; without departing in the least from his wonted course of debauchery, and full of impatience because full of distrust, he accelerated the election of Magistrates, and then settled a succession of Consuls for many years. Our confederates he complemented with new leagues and concessions, foreigners with the privileges of Latium. Some nations he discharged from all tribute, upon others conferred fresh advantages and immunities; and in sum, without all regard to futurity, rent and exhausted the Empire. But the common herd were struck with these his acts of benevolence, so conspicuous and mighty: such as were extreamly foolish procured them at a price: with men of sense they passed for void, like all bounties which can neither be granted nor accepted without impairing the Public. At length moved by the incessant suit of the army, which now lay at Mevania, and accompanied by a mighty band of Senators, several following to make their court, many more to comply with his desire and fears, he arrived in the camp, in himself undetermin’d, and open to any traiterous counsel.

WHILST he was discoursing to an assembly of the soldiers, over his head there flew (a thing prodigious to be told) a flock of ravenous birds, so numerous that, like
 a black

a black cloud, they darkened the day. With this concurred an omen of direful portent: a bull escaped from the Altar, and overturning all the equipage of the Sacrifice, was at last slain at a distance from thence, not in the place where it is customary to sell the Victims. But the chief prodigy was, VITELLIUS himself, an Imperial Commander unacquainted with warfare, a head void of counsel and foresight. To others he was continually applying for information, how to put the army in array, what providence was required in gaining intelligence, and by what measures was the war to be pushed or prolonged? Nay, upon whatever tidings arrived, he was sure to betray much dread and trembling, even in his countenance and gait: then he never failed to be drunk. In the end, surfeited with the camp, and learning the revolt of the Fleet at Misenum, he returned to Rome, still most terrified with the stroke that fell latest, and not attending to the ultimate danger and contest. For when an occasion was presented so open and inviting for passing the Apennine with an army in prime vigour, and falling upon an enemy pinched with rigorous want and the rigour of winter, he, by dispersing his forces, resigned to certain slaughter and captivity a body of men so undaunted, such as, rather than abandon him, were determined to perish for him. A proceeding this directly against the judgment of all the ablest Centurions, who, had their advice been required, would have advised what was righteous and true. Far from VITELLIUS his minions kept such men, and so disposed and trained were the Emperor's ears, that whatever was wholesome he found to be harsh; nor other counsels would he admit save such as proved pleasing and pernicious.

THE Fleet at Misenum CLAUDIUS FAVENTINUS drew to revolt, by forging letters from VESPASIAN, and in his name tempting them with offers of reward for this their disloyalty. Of such prevalence during the uproar of civil dissensions is any impudent attempt even of individuals; since this FAVENTINUS was no other than a Centurion who had been by GALBA degraded with marks of ignominy. Over the Fleet there commanded CLAUDIUS APOLLINARIS, who proved neither firm to his faith, nor reso-

lute

lute in his infidelity: so that APINIUS TIRO, once Prætor and then accidentally at Minturnæ, presented himself as a Leader to the revoltors. By these the neighbouring Colonies and municipal Cities were vehemently pressed to concur: and, as the people of PUTEOLI were especially zealous for VESPASIAN, whereas they of Capua adhered faithfully to VITELLIUS, with the rage of the civil War they blended the ancient competition of jealous and angry neighbours. To soften and reclaim the minds of the soldiers VITELLIUS made choice of JULIANUS, one who had lately ruled the Fleet at Misenum with a very gentle hand: For succours he had allotted him one of the City Cohorts and the band of Gladiators which were already under his authority. When this body and that of the revoltors came to encamp near each other, JULIANUS without pausing long went over to the party of VESPASIAN, and together they mastered Tarracina, a City deriving its security rather from the situation and walls than from the spirit and steadiness of the inhabitants.

WHEN to VITELLIUS these transactions were known, he caused part of his forces to remain at Narnia under the Captains of the Prætorian Guards, and sent his brother LUCIUS with six Cohorts and five hundred horse, to make head against the insurrections begun in Campania. He himself, under great anguish of spirit, was yet revived by the testimonies of affection from the soldiers, and by the cries of the populace, requiring to be put under arms: and thus deluded by empty shew, to the impotent crowd, ever dastardly and in words only daring, he gave the awful names of Legions and Army. In pursuance of the advice urged by his Freedmen (for as to his friends, the higher their rank the more faithless the men) he ordered the people to be assembled by their Tribes, and to all such as gave in their names the oath of fidelity was administer'd. As the multitude of Volunteers was over abundant, between the two Consuls he parted the care of continuing the levy. Upon the Senators he laid an injunction to furnish a certain number of slaves, and a certain weight of silver. The Roman Knights proffered their money and their persons: nay the descendents of Freedmen of their own frank motion, pressed

pressed for leave to contribute the like assistance. Offers these which though at first hollow, and inspired only by officious fear, came at last to be sincerely intended, and the effect of pure good will. In truth the major part were touched with pity not so much for VITELLIUS as for the melancholy fate and situation of the Sovereignty. Yet neither did he himself fail to move commiseration by his sad countenance, his doleful expressions, and many tears, in his promises liberal, nay extravagant, suitably to the nature of men under the agonies of fear. Now too he would needs assume the title of *Cæsar*, a title which till then he had rejected: but at this juncture he was struck with the superstitious efficacy of the name; besides that under the operations of dismay, equal attention is given to the babblings of the crowd as to the counsels of the wise. For the rest; as all measures rising from fits of ardour sudden and unadvised, are in their first motions vehement, but by space and continuance wax faint, the Senators by degrees dropped away, as did also the Roman Knights, at first indeed leisurely and with caution, and where he was not present to see them. Anon they avowed their contempt, and retired without distinction or reserve: so that VITELLIUS ashamed of an attempt thus baffled and abortive, remitted all such concessions as he found were not to be granted.

As upon Italy it brought great terror, to see Mevania occupied by an army, and thence a fresh war as it were reviving in full vigour; so doubtless to the interest of VESPASIAN an increase of public zeal and partiality accrued from the departure of VITELLIUS, who in it betrayed such huge affright. Already prompt and even elated were the Samnites, and the Pelignians, and the Marsians: Nay, in competition and jealousy towards the people of Campania, who had the merit of an earlier desertion, they were indefatigable in all the toils and exigencies of war; as 'tis usual in a cause newly espoused to be very officious and forward. But so turbulent and severe was the winter, that, in passing over the Apennine, the army was sorely annoyed: and as they were thus struggling with difficulty out of the deep snows, even when no enemy disturbed their march, it was abundantly manifest

what terrible peril they must have undergone, had not Fortune disposed VITELLIUS to return back, that Fortune from which VESPASIAN'S Leaders derived assistance and relief at least as often as from their own dexterity and counsel. In the mountains they were met by PETILIUS CEREALIS, who under the habit of a poor peasant and through his skill in the situation, had escaped the guards belonging to VITELLIUS. With VESPASIAN CEREALIS was nearly allied, in himself too no mean warrior, and hence taken into equal command with the other Chiefs. That to FLAVIUS SABINUS also and to DOMITIAN there was room to have escaped, many writers agree. In truth several messengers had by various wiles and disguises made shift to reach them from ANTONIUS, and shewed them from what place they might fly, and upon what guard and security depend. SABINUS pleaded his infirmities, unable to bear fatigue, unfit for daring exploits. In DOMITIAN was found no want of spirit or will; but, of the guards placed about him by VITELLIUS, tho they offered themselves for companions of his flight, he entertained apprehensions, lest thence they meant against him some pernicious snare. Moreover VITELLIUS himself, in tenderness to his own family and kindred, meditated nothing barbarous against DOMITIAN.

WHEN the Generals were arrived at Carfulæ, there, for repose, they spent a few days, till the Eagles and Banners of the Legions had overtaken them. The place too where they encamped pleased them, affording a prospect extensive and noble, with secure conveyance for all provisions, as behind them lay so many large Cities full of opulence. They had likewise a view to draw the forces of VITELLIUS, only ten miles distant, into some intercourse, and thence into infidelity and desertion. A project this bitterly resented by the soldiers: what they fought was conquest rather than pacification. They were indeed against awaiting the arrival of their own Legions, whom they more apprehended as sharers in the prey, than consider'd as partakers in the peril. ANTONIUS addressing himself to them for this purpose assembled, informed them, " That VITELLIUS was still master of forces,

" such

“ such as would falter, were they let alone to deliberate,
 “ but rouse all their vigour if once made desperate. To
 “ the direction of Fortune were to be left the first mo-
 “ tions of a civil war, but the work of completing the
 “ conquest must be conducted by counsel and prudence.
 “ Already had the Fleet at Misenum revolted, with all
 “ the rich and charming region of Campania; nor of the
 “ whole globe remained there more to VITELLIUS than
 “ what lay between Tarracina and Narnia. Abundant
 “ glory had been acquired by the battle of Cremona, and
 “ by the destruction of that City, abhorrence overmuch.
 “ Far be it from them to covet the taking of Rome like
 “ enemies, rather than to preserve it like Citizens. Much
 “ higher rewards would they reap, and honour in most
 “ ample measure, if to the Senate and People of Rome
 “ they procured security and protection without the effu-
 “ sion of blood.

By these and the like reasonings their spirits were calm-
 ed, nor was it long ere the Legions arrived. From the
 fame and dread of the army thus augmented, the Vitel-
 lian Cohorts began to fluctuate; since none appeared to
 encourage them to opposition and war, as did many to
 desert and surrender: Nay they were striving to outgo
 one another in delivering over their several companies of
 foot and troops of horse, each intending it as a present
 gratification to the conqueror, and a ground of future
 favour to himself. From these men it was learnt, that
 four hundred horse kept garrison at Interamna, a place
 in the neighbourhood. Thither VARUS was forthwith
 dispatched with a light band: The few who resisted he
 put to the sword; the major part threw down their arms
 and craved mercy. Some escaped, and flying quite back
 to the camp at Narnia, filled it with universal affright,
 as above measure they magnified the forces and bravery
 of the enemy, thence to lessen their own infamy in losing
 their garrison. Neither amongst the forces of VITELLIUS
 was there any punishment inflicted for any crime; whilst
 from the other party sure rewards attended their deser-
 tion. Nor henceforth was any other struggle seen save
 for precedence in perfidiousness and treason, and incess-
 antly were the Tribunes and Centurions flying over to
 the

the stronger. For the common soldiers persisted inflexibly in their adherence to VITELLIUS, till PRISCUS and ALPHENUS having abandoned the camp and returned to VITELLIUS, had left them all free and amply absolved from any stain of infidelity in shifting thenceforth for themselves.

DURING those days FABIVS VALENS was slain in prison at Urbin, and to the view of the Vitellian Cohorts his head displayed, to prevent their cherishing any farther hopes: For, they believed that he had escaped into Germany, and was there assembling a mighty army of old forces and new. Perceiving that he was slain, they sunk into utter despair. The Army of VESPASIAN also inferred immense effects from the doom of VALENS, no less than the end of the war. VALENS was born at Anagnia, of an Equestrian house, in his morals a libertine, one who by licentious gayeties aimed at the character of condescension and pleasantry, neither wanted he suitable quickness of parts. In the interludes called Juvenalia exhibited by NERO, he usually acted a Pantomime, a part to which he at first would seem to be forced, but anon made it his choice, and acquitted himself with more art than modesty and honour. Bearing the command of a Legion in the army of VERGINIUS, he prompted that General to assume the Empire, and then blackened and defamed him as aiming at it. FONTEIVS CAPITO he assassinated, having first corrupted his loyalty, or because he found it incorruptible. To GALBA he proved a traitor, faithful to VITELLIUS, and from the perfidiousness of others his fidelity received its lustre.

THE soldiers of VITELLIUS now utterly bereft of hope on every side, proceeded to pass over to the party of VESPASIAN, and in this step too acted with no small ignominy, as, under their banners and ensigns all displayed, they descended into the plain below Narnia, there to surrender. Upon the side of the highway was ranged the army of VESPASIAN in close files, arrayed as if for battle and just ready to engage. Into their center they received the Vitellians, and having encompassed them round, ANTONIVS PRIMVS spoke to them in a stile of much meekness and humanity, ordering part of them to

remain at Narnia, part at Interamna. With them he also left some of the victorious Legions, such as, if they were peaceable would not annoy them, yet if they proved turbulent, were able to master them. During all this time ANTONIUS and VARUS neglected not, by repeated messages, to make offers to VITELLIUS, of safety to his person, of revenues, and of any private retirement in Campania, if laying arms aside, he would submit himself and his children to VESPASIAN. MUCIANUS likewise sent him letters in the same tendency and strain. Nay in these offers VITELLIUS for the most part reposed trust and reliance, and was wont to discourse what number of domesticks he was to retain, and what pleasant recesses near the sea he must chuse. Such absolute stupidity had seized his spirit, that if others would not remember that he had been Emperor, he himself was ready to forget, and venture to live a private man.

Now the Grandees of Rome were by secret discourses rousing FLAVIUS SABINUS Governor of the City, “ to
“ think of winning a share in victory and in fame. Up-
“ on him immediately depended the soldiers of the Co-
“ horts there, nor would those of the night watch fail
“ to espouse him, their own slaves should form bands
“ and join him, the successful fortune of the party was
“ with him, and all things disposed to serve a conquer-
“ ing cause. Nor ought he thus lazily to leave to AN-
“ TONIUS and VARUS precedence in glory. Few were
“ the Cohorts remaining with VITELLIUS, these few by
“ dismal tidings from all quarters quite dismayed. Fleet-
“ ing and unstable was the spirit of the populace, and
“ from them, if he once presented himself as their head,
“ he would find the same torrent of flattery and zeal
“ turned instantly upon VESPASIAN. For the person of
“ VITELLIUS; he was unequal to support even a course
“ of prosperity, and now utterly stunned and heart-bro-
“ ken by a terrible train of calamities. Upon him who
“ made himself master of Rome, whoever he were, would
“ devolve the praise and acknowledgment of having fi-
“ nished the war. In SABINUS it was becoming to secure
“ and reserve the Sovereignty for his brother, in VESPA-
“ SIAN to postpone all men to SABINUS.

WITH no warmth or alacrity of spirit were these reasonings received by a man through years disabled in his person and his parts. Some there were who against him harboured private suspicions and censure, as if through malignity and emulation he studied to mar the grandeur of his brother's fortune. For FLAVIUS SABINUS, besides his seniority, whilst they were both private men greatly surpassed VESPASIAN in wealth and estimation. He was even believed to have propped his brother's credit, otherwise sinking, and for the money lent to have received in pledge his house and possessions. Hence though between them a face of unanimity subsisted, dark grudges and heart-burnings were apprehended to remain. The juster construction is, "That the man, naturally merciful and gentle, had in abhorrence all slaughter and the
 " spilling of blood, and therefore frequently conferred
 " with VITELLIUS about the means of restoring public
 " peace, and laying down arms by mutual concessions
 " and treaty." Many meetings they had at home: at last in the Temple of Apollo, as fame reported, they ratified the pacification. To their words and mutual declarations they had two witnesses, CLUVIUS RUFUS and SILIUS ITALICUS. Their countenances were carefully observed by those at a distance, that of VITELLIUS unmanly and abject, whilst SABINUS, far from insulting, looked rather like a man filled with compassion.

THE truth is, if VITELLIUS could have brought the minds of his followers to have been as easy in complying as he had been in yielding, the army of VESPASIAN had entered Rome without blood. But every one of those, in proportion to his fidelity to VITELLIUS, rejected peace and the terms of peace. They represented, "How insecure, how ignominious they were, and that only upon the wanton humour of the Conqueror the faith of
 " performing them rested. Nor would VESPASIAN manifest such high contempt for VITELLIUS as to suffer
 " him to live even a private man: Neither indeed would
 " the party vanquished ever bear it. So that from this
 " commiseration of theirs would arise his certain danger.
 " He himself in truth was an ancient man, and already
 " fatiated with the various courses of fortune, both pleasing
 " and

“ and disastrous: but to GERMANICUS his son, what
 “ name and character, what place and situation would
 “ remain? At present he had large promises of treasure,
 “ of domesticks, and of seats upon the delightful coasts
 “ and bays of Campania. But from the moment VES-
 “ PASIAN had mastered the State, nor he, nor his friends,
 “ nor even his armies, would find themselves in perfect
 “ security till with the life of the competitor all compe-
 “ tition were extinguished. Even FABIVS VALENS, tho
 “ their captive, nay tho reserved for use against a day
 “ of exigency, proved too alarming and grievous to
 “ these men to be any longer borne. Far less did AN-
 “ TONIUS and FUSCUS, far less did the luminary of the
 “ party, MUCIANUS, intend any terms for VITELLIUS
 “ save that of killing him. Nor by CAESAR was the
 “ enjoyment of life left to POMPEY, nor by AUGUSTUS
 “ to ANTHONY: unless VESPASIAN peradventure pos-
 “ sessed superior greatness of soul, he who was no more
 “ than a creature of VITELLIUS, when VITELLIUS
 “ was Collegue in the Consulship with the Emperor
 “ CLAUDIUS. A nobler choice VITELLIUS still had,
 “ to be roused even by despair to some attempt daring
 “ and brave, such as became the high honours sustained
 “ by his father, that of Censor, and that of three Con-
 “ sulships, such as became the lustre of his venerable
 “ House, one distinguished with so many grand dignities
 “ in the State. The soldiers persevered inflexibly in their
 “ allegiance; in the people the same zeal still remained.
 “ At worst, nothing more tragical could ensue than what
 “ they were already rushing wilfully into. They must
 “ die if they fought and were vanquished, they must die
 “ if they submitted and surrender’d. This only confide-
 “ ration imported them, whether to resign their spirits
 “ tamely under scorn and reproach, or bravely like men
 “ worthy to live.

DEAF and impenetrable to all magnanimous counsels
 were the ears of VITELLIUS. His soul was overwhelmed
 with tenderness and anxiety, lest, by persisting in op-
 position and arms, he should render the conqueror less
 relenting towards his wife and children. He had also
 lately a mother, a lady spent with age, and fortunate
 enough,

enough, by dying opportunely a few days before, to escape beholding the cruel downfall of her House: nor by her son's advancement to the Empire obtained she ought save sorrow and an excellent name. On the eighteenth of December having learnt the defection of the Legion and Cohorts, which had submitted to the enemy at Narnia, he went forth from the palace, in mourning apparel amidst his domesticks all wailing and sad. With them was carried his little son, a helpless infant, in a small litter, as it were in a funeral solemnity accompanying him to his grave. The people attended with loud shouts, very complaisant and very preposterous. The soldiers with dreadful looks lowered in silence.

NOR of the variable lot of all things human was any one now found so unthoughtful, as not to be sensibly affected with this doleful scene; the Emperor of the Romans, one lately Lord of human kind, relinquishing the seat of Imperial Fortune, and, through the midst of the people, through the streets of the City, passing away from the Empire! No such sight had they ever seen, no such event had they ever heard. By an instant stroke of violence CAESAR the Dictator fell, CALIGULA by secret combination. Under the shades of night, and in a country place solitary and unknown, the flight of NERO was hid. GALBA and PISO perished as it were in battle. VITELLIUS in the face of the people, upon his own account assembled, encompassed by his own soldiers, nay under the eyes even of the women beholding him from their houses, declared his own fall in few words, such as suited his sorrowful situation, "That he voluntarily withdrew for the sake of public peace and of the
 " Commonweal. Of them he asked no more than only
 " to be holden in remembrance by them, and that to
 " his brother, to his wife, and to his tender and innocent children, they would shew compassion and mercy." At the same time extending his arms with his little son in them, he commended him now to one, now to another, then to all. At last, his speech being interrupted through abundant weeping, he ungirt his sword from his side, and presented it to the Consul (this was CECILIUS SIMPLEX who stood just by him) as thus resigning

ing up the authority of life and death over the citizens. As the Consul refused to receive it, and the assembly with clamours opposed it, he departed with intention to divest himself of all the garniture of Sovereignty in the Temple of Concord, and thence to seek a private retirement in his brother's house. Hence ensued clamours yet more vehement, all declaring against his withdrawing to a private dwelling, all calling him back to the Palace. They even shut up every other way, and only left open that which leads through the street called Sacred. He then, unfurnished with counsel or resource, returned to the Palace. Already had the rumour flown, that he had abdicated the Empire, and already FLAVIUS SABINUS had written to the Tribunes of the Prætorian Guards, to keep the soldiers under obedience and restraint.

THUS as if the Commonwealth were falling intire into the hands of VESPASIAN, all the principal Senators, numbers of the Equestrian Order, with the whole City soldiery, and those of the Night watch, crowded to the house of FLAVIUS SABINUS. Thither was brought them an account of the ardent zeal found in the populace for VITELLIUS, and of the terrible menaces from the bands of Germans. Further had SABINUS now advanced than consisted with a possibility of retreating. Besides every particular there consulting his own personal peril, and all apprehending lest, whilst they were separated, and thence unequal to stand an attack, the Vitellian Cohorts should beset them, they excited him to take arms, of himself hesitating and backward. But, as in exigencies like these it happens, the counsel was given by all, to face the danger few would adventure. About the Fundan Lake some of the boldest of VITELLIUS his men assailed those who were come forth in arms with SABINUS. As the encounter there was sudden and tumultuous, the skirmish was short, but with the Vitellians the success remained. SABINUS under this distress and affright, resorted to the securest expedient that offered, and shut himself up in the Fort of the Capitol with his miscellaneous soldiery, as also with certain Senators and Roman Knights; men whose names it were not easy to recount, for that when VESPASIAN had conquered all opposition, many there

were who pretended to this proof of their merit towards his party. Even women chose to enter and abide the siege: Amongst these the most signal of all was VERULANA GRACILIA, a Lady who thither followed neither children, nor kindred, nor relations, but only followed the war. The soldiers of VITELLIUS invested the Capitol, but with stations altogether loose and ill guarded; insomuch that during the dead of the night SABINUS caused to be brought to him thither his own children and DOMITIAN his brother's son. Moreover, after he had, by means of places not secured, sent an express to VESPASIAN'S Generals, to acquaint them that himself and his friends were besieged, and unless relieved, could hardly escape, he passed the night so free from any annoyance or alarm, that it was apparent he might have departed quite away without any hazard incurred. For, the soldiers of VITELLIUS, men who in facing dangers were so fierce and brave, shewed small list or application to continued toils and the fatigue of constant watchings. Besides, a sudden storm of rain, keen and vehement suitably to the winter season, bereft them of sight and hearing.

As soon as day dawned, before reciprocal hostilities began, he sent CORNELIUS MARTIALIS, a Centurion of principal rank, to VITELLIUS with instructions and expostulations, " about his violating solemn stipulations. " That his offer to abdicate the Empire had been a pure " device and a phantasy, contrived to delude so many " illustrious men. Why else, upon retiring from the " assembly, did he rather chuse his brother's house, overlooking the great Forum, and fitly placed to attract " the eyes of all men, than Mount Aventine and his " wife's house there? This was a recess which would " have become him, had he sought a station truly private, and studied to fly all shew and display of Sovereignty. Quite contrary had been the conduct of " VITELLIUS: he had again betaken himself to the Palace, betaken himself to the very center and citadel " of Empire. Thence by his order an armed host had " sallied, scattering destruction. Strewed and defiled " with the blood and carcasses of innocents was the no-

“ blest part of the City. Even the Capitol was not ex-
 “ empt from profaning violence. For himself; like other
 “ Senators, he only wore the pacific robe, whilst be-
 “ tween VESPASIAN and VITELLIUS the contest for Em-
 “ pire was deciding by combating Legions, by the cap-
 “ ture of Cities, and by the desertion and surrender of
 “ Cohorts. Already to VESPASIAN had revolted both
 “ Spains, Germany the higher and the lower, and all
 “ Britain, yet still he, the brother of VESPASIAN, per-
 “ sisted in faith and duty to VITELLIUS, till even by
 “ VITELLIUS he was invited to treat of an accommo-
 “ dation. In concord and peace the vanquished found
 “ self-preservation, the conquerors only matter of glory.
 “ If he were sorry for the treaty made, let him not
 “ draw his sword against SABINUS, the man whom he had
 “ perfidiously circumvented, nor against the son of VES-
 “ PASIAN, one not arrived at manhood. From the
 “ blood of a single old man, from that of a single youth,
 “ what mighty advantage would be gained? No, let
 “ him go forth and confront the Legions, and there
 “ bravely contend for the enjoyment of power supreme.”
 In answer to all this VITELLIUS, under great agonies
 and affright, offered a few words to clear his innocence,
 throwing the whole fault upon “ the soldiers; since their
 “ impetuosity was beyond bounds, and such as his gentle
 “ rule was unable to restrain.” He even warned MARTIALIS,
 “ to retire secretly through an obscure part of
 “ the house, that he might not be assassinated by the sol-
 “ diers, as the mediator of a peace, which they abhorred.”
 To himself no power remained either to command or
 to prohibit, nor was he any longer Emperor, but only the
 cause of war.

HARDLY had MARTIALIS returned to the Capitol ere
 the soldiers approached, full of fury, under no leader,
 every man his own master. The rapid host passing by
 the Forum and the Temples which overlook the Forum,
 mounted the opposite ascent in battle array, and advanced
 even to the outermost gates of the Fort in the Capitol.
 Of old, upon the side of the declivity, to the right hand
 as you ascend, there stood certain portico's: from the
 roofs of these the besieged casting stones and tiles over-
 whelmed

whelmed the assailants; nor had the latter other weapons to wield than their swords only; and as too tedious it seemed to have their engines drawn up with materials for throwing, into that portico which hung just over them they hurled flaming torches, and pursued their attack by fire. Half burned were the gates of the Capitol, and the enemy must have entered, had not SABINUS pulled down the Statues on all hands, and with these, the glorious monuments of our Forefathers, raised in the very entrance a new wall. They then strove to force a passage from the opposite avenues of the Capitol, that by the grove of the Sanctuary, and that where the Tarpeian Rock is ascended by a hundred stairs. Both assaults were alarming and unforeseen: closer and fiercer was that at the grove. Nor was it possible to stay their progress, as they climbed over the contiguous buildings, which, in a long course of domestick peace, had been suffered to be raised upon the side of the hill, so high that they reached the foundation of the Capitol. It here remains undecided, whether to the adjoining roofs fire was set by the assailants, or, which is more currently reported, by the besieged, whilst they strove to repulse such as were yet mounting up, and such as had already gained ground. From thence the fire spread to the portico's of the Capitol adjoining to the houses, and the eagles which supported the roof, as the timber was very old, instantly caught the flames and nourished them. Thus burned the Capitol, and burned to ashes, with its gates shut, without being defended, and without being forced or plundered.

AN impious outrage this, the most deplorable that had happened since the founding of the City, and to the Roman Commonweal the most horrid and reproachful. At a time when no foreign enemy annoyed us, whilst towards us the Gods, as far as our evil demeanour would suffer them, were shewing themselves propitious, the confidence of Jove all good, all great, by our ancestors reared with solemn benedictions and auspices, as the pledge and center of future Empire, that sacred seat which had escaped profanation even from PORSENA, upon having Rome surrender'd, escaped it even from the Gauls, when
I
they

they had taken the City, suffered desolation from the rage of our own Princes, who accomplished a calamity which our public enemies could never accomplish! Once before too the Capitol was destroyed by fire during a civil war, but then through private malignity. It was now publicly besieged, publicly burned, alas, from what causes of mutual arms? What prize to compensate a destruction so mighty? Did we thus fight for our Country? The elder TARQUIN during his war with the Sabines made a vow to build it; and even laid the foundations, such as rather corresponded with his own hopes of its rising to grandeur in times to come, than suited to the then low condition of the Roman people. Thereafter SERVIUS TULLIUS carried it on with the friendly concurrence of our confederates; and to finish it, TARQUIN the proud, having taken Sueffa Pometia, applied all the spoils of the enemy. But, to the times and establishment of public liberty, the glory of the work was reserved. Upon the expulsion of the Kings, HORATIUS PULVILLUS in his second Consulship dedicated it, having improved and increased it to such signal grandeur, that all the ensuing wealth of the Romans, however immense, tho' it might serve to give new embellishments, could add no new magnificence. Upon the same foundation it rose again, when burnt; after an interval of four hundred and twenty five years, in the Consulship of LUCIUS SCIPIO and CAIUS NORBANUS. The care of rebuilding it then SYLLA undertook, having now mastered all opposition; yet he dedicated it not: This was the only thing withholden from him to compleat his felicity. Upon it the name of CATULUS, amongst so many great works and monuments of the Emperors, remained all along till the days of VITELLIUS: Then was this edifice laid in ashes.

BUT from the fire much more dread accrued to the besieged than to the assailants: for the soldiers of VITELLIUS, in doubtful emergencies, wanted no address or resolution. On the opposite side, dismayed were the men, and spiritless the Leader: nay as if bereft of his faculties, he exercised not the natural offices or of speech or of hearing, neither swayed by the counsels of others, nor furnished with any of his own, by the several cries of the

enemies driven headlong hither and thither. What he had commanded he again forbad, what he had forbidden he again commanded. Anon, what usually happens in forlorn circumstances, all directed, none obeyed. At length, casting away their arms, they only meditated how to lurk or where to fly. Then burst in the bands of VITELLIUS, and with fire, and sword, and carnage, made universal havock. A few military men who ventured to encounter, were slaughtered: of these the most signal were CORNELIUS MARTIALIS, EMILIUS PACENSIS, CASPERIUS NIGER and DIDIUS SCEVA. They encompassed FLAVIUS SABINUS, destitute of arms nor offering to fly; as they did QUINCTIUS ATTICUS the Consul, a man sufficiently remarkable by the ornaments of his office, as well as for his own vain-glorious conduct, as he had to the people wantonly addressed certain edicts very pompous in behalf of VESPASIAN, very bitter and opprobrious towards VITELLIUS. The rest, through divers chances and stratagems, escaped, some disguised under the habit of slaves, others concealed by their trusty adherents, and even buried amongst bundles. There were several who having learnt the word whence the Vitellians were distinguished by one another, and venturing to use it, by asking it boldly and answering readily, from such confidence drew the same security as from a hiding place.

UPON the first irruption of the foe, DOMITIAN was by the device of his Freedman conveyed secretly into the house of the Warden, and under the disguise of a linnen robe, thrust amongst the Tribe of Sacrificers, where passing undiscover'd, he continued lurking at the house of CORNELIUS PRIMUS, a dependent of his father's, near the place called *Velabrum*. He afterwards, in the reign of his father, having demolished the Warden's apartment, reared upon the place a small Chappel dedicated to *Jove the Protector*, with an Altar, and the story of this adventure graved upon marble. Not long thence, when he arrived at the Sovereignty, he erected a vast Temple sacred to *Jove the Guardian*, with himself held in the arms of the God. SABINUS and ATTICUS, loaded with irons and carried to VITELLIUS, were by him received with no bitter words, with no hostile countenance. Hence the rage of those
 who

who claimed privilege to butcher them, as also high rewards for the late exploit by them deemed a decisive victory. Thus clamours ensued, which being first begun by such as stood nearest, the vile and debauched sort of the populace called aloud for the present execution of SABINUS, and with this their demand intermixt many threatnings as well as much flattery. Nay they forced VITELLIUS to forbear interposing, as he stood upon the stairs of the Palace preparing to soften them by entreaties. Instantly they thrust SABINUS through, and mangled him, then cutting off his head, dragged his trunk to the charnel of Malefactors.

THE fate this of a man by no means to be contemned. Five and thirty years had he carried arms for the Commonwealth, and, both in peace and war, bore a very signal reputation. As to the innocence of his life and justice of his actions, he was unspotted: In his discourse he was over copious: This was the only failing which even busy rumour could object to him during all the seven years that he ruled Mœsia, during all the twelve that he was Governor of Rome. In the end of his life, he was by some judged to have been slow and spiritless, by many to have been prudent and moderate, and desirous to spare the blood of his fellow citizens. In one thing all men consent, that before VESPASIAN became Emperor, the dignity of the family centered in the person of SABINUS. I have been informed, that his fall was well pleasing to MUCIANUS. Indeed most men allowed, that by it peace and unanimity in the State were secured; as all emulation was now for ever removed between these two, who would always have been considering themselves, the one as the Emperor's brother, the other as his companion in power. But when the people required the doom of the Consul, VITELLIUS persevered in opposing them, being himself now pacified, and as it were repaying him a courtesy; since to such as had asked him who it was that set fire to the Capitol, he made free confession of being the person guilty. By this acknowledgment, or be it a fiction only framed to temporize, in assuming the crime and the odium of the crime, he seemed to have acquitted as innocent the party of VITELLIUS.

DURING

DURING these days, LUCIUS VITELLIUS having encamped at Feronia, threaten'd to storm and sack Tarracina. Within it were shut up the Gladiators and Marines, a garrison who dared not venture without their walls, nor face the enemy in the field. Over the Gladiators (as above I have recounted) there commanded JULIANUS, over the Marines APOLLINARIS, two men in slothfulness and debauchery resembling rather common Gladiators than principal Commanders. No watch they kept; none of the weak parts of the walls did they strengthen or secure; by night and by day they wallowed in voluptuousness, and with their gay revellings upon those delicious shores, the whole coast resounded. Their soldiers were dispersed abroad to procure supplies for their luxury; and only whilst they were feasting did they talk of war. APINIUS TIRO was gone from thence a few days before, and by exacting from the municipal Cities money and presents with notable rigour, gained to the party much more malevolence than strength. In the meantime a slave of VIRGILIUS CAPITO fled over to LUCIUS VITELLIUS, and undertook if he were furnished with a band of men, to deliver up the castle secretly, destitute as it was of guards. Thus in the dead of night, he lodged some Cohorts lightly armed upon the ridge of the hills just over the head of the enemy. From thence the soldiers rushed down, indeed rather to a massacre than an encounter. Some void of arms, others endeavouring to arm, several just frightened out of their sleep, were all easily vanquished and overthrown, as with the profound darkness, with the sudden alarm and dismay, trumpets sounding and enemies shouting, they were all disconcerted and astonished. A few of the Gladiators resisted stoutly, nor died without first revenging their deaths. The rest fled with all their speed to the ships, where all were equally embarrassed by the same distress and affright; for with the soldiers were intermixt the inhabitants of Tarracina, and these too the Vitellians, without making any distinction, slaughtered. Six small gallies, just as the uproar and consternation began, escaped away, and in one of them APOLLINARIS Commander of the Fleet. All the other vessels were seized

seized by the shore, or, surcharged by the thronging crowd, sunk to the bottom. JULIANUS was haled away to LUCIUS VITELLIUS, and being first scourged till he was all covered with gore, executed in his sight. There were some who charged TRIARIA the wife of LUCIUS, as if with a military sabre girt to her side, she had manifested dreadful insolence and barbarity of spirit, even amidst the doleful wailings, and sad desolation of Taracina under the calamitous lot of spoil and massacre. He himself, as an indication of his prosperous atchievement, sent to his brother a crown of laurel, and desired his orders, whether to return forthwith to Rome, or to persist in the reduction of Campania. Of salutary consequence was this hesitation, not to VESPASIAN's party only, but to the whole Commonwealth. In truth, had the soldiers, naturally headstrong, now elated with success, proceeded to Rome just hot from their victory, a struggle not a little terrible must have ensued, nor could it have been decided without the destruction of the City. For in LUCIUS VITELLIUS, however infamous he were, no want of vigour was found; not that from any virtue he derived his importance and power, as all worthy men do theirs, but, like every other wicked man, from his villany and vices.

WHILST by the party of VITELLIUS these things were transacted, VESPASIAN's army, having departed from Narnia, diverted themselves at Otricoli in celebrating the annual Feast of Saturn, a festival of many days; as if no other employment had awaited them. The cause of a delay so preposterous was, to stay for the coming of MUCIANUS. Nor were there wanting some who entertained suspicions of ANTONIUS, and charged him, "As if through treachery he thus lingered, in consequence of the letters secretly sent him from VITELLIUS, with offers of the Consulship, and of his daughter then marriageable, and, with her a mighty fortune, as the rewards of revolting from VESPASIAN." Others alledged, "That all this charge was no more than a fiction, framed purely in court to MUCIANUS." Several argued, "That it was a resolution concerted amongst all the Leaders, rather to present the City with a terrible
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“ display of war, than to carry the war thither; since
 “ the chief strength of the Prætorian Bands had already
 “ deserted VITELLIUS, who was likewise precluded from
 “ any reinforcement on every hand: so that it was pre-
 “ sumed he would quietly yield up the Empire; but
 “ that all was marred and disconcerted, first by the rash-
 “ ness, then by the pusillanimity of SABINUS, who ha-
 “ ving inconsiderately taken up arms, had not been able to
 “ maintain the invincible Fort of the Capitol against
 “ three Cohorts, a place strong enough to defy the as-
 “ faults of mighty armies.” The truth is, one cannot ea-
 sily upbraid any particular Commander with a fault com-
 mitted by all. For besides that MUCIANUS, by his dark
 and equivocal letters, retarded the motion of the con-
 quering army, ANTONIUS too incurred great guilt by his
 overlate and pernicious complaisance, tho perhaps he
 thence studied to transfer upon the other all public re-
 sentment and hate. For the rest of the Chiefs; by judg-
 ing the war to be compleated, they render’d the end of
 it the more signal and glaring. Nor indeed had PETI-
 LIUS CERIALIS made sufficient dispatch, he who was
 purposely sent forward with a thousand horse, by an indi-
 rect march over the Sabine territories, to enter Rome
 through the Salarian highway. At last, the news that the
 Capitol was besieged, roused them all.

ANTONIUS advanced along the great Flaminian road,
 and far in the night arrived at the red rocks: but the aid
 which he intended came too late. He there met many
 tidings all very mournful, “ SABINUS murdered, the Ca-
 “ pitol reduced to ashes, the City under dreadful Con-
 “ sternation, nay the populace and slaves all under arms
 “ for VITELLIUS.” PETILIUS CERIALIS also was un-
 fortunate in the combat attempted by his horse, who rush-
 ing incautiously upon the foe, as upon men already de-
 feated, were received by the Vitellians steadily, with their
 foot interlined amongst their horse. Not far from the
 City the conflict happened, amongst buildings and gar-
 dens, and winding lanes: a situation familiar to the Vi-
 tellians, but strange to their enemies, and thence the
 cause of their perplexity and fear. Neither was the body
 of horse unanimously affected, as amongst them were in-
 corporated

corporated some who had lately surrender'd at Narnia, and now warily watched for what side Fortune would ultimately declare. TULLIUS FLAVIANUS Commander of a Squadron was taken. The rest suffered a scandalous rout, flying in unmanly dismay. The vanquishers pursued not beyond Fidenæ.

By this success the former zeal and partiality of the people became heightened. The commonalty of Rome betook themselves to arms: some few were furnished with regular shields, but the most part snatched up and turned into weapons whatever fell first in their way, and then craved the signal for battle. VITELLIUS presented them his thanks, and ordered them to sally forth and defend the City from insults and attacks. Anon the Senate was assembled, and Embassadors nominated for repairing to the armies, such as, under the stile and guise of the Commonwealth, were to exhort them to peace and union. Very different proved the lot and reception of the Embassadors: They who went to PETILIUS CERIALIS encounter'd perils almost fatal, as the soldiers sternly rejected all terms of peace. Nay the Prætor ARULENUS RUSTICUS was wounded; a barbarity which, beside the violation of a character altogether sacred, that of an Embassador and of a Prætor, derived fresh abhorrence from the dignity and estimation of the man. His followers dispersed and fled: His principal LiCTOR was slain for daring to open a passage through the crowd: and had it not been for the protection of a guard appointed by the chief officer, such was the brutal rage inspired by our civil dissensions, that the Law and Privilege of Embassadors, esteemed inviolable even amongst foreign and barbarous Nations, had been profaned, nay to the massacring of their persons, in the midst of their native country and under the very walls of Rome. With more temper were they received who had gone to ANTONIUS: not that the soldiers had greater moderation, but the General greater authority.

With the Embassadors had joined himself MUSONIUS RUFUS, by rank a Roman Knight, one who attended to the study of Philosophy and adhered to the doctrine of the Stoicks. He mingling amongst the bands, and reasoning

reasoning about the blessings of peace and the dangers attending war, laboured thus to tutor men in arms. To many this was matter of derision; to more it proved annoying and tiresome: Nor were there wanting some to thrust him thence violently and to push him with their hands and feet, till through the persuasions of all the more moderate, and the menaces of others, he forbore his lessons of wisdom so ill timed. Thither too had repaired the Vestal Virgins with letters from VITELLIUS to ANTONIUS: In these he desired, “ That the battle, “ which was to be the last, might be suspended for one “ day: during that interval, all things would be more “ easily accommodated.” The Virgins were dismissed with all demonstrations of honour. To VITELLIUS an answer was returned, “ That by the murder of SABINUS “ and the burning of the Capitol, all means of ending “ the war by treaty were cut off.”

ANTONIUS, however, by a speech to the Legions purposely assembled, tried to reconcile them to a temper, that “ of encamping by the Milvian bridge, and of “ entering the City not before next day.” His motive for such procrastination was, lest the soldiery just after the heat of a battle, might be so transported as to shew no mercy either to People, or Senate, or even to the Temples and Domes of the Deities. But they dreaded all delay, as the means to bereave them of victory. At the same time some Standards seen shining upon the hills, tho only followed by the weak and unwarlike populace, exhibited the appearance of the enemy’s army. Presently they advanced to Rome, divided into a triple host: one passed along where it already was, upon the great Flaminian road; another coasted the Tiber; the third through the Salarian way moved towards the gate Collina. The multitude of Plebeians was forthwith routed by an onset of the horse. The soldiers of VITELLIUS moved to the attack, formed likewise into a threefold band. Many were the conflicts before the City, various the success, but to VESPASIAN’s men chiefly favourable, as superiour in the abilities of their Leaders. Sorely harrassed were they only who had wheeled to the left hand towards the Sallustian gardens, through lanes very narrow and
slippery,

slippery, where over them stood the Vitellians upon the walls of the gardens, and as they strove to climb, beat them down with stones and spears, almost to the close of the day, till by the horse who had burst in at the Gate Collina, they were themselves beset in the rear. In the Field of Mars too the parties joined in fierce encounters. For that of *VESPASIAN* appeared the concurrence of fortune, and of victory so often gained. The Vitellians were fired and driven headlong by pure despair, and tho vanquished and routed, assembled again within the City and renewed the battle.

ABOUT the combatants the people were gathered as spectators; and as if they had been only attending the representation of a fight exhibited for public amusement and sport, they favoured and espoused now these, anon those, with theatrical shouts and clappings: Nay as often as either side recoiled, and particulars had fled into houses, or lay hid in shops, they insisted upon their being dragged out and slain, and thus came to enjoy themselves the largest part of the prey. For, whilst the soldiers were only pursuing blood and slaughter, the spoil fell to the possession of the commonalty. Tragical and ghastly was the face of the whole City: in one place deadly conflicts, and bleeding wounds; in another luxurious bathings and feats of riot: every where blood in streams, and carcases in piles, and just at hand wanton harlots, or such as resembled harlots: Acts of debauchery and voluptuousness, as extravagant as ever were practised during a season of luxury and repose, with all the barbarities attending the most merciless captivity. Infomuch, that you would have thought the same City at once transported with brutal outrage, and abandoned to sensual revellings. Rome had before seen contending armies in her streets, where *SYLLA* twice remained conqueror, and once *CINNA*; nor was there then less cruelty exercised. But now, amongst men there prevailed an unconcern and security perfectly inhuman, nor for a single moment were their pursuits of pleasure postponed. Nay, as if this confusion and carnage had seasonably intervened to heighten the gayety of their festival days, they exulted, they pamper'd and indulged, to both parties indifferent, and triumphing in public miseries.

IN storming the entrenchments of the camp the hardest task was found, as they were defended by all the most determined amongst the enemy, such who consider'd the same as their last hope and resource. Hence the more ardour manifested by the conquerors, as amongst them foremost in zeal were the old Prætorian Cohorts. All the inventions used in attacking the strongest Cities, they now applied, the military Shell, missile Engines, Mounds and flaming Torches. "In this single undertaking, they all
 "cried, would be compleated whatever hardships, what-
 "ever perils they had in so many battles undergone. To
 "the Senate and People of Rome their City was restored,
 "to the Deities their Temples. It was in the camp that
 "the peculiar lot and glory of the soldiery resided: This
 "was their Country, here was their household and their
 "household Gods. These they were now instantly to re-
 "gain, or to pass the night under arms." The Vitellians, on the contrary, tho in number inferior, tho unequal in their destiny, perplexed the victory, and retarded the pacification. With blood they contaminated the houses, with blood they profaned the altars, pursuing such feats as prove the last solacements to men desperate and vanquished. Upon the turrets and bulwarks many lay breathing their last, many already breathless. They who remained, when their gates were burst open, uniting together presented themselves confidently to the swords of the vanquishers. In truth they all fell facing the enemy, and wounded only before. Such, even in dying, was their concern to die honourably.

VITELLIUS, seeing the City taken, was carried in a chair through the back part of the palace to his wife's house upon Mount Aventine, with a purpose, if he could by lurking there escape discovery during the day, to fly by night to his brother's Cohorts at Tarracina. But from unsteadiness of spirit, such too being the nature of dread, that to one who fears all things, present things are ever most irksome, he came back to the palace now desolate and wild: for all his slaves, even the lowest, had slipped away, or else carefully avoided to meet him. Terrifying to him proved the dismal solitude, and every part still and silent. He tried apartments shut: He shrunk with horror
 to

to behold all void and desert. Weary at last with such miserable and solitary wandering to and fro, he thrust himself into a hiding place sordid and disgraceful, and by JULIUS PLACIDUS, Tribune of a Prætorian Band, was dragged from it. Behind him forthwith his hands were tied: Thus with his apparel all rent, he was haled along, a spectacle foul and sad, many reviling him, no one bewailing him. Indeed such was the deformity of his end as to have banished all pity. There met him one of the German soldiers, and with his sword drawn made a violent blow, whether out of fury and vengeance, or the sooner to release him from insults and derision, or whether aiming at the life of the Tribune, is matter of uncertainty. The Tribune's ear he actually cut off, and was himself instantly slain. VITELLIUS they forced, with their swords pointed at his throat, now to hold up his head, and present his face to a deluge of indignities, anon to behold his own Statues tumbled down, and particularly to view the place of assemblies, and that where GALBA suffered his bloody doom. In this manner they pushed him forward, and at last into the charnel of Malefactors, there where the corps of FLAVIUS SABINUS had lain exposed. One saying there was which fell from him, favouring of no baseness of spirit; when to the Tribune treating him with roughness and insults, he answered, "That, nevertheless he had been his Emperor." Then, under many wounds given him, he fell and expired. The common herd inveighed against him, after he was slain, with the same depravity of heart with which they had caressed him whilst he yet lived.


HIS father was LUCIUS VITELLIUS, his age that of seven and fifty years compleat. He had acquired the Consulship, acquired Pontifical dignities, with a name and rank amongst the Grandees of the State, by no parts or vigour of his, but all through the lustre and elevation of his father. The gift of Empire he received from such as never knew the man. In the hearts of the soldiers rarely had any man ever obtained such an interest by worthy methods, as he had by impotence and sloth. In him however was inherent a simplicity of spirit and liberality; qualities which, unless kept under restriction, grow inevitably

tably pernicious. His friends he thought to secure not by a conduct steady and unblameable, but only by mighty bounty, and thence rather deserved such than had them. For the interest of the Commonwealth without doubt it was that VITELLIUS was vanquished and fallen: Yet they who to VESPASIAN betrayed the power and cause of VITELLIUS, can from this their perfidiousness claim no public merit, since they had before revolted from GALBA. The day now hastning to close, the Senate could not be assembled; for such was the affright of the Magistrates and Senators, that they had privately dropped away from the City, or concealed themselves here and there in the houses of their followers. DOMITIAN, after all apprehensions of hostility had ceased, proceeded to the Leaders of the party, where the soldiers thronging about him saluted him *Cæsar*, and in arms as they were, conducted him to his father's house.



THE
HISTORY
OF
TACITUS.
BOOK IV.

The SUMMARY.

HE calamitous condition of Rome. LUCIUS VITELLIUS surrenders his person and his bands, yet is slain. The Sovereignty of VESPASIAN confirmed by the Senate. The fine character and accomplishments of HELVIDIUS PRISCUS. His contests with EPRIUS MARCELLUS. MUCIANUS enters Rome. By him CALPURNIUS PISO is ordered to be slain. The causes and motions of the war in Germany, first begun by the Batavians under the leading of CIVILIS. Next the Caninefates take arms. They demolish the Fortresses of the Romans, cut off the Garrisons, overthrow AQUILIUS a principal Centurion, and afterwards LUPERCUS MUMIUS Commander of a Legion. The Veteran Cohorts of Batavians in the service of the Romans, go over to CIVILIS, and rout HERENNIUS GALLUS striving to oppose them. The ancient Camp besieged by CIVILIS. The Roman soldiers mutiny against HORDEONIUS: the conduct of the war committed to VOCULA. He advances against CIVILIS, is at first vanquished, yet by an accident gains the victory. Again the soldiers mutiny against HORDEONIUS; nay murder him. Transactions at Rome, and in the Senate: Contests: accusations. The soldiers of VITELLIUS pacified by MUCIANUS. The assassination of LUCIUS PISO in Africa. The Capitol restored. The Treverians and Lingones revolt from the Romans: The other Gauls too waver: Small fidelity even in the Legions and Roman Cohorts, all corrupted by the Gauls. VOCULA slain. The Roman soldiers swear allegiance to the Empire of the Gauls. The same do the Legions, after a long siege sustained in the old camp. The people of Cologne not slow to espouse the conquering cause. The Lingones the while routed by the Sequanians. At Rome the Em-

pire judged in danger: DOMITIAN the Emperor's son prepares to sustain the war in person, assisted by MUCIANUS: four Legions forthwith sent forward. The Gauls assemble in council: The wiser sort declare for peace however clogged with bondage. PETILIUS CEREALIS vanquishes the Treverians in a great battle. Many who had revolted return to the service and standards of the Romans. CEREALIS soon after engaged in a sharp conflict with CIVILIS and CLASSICUS; the beginning of the combat doubtful, the issue successful to the Romans. What happened to VESPASIAN in Egypt; his miracles there: His Sovereignty signified by oracles and presages.

These the proceedings, partly of the same year, partly of the next.



UPON the slaying of VITELLIUS, war was rather seen to cease than peace to commence. The vanquishers continuing in arms hunted all over the City after the vanquished with eagerness and implacable hate. Filled with carnage and mangled coarces were the streets; dyed and streaming with blood were the Temples and places of public resort, as in them were butcher'd all whom chance presented to the destroying sword. Nay anon, this lawless violence increasing, they searched private houses, and dragged forth such as lay hid. Where they beheld any one remarkably tall and in the prime of years, him they murdered without exception, whether he were soldier or citizen. This cruelty, which during the fresh impulse of animosity and rancour glutted it self with blood and killing, was afterwards transformed into rapaciousness. No place would they suffer to remain private, no part shut up, pretending that there some Vitellians were concealed. The beginning this of bursting open houses, or sure ground for committing murder wherever opposition was made. Nor did the indigent part of the populace fail to assist in the general violence and spoil. The most villanous amongst the slaves were even forward to betray their wealthy Lords; others were exposed by their particular friends. On all hands were uttered bitter wailings and the universal voice of anguish, on all hands seen no other than the miserable lot of a City stormed and sacked. Insomuch that the soldiers of OTHO and those of VITELLIUS, however im-
perious

perious and insulting, and however once hated, were now missed and regretted. The Generals of the party, men so puissant and vigorous in kindling the civil War, were found insufficient to controul the spirit of victory. For, in exciting public tumults and convulsions, every the worst man has the strongest sway: To uphold tranquillity and peace, righteous designs are required and virtuous management.

THE name and residence of Cæsar, DOMITIAN enjoyed, but to the cares of government gave yet no attention; and only in feats of adultery and constupration acquitted himself as the son of an Emperor. With the command of the Prætorian Guards ARRIUS VARUS was invested. The supreme exercise and springs of authority rested in ANTONIUS PRIMUS. From the Prince's house he was continually plundering treasure, moveables, and domestick slaves, as if he were still seizing the spoil of Cremona. The rest, whether checked by their modesty or their meanness, as they had merited no distinction in the war, were likewise undistinguished by rewards. The City under great awe and terrour, and quietly disposed to servitude, pressed "to have LUCIUS VITELLIUS seized
" with his Cohorts upon their march from Tarracina,
" and the remains of the war extinguished." Hence the cavalry were sent forward to Aricia: The body of the Legions rested at the Town of Bovillæ. Nor did VITELLIUS pause a moment, but to the pleasure of the conqueror deliver'd up himself and his bands. His men too cast away their unfortunate arms, moved as much by indignation as by fear. Through the City passed the long train of captives guarded on each side by files of armed men: Not one betrayed a relenting or supplicant look. Grieved and vengeful they appeared, and to all the boisterous insults and derision of the mocking and petulant vulgar, shewed themselves scornful and unmoved. The few who broke forth upon the rabble, were oppressed by the guards, the rest imprisoned. From none of them fell a mean or degenerate expression; and tho environ'd with wretchedness and distress, they maintained the renown of their constancy and courage; unslain'd. Next was put to death LUCIUS VITELLIUS, one in vices equal to his brother;

in his brother's reign the more vigilant of the two, nor so much a companion in the sunshine of his fortune, as swallowed headlong in his tragical fate.

DURING the same time LUCILIUS BASSUS was dispatched with a band of horse lightly equipped, to establish the tranquillity of Campania, as amongst the municipal Cities prevailed a spirit of animosity and contention, more in truth upon mutual disgusts than through any disaffection and contumacy towards the Emperor. Upon sight of the soldiers present composure ensued; nor upon the smaller Colonies for their late opposition was any punishment inflicted. Capua was assigned to the third Legion for winter-quarters, and thence grievously oppressed were the illustrious families there. Yet to the people of Tarracina so lately sacked by the Vitellians, no help was administer'd or relief. So much stronger is the bent of men to revenge an injury than to repay a benefit, because obligations are burdensome and painful; vengeance taken seems to be something gained. Some consolation it proved, that the slave of VIRGILIUS CAPITO, he whom I have mentioned to have betrayed their City to the enemy, was now fastened to a gibbet, dressed in the same rings which as a recompence from VITELLIUS he always wore. Now at Rome, the Senate decreed to VESPASIAN all the titles and prerogatives ever invested in former Princes, with great alacrity and hopes assured. For, as the civil arms were first wielded in the Regions of Gaul and Spain; as Germany too engaged in the war, and anon Illyricum; as the same civil arms had afterwards visited Egypt, Judea, and Syria, nay all the Provinces and all the Armies; to the Fathers it seemed that, the whole world having thus undergone expiation, all dissensions were brought to a natural close. To heighten their joy they had letters from VESPASIAN, so conceived as if the war had yet subsisted. This was the construction which at first view they seemed to bear: Yet in them he used the stile of an Emperor, but chose expressions full of courtesy when he mentioned himself, full of dignity when he mentioned the Commonwealth. Nor was the Senate wanting in acts of duty and obsequiousness. To himself with his son TITUS for Collegue the Consulship

was forthwith decreed; to DOMITIAN the Prætorship and Consular authority.

To the Senate MUCIANUS too had sent letters, and thence furnished ground for observation and discourse. “ If he were indeed a private man, why did he assume the
“ part of a public character in addressing himself to the
“ Senate? In a few days he might have had an opportu-
“ nity of proposing the same things from his place amongst
“ the Senators.” Even his invectives against VITELLIUS were judged overlate, and unworthy of passing for bold and free. But big with haughtiness towards the Commonwealth, big with contumely towards the Emperor, was what he boasted, “ That in his own hands he had
“ had the Empire, and freely bestowed it upon VESPA-
“ SIAN.” But in privacy they smothered this their indignation and hate, whilst to the man their sycophancy was public and glaring. With many strains of eloquence very lofty and very honourable, they assigned him the decorations of triumph, in reality for his conduct in the civil Wars; but his expedition against the Sarmatians served for the pretence. There followed more grants of honours, the Consular ornaments presented to PRIMUS ANTONIUS, and to CORNELIUS FUSCUS and ARRIUS VARUS those of the Prætorship. Thereafter they turned their deliberations towards the Deities; hence was determined the rebuilding of the Capitol. And all these decrees arose from the propositions and reasoning of VALERIUS ASIATICUS Consul elect. The rest assented by motions of their head and hand; as did some few signal in place, or of parts trained in flights of flattery, by elaborate speeches purposely framed. When to HELVIDIUS PRISCUS, Prætor elect, it came to speak his sentiments, he proposed such as upon a good Prince reflected much reverence and honour, such too as were void of all false court and insincerity; and by the Senate he was extolled with affectionate praises. Indeed this proved a very signal day to him, the beginning of mighty offence given, and of mighty glory earned.

SINCE I am here again led to name a man whom henceforward I must frequently mention, it seems incumbent upon me shortly to recount his course of life and

pursuits, and what fortune befel him. **HELVIDIUS PRISCUS** was born in the municipal City of Tarracina within the first precinct of Italy, the son of **CLUVIUS** who had sustained the rank of a principal Centurion. His bright and signal parts he wholly applied, whilst yet very young, to studies of the more noble kind; not as many do, to disguise spiritless indolence under a pompous name, but in order to engage in the public administration with a mind thoroughly fortified against all contingencies and disasters. He adhered to such Philosophers as maintain that only things just are good, that nought is evil save what is dishonest, and in the rank of things neither evil nor good, place nobility, power, and all other acquirements which depend not upon the soul. Ere he had risen higher than the Questorship, he was by **THRASEA PETUS** chosen for a husband to his daughter: Nor from the character of his wife's father did he copy ought so studiously as his undaunted exercise of liberty. As Citizen, as Senator, Husband, Son in law, and Friend, in all the offices of life, signal was his uprightness and equanimity, ever contemning wealth, ever unmoveable from righteous judgment, never to be shaken by fear. There were some to whom he seemed over solicitous for fame; tho' the thirst of glory be such a passion as even wise men resign last. Upon the deadly doom of his father in law, he was driven into exile, and returning in the reign of **GALBA**, set himself to implead **EPRIUS MARCELLUS**, the accuser of **THRASEA**. The pursuit of this vengeance, tho' tis uncertain whether it were more daring or more just, rent the Senate into heats and contests. For, were **MARCELLUS** suffered to fall, the band of accusers were at once overwhelmed. At first the struggle between them proceeded with notable vehemence, and was by both signalized with excellent speeches. Anon as the inclinations of **GALBA** were in suspense, and upon the interposition of many Senators with entreaties, **PRISCUS** dropped the process. Whence ensued various censures and discourse, according to the different humours of men, some magnifying his moderation, some charging him with want of vigour and firmness. But, upon the day when the Senate had under consideration the Sovereignty

reignty of VESPASIAN, as it was agreed to send Embassadors to the Prince; upon this subject between HELVIDIUS and EPRIUS a bitter debate arose. PRISCUS insisted that they should be nominated by the Magistrates, first solemnly sworn; MARCELLUS, that they should be drawn by lot, the method already proposed by the Consul elect. But what in reality prompted MARCELLUS to such sollicitude, was the apprehension of disgrace to himself, lest, were others nominated, he should be thought slighted and postponed. By degrees, from interchanging sharp words, they were carried into continued speeches full of asperity.

HELVIDIUS desired to know, “Why MARCELLUS so much dreaded the judgment of the Magistrates? He was master of wealth and of eloquence, nay in the measure of both surpassed many others: unless he were perhaps urged and daunted by the memory and blackness of his crimes. By the use of blind lots and the urn no distinction could be made between the manners and characters of men. The way of suffrages and of consulting the sentiments of the Senate, was purposely devised for searching the life and reputation of particulars. To the interest and well being of the Commonwealth it appertained, it appertained to the honour of VESPASIAN, that to complement him there should be sent men of the clearest innocence in the Senate, such as with virtuous reasoning and discourse might season the Prince’s ears. With THRASEA, with SORANUS and SENTIUS, VESPASIAN had entertained personal intimacy and friendship: And their accusers, tho it seemed they must not be punished, yet ought not to be presented under the pomp of a public character. By the judgment of the Senate thus manifested the Prince would be as it were advised and warned, whom to fear and shun, whom to countenance and approve. No greater support was there of a righteous reign than righteous friends about the person reigning. It ought to suffice MARCELLUS that he had instigated NERO to murder so many innocents. Let him even enjoy the rewards of his services, and his exemption from punishment: Only let him leave VESPASIAN to more worthy advisers.”

MARCELLUS

MARCELLUS alledged, “ That it was no proposition
 “ of his which was thus warmly combated, but what
 “ had been proposed by the Consul elect, in pursuance
 “ of ancient precedents, which had left the election of
 “ Embassadors to the decision of lots; so as for caballing
 “ and the efforts of personal enmities, no place might
 “ remain. No new cause had occurred, why instituti-
 “ ons framed of old should be abandoned to disuse, nor
 “ why the honour intended for the Prince should be
 “ turned to any man’s contumely and disgrace. For
 “ paying the homage designed every man there was qua-
 “ lified. What they ought to be more solicitous to
 “ avoid, was left through the unrelenting stiffness of some
 “ certain particulars, his spirit might be incensed, whilst
 “ in his new Sovereignty he was yet possessed with
 “ doubts and apprehensions, and warily watching even
 “ the expressions and looks of all men. For himself;
 “ he considered the temper of the times in which he
 “ was born, with the frame of administration instituted
 “ by our fathers and grandfathers. The primitive insti-
 “ tution he admired; to the present settlement he ad-
 “ hered. From the blessing of good princes he be-
 “ stowed wishes and vows: to princes good or bad he
 “ submitted. It was not more through any pleading of
 “ his that THRASEA suffered, than through the judg-
 “ ment of the Senate passed upon him. With such
 “ mock displays of law was the cruelty of NERO wont
 “ to sport it self. Nor smaller anguish had he himself
 “ undergone from a friendship so dangerous, than had
 “ others from a state of exile. To conclude, he con-
 “ sented that HELVIDIUS should be equalled even to the
 “ CATO’s and BRUTUS’s, in constancy invincible, in cou-
 “ rage not to be daunted. He himself assumed to be no
 “ more than one of that Senate who had all as well as
 “ he yielded humble obedience to lordly power. He
 “ would even persuade PRISCUS, that he would not be
 “ towering above the Emperor, would not strive by his
 “ precepts and documents to restrain VESPASIAN, an
 “ ancient man, long since distinguished with triumphal
 “ honours, and the father of sons already men. As the
 “ worst princes fought might without limits or law; to
 “ the

“ the other sort too, however excellent they proved, a
 “ measure and limitation in the exercise of liberty was
 “ always well pleasing.” These reasonings defended and
 opposed with mighty ardour and earnestness on both sides,
 were heard by the Fathers with inclinations divided. Pre-
 valent however proved the party who preferred the me-
 thod of lots, since even such Senators as had observed a
 neutrality, contended for retaining the ancient usage.
 Moreover every particular Grandee, signal in figure and
 elevation, leaned to the same course, from dread of envy
 should they themselves be chosen by the other.

THERE ensued another contest. The Prætors of the
 Treasury (for then the Treasury was by Prætors admini-
 ster’d) complaining of the poverty of the State, demand-
 ed that a retrenchment might be made in the public ex-
 pences. The Consul elect proposed to have the regula-
 tion of this reserved for the Emperor; so mighty he thought
 the task, so difficult the remedies. HELVIDIUS declar-
 ed for having it transacted by the option and controul-
 ment of the Senate. Already the Consuls were gather-
 ing the opinions of the Senators, when VULCATIUS TER-
 TULLINUS Tribune of the people, interposed his autho-
 rity, “ against making any ordinance about a matter so
 “ momentous in the absence of the Prince.” HELVI-
 DIUS had moved that the Capitol should be rebuilt by
 the Roman State, with the assistance of VESPASIAN: a
 motion which all the most modest Senators passed then
 over in silence, and afterwards forgot. There were some
 too who carefully remember’d it.

THEN fell MUSONIUS RUFUS upon PUBLIUS CELER,
 with a violent charge, accusing him “ of having by false
 “ testimony procured the doom of BAREA SORANUS.”
 The Senate thought that by this process would be revived
 the hate and rancour attending the prosecution of the
 accusers: Yet so guilty and vile was the person accused,
 that it was impossible to save him. For dear and adored
 was the memory of SORANUS; and CELER was known
 to have made profession of Philosophy and wisdom, then
 to have become witness against BAREA, a traitor to his
 friend, an instrument to destroy one whom he pretend-
 ed to instruct. For the trial was appointed the next day

that the Senate met. Nor was it now so much MUSONIUS or PUBLIUS that created expectation and impatience, as PRISCUS and MARCELLUS and the rest: So intent were the minds of men to see vengeance pursued.

SUCH was the situation of things; amongst the Fathers factions and strife, the party vanquished full of rage, the vanquishers void of all authority, the City bereft of laws, bereft of the Emperor's presence, when MUCIANUS arrived in Rome, and in a moment drew to himself the universal sway. Quite sunk was the power of ANTONIUS and of ARRIUS VARUS; for but ill dissembled was his animosity towards them, though by his looks he studied to hide it. But the City, always of notable sagacity in diving into disguists, had already turned her back upon her late favourites, and devoted her self to the new minion. To him alone court was paid; only to him all suit was made. Neither was he wanting to his own grandeur: In state he removed from seat to seat, and shifted from one pleasant garden to another, always encompassed with an armed host. Such was his magnificence and equipage, such the pomp and solemnity of his port abroad, and such the guards at his gate, that he grasped all the essence and terrors of Sovereignty: The name he forbore. Mighty and general was the dread which accompanied the bloody doom inflicted upon CALPURNIUS GALERIANUS. He was the son of CAIUS PISO, and had never offered to disturb the State. But from his name and race, so illustrious and ancient, and from his own person graceful and young, in the pratings of the commonalty he had gained a reputation very popular and admired. Moreover, as the City continued still agitated and unquiet, and thence pleased with all new rumours, there were some who in absurd conjectures were investing him with the Imperial Diadem. By order of MUCIANUS he was committed to the custody of a band of soldiers; and lest his death should minister more observation, were he executed in the eye of the City, he was sent forty miles thence, along the great Appian Road, and, upon cutting his veins, perished by an effusion of blood. JULIUS PRISCUS, Captain of the Prætorian Guards under VITELLIUS, slew himself, pressed to it rather by shame than

than any necessity. ALPHENUS VARUS, however guilty of dastardly conduct, and branded with infamy, continued to survive. ASIATICUS too the Freedman, by suffering the death of a slave, atoned for his late wicked sway.

DURING the same conjuncture, the report of our defeat in Germany filled the City, yet afflicted it in no degree. "Of our armies slaughtered; of the winter encampments of the Legions, taken and possessed by the enemy; of the revolt of all the nations of Gaul;" people discoursed as matter of news only, not as calamities. From what source and motives that war proceeded, with what mighty combustion it raged amongst strange nations and those of our allies, I shall here deduce and explain. The Batavians, whilst they dwelt beyond the Rhine, were a part of the Cattans, and, when driven thence by a domestick insurrection, sat down upon the extreme borders of Gaul, such as they found destitute of inhabitants, as also upon an island situated between the mouths of the Rhine, washed before by the Ocean, behind and on either side by the River. Neither, in leaguings with the Romans, did they find themselves oppressed or exhausted by those their allies however more potent, nor served they the Empire in ought save men and arms; and they were long occupied in the wars of Germany. Soon after their military renown became augmented in Britain, whither were transported some of their bands of infantry, conducted, according to old and constant usage, by men of the first rank amongst them. At home too they retained a body of select horse, signal for their exercise and dexterity in swimming, so as to cross the Rhine in troops compleat, armed and mounted in the stream.

JULIUS PAULUS and CLAUDIUS CIVILIS, men of royal descent, greatly surpassed the rest in credit and quality. PAULUS was slain by FONTEIUS CAPITO, who falsely charged him with rebellion. Upon CIVILIS irons were put, and he sent to NERO: by GALBA he was declared innocent and released: again, under VITELLIUS he incurred capital danger, for that the army importunately craved his execution. Hence the rise of his
anger

anger and vengeance; and hence his hopes, founded upon our misfortunes. But CIVILIS who had a spirit more able and politic than usual to Barbarians, assumed to be another SERTORIUS or HANNIBAL, bearing in his visage a deformity like theirs; and, lest our arms might be turned against him as a public enemy, should he once appear to have revolted from the Roman people, he pretended an attachment to VESPASIAN, and to espouse his cause with zeal. It is certain, that by letters sent him from ANTONIUS PRIMUS, he was ordered “to stop and drive back the forces summoned to succour VITELLIUS; and, under colour of the insurrection in Germany, to withhold the Legions from removing.” The same caution and directions had HORDEONIUS FLACCUS given in person to CIVILIS, from a mind well disposed towards VESPASIAN, and in tenderness to the Commonweal, upon which present destruction was surely falling, were the war renewed, and so many thousand armed men poured into Italy.

CIVILIS therefore utterly bent to rebel, yet meaning to smother for the present his main drift, and in the mean while to adjust all his measures by the course of events, began on this wise to introduce the public change intended. By the orders of VITELLIUS, the flower of the Batavian youth were called together to be lifted soldiers: a thing in its own natural tendency very grievous, yet aggravated and embittered by the behaviour of the agents employed, men abandoned to rapine and debauchery. For the muster they singled out the ancient and infirm, purposely to have a reward for discharging them: again such as were of unripe years, but in their persons lovely (and, in truth, most of their young men are goodly and tall) they haled away to suffer pollution repugnant to nature. Hence ensued much bitterness and hate: nay the ministers of sedition, men purposely tutored and prepared, urged the people to refuse being enrolled. CIVILIS, pretending only to celebrate a banquet, assembled the chiefs of the nation and the most daring amongst the populace, in a sacred grove; where, when they had rejoiced and caroused till far in the night, and he perceived them now warm and bold, he began an harangue,
first

first displaying the praises and renown of their nation; then proceeded to enumerate the insults, the acts of oppression and violence, and all the miseries attending upon a state of servitude. “ For that in truth they were
 “ no longer held as confederates, but treated like bond-
 “ slaves. The coming of an Imperial Lieutenant, how-
 “ ever oppressive and burdensome his retinue, however
 “ terrible and imperious his authority, was but a light
 “ grievance. The Batavians were surrender’d to the rule
 “ and lust of small officers, Captains and Centurions.
 “ Nay these as soon as glutted with their blood and spoils,
 “ were changed; other devourers with empty bowels
 “ searched out, and new titles for plundering were de-
 “ vised, various and many. Over their heads at present
 “ hung the injunction to furnish soldiers; whence chil-
 “ dren would be rent from their parents, brothers from
 “ brothers, as it were by a last parting for ever. At no
 “ time had the Roman State been more shaken and dis-
 “ tressed, nor in their winter entrenchments was ought
 “ else to be found but store of spoil laid up, and men
 “ feeble and old. They should only lift up their eyes,
 “ nor dread the empty names and shadows of Legions.
 “ They themselves were masters of powerful forces, foot
 “ and horse; the Germans were their kinsmen; the Gauls
 “ had the same wishes and aim. Nor even to the Ro-
 “ mans would this war prove displeasing; and whatever
 “ cross events it produced, the Batavians would of course
 “ put to account of VESPASIAN. If it succeeded, of
 “ victory no account was ever to be render’d.”

As with mighty concurrence he was heard, he bound them all in a combination, solemnized with barbarous usages, with maledictions and imprecations peculiar to the country. To the people Caninefates emissaries were sent, to engage them in the same cause and association. This nation enjoys part of the island, in their original and language the same with the Batavians, equal too in bravery, in number fewer. Anon, by secret interagents he suborned the Batavian Cohorts, once Auxiliaries in Britain, then sent into Germany, as above I have recounted, and now abiding at Magontiacum. Amongst the Caninefates, signal for brutal bravery was BRINNO, in

his descent splendid and illustrious. His father, after many hostilities and exploits against the Romans, contemned with impunity the ridiculous expeditions undertaken by CALIGULA to suppress him. So that the very name and merit of a family so rebellious recommended the son, who being placed upon a shield according to the custom of the nation, and elevated in procession upon the shoulders of men, was chosen their Leader. He forthwith, joined by the Frizians, a people beyond the Rhine now called in to succour him, passing by sea forced the winter encampment of two Cohorts, an acquisition which lay nearest to be made. Neither did our soldiers foresee the sudden assault, nor, if they had foreseen it, were they of force sufficient to have repelled it. Taken and plundered therefore was the camp. The foe next discharged their rage upon the victuallers, and Roman traders, men, as secure of peace, confidently rambling abroad. They were also ready to have stormed and sacked the strong holds, which, since they could not be defended, were by the Captains of the Cohorts burnt down. Into the upper part of the island were drawn together the Ensigns and Banners, and remnant of men, under the command of AQUILIUS a principal Centurion, and furnished the name of an army much rather than the strength. For, VITELLIUS having from the Cohorts withdrawn their prime force, had, to recruit them, encumber'd with a burden of arms a spiritless crowd drawn from the next villages of the Nervians and Germans.

CIVILIS, who thought it behoved him to cover all his measures with profound guile, even upbraided the Captains, "for having abandoned their Forts. He himself, he said, would soon suppress the insurrection of the Caninefates, with no other power than the Cohort which he commanded. They, the rest of the Officers, ought again to repair instantly to their several quarters." That under this counsel fraud lurked, since the Cohorts, were they separated, would be the easier overwhelmed, and that this war was headed not by BRINNO but CIVILIS, was apparent, as from the Germans discoveries were by little and little breaking out, such as that people, ever delighted with war, could not

long smother. When from these his wiles no success ensued, he had recourse to open violence; and, of the Caninefates, the Frizians, and the Batavians, composed three distinct hosts, each formed sharp in the front. The opposite army was embattled not far from the Rhine, and against the enemy too were ranged the ships, which having fired their forts, they had conducted thither. Nor had the encounter held long ere a band of Tungrians went over with Ensigns displayed to *CIVILIS*. The soldiers, quite astonished with a revolt so surprizing, were slaughtered at once by their enemies and their companions. In the ships the same perfidiousness was found. Part of the rowers were natives of Batavia: These feigning themselves unskilled in that exercise, willfully obstructed the mariners and combatants in the discharge of their office, and frustrated all their efforts. Anon defying all orders, they rowed away directly towards the enemy's shore. At last, whatever Masters and Centurions shewed not the same inclination, they butcher'd. Thus the Fleet intire, consisting of four and twenty ships, deserted to the enemy, or was taken by him.

SIGNAL was the credit which immediately accompanied this victory; signal afterwards the advantage: By it the victors gained what they wanted, ships and arms, besides that through Germany and Gaul they reaped high renown, and were celebrated with applause as the authors of national liberty restored. Both Germanies presently sent them Embassadors with offers of succours. The alliance of the Gauls *CIVILIS* courted by presents and address. Such Captains of Cohorts, as of that Nation he had taken, he restored every one to his native residence. To the frank option of the Cohorts themselves he left it, to depart home, or to remain with him, as they listed. Those who would stay he proposed to distinguish honourably in the service. With spoils taken from the Romans he presented all who went away. He at the same time reasoned with them secretly, and exhorted them to take warning from “ the series of calamities
“ which in so long a course of years they had suffered,
“ whilst to a miserable state of bondage they falsely gave
“ the name of peace. The Batavians, though exempt
“ from

“ from Tribute and Payments, had yet taken up arms
 “ against the common oppressors of Nations: nay, in
 “ the first engagement, the Romans were routed and
 “ vanquished. What must be the consequence, were the
 “ Gauls too to throw off the yoke? What strength after-
 “ wards would be found to remain in Italy? With the
 “ blood of the Provinces were the Provinces subdued.
 “ Upon the disastrous arms of VINDEX they must not
 “ reflect: It was in truth by the Batavian Cavalry that
 “ his followers the Eduans and Avernians were discom-
 “ fited. The Auxiliaries too, led by VERGINIUS against
 “ him, were partly composed of Belgic Gauls; and, in
 “ strict reasoning, only under its own native forces had
 “ Gaul sunk and fallen. At present they had all but
 “ one common pursuit, with the additional advantage of
 “ having in the Camps of the Romans acquired what-
 “ ever sound discipline was practised there. With him
 “ already concurred the Veteran Cohorts, they before
 “ whom the Legions of OTHO fell. Bonds might still
 “ be the portion of Syria and Asia, and of the East,
 “ Countries inured to the tyranny of Kings. In Gaul
 “ there were yet alive many men born ere Tributes were
 “ known. What Germany had lately effected, was ma-
 “ nifest; namely the extirpation of bondage by the slaugh-
 “ ter of QUINTILIUS VARUS. Neither was it such an
 “ Emperor as VITELLIUS, but himself AUGUSTUS CAE-
 “ SAR, that this brave people thus defied to war. Li-
 “ berty was a blessing bestowed by the bounty of nature,
 “ even upon dumb beasts: fortitude and prowess was a
 “ felicity peculiar to man. To the most intrepid and
 “ brave the Gods were always sure to be aiding. Hence
 “ they ought, they who were unemployed, to assail an
 “ enemy on every side engaged; they who were in prime
 “ vigour, to fall upon men fatigued and exhausted.
 “ Whilst some of them espoused VESPASIAN, some VI-
 “ TELLIUS, by such division scope was left to annoy
 “ both.”

THUS intent was CIVILIS upon drawing over the
 Provinces of Germany and Gaul, meditating, if his Scheme
 should succeed, to establish a Kingdom of Nations so ex-
 tremely powerful and so extremely rich. Now HORDE-

ONIUS FLACCUS, by a course of dissimulation, fomented the first efforts of CIVILIS. But, when messengers arrived full of affright, with tidings, "That the Roman
" entrenchments were stormed, the Cohorts overwhelm-
" ed, and from the Isle of Batavia the Roman name ex-
" tirpated:" he ordered LUPERCUS MUMMIUS Colonel of a Legion (who, as the oldest Colonel, had the command in the winter-quarters of two Legions) to march out against the enemy. LUPERCUS forming an host of the Legionary soldiers encamped with him, of the Ubians drawn from the neighbourhood, and of the Treverian horse not far distant, led them along with rapidity, reinforced by a Squadron of Batavian Cavalry, men long since debauched in their allegiance, but feigning great fidelity, purposely to betray the Romans in the very heat of the battle, and then to fly away with the higher prospect of reward. Around him CIVILIS ranged the Ensigns and Banners of the vanquished and captive Cohorts, to spirit his own soldiers with these monuments of their recent glory displayed to fight, and to daunt and terrify his foes by thus recalling the remembrance of their sad defeat. In the rear of his army he directed his mother and his sisters to abide, as also the wives of his men, and even their little infants; as so many incitements to victory, at least to fill them with shame should they yield. Now when with the hideous chanting of the men, and the howlings of the women, the whole host resounded, by no means equal were the shouts returned by the Legions and auxiliary Cohorts. Nay naked and unguarded was our left wing render'd by the Batavian Squadron, who immediately deserted to the enemy, then instantly like enemies turned upon us. Yet the Legionary soldiers, tho on every side they saw consternation and disorder, still preserved their ranks and their arms. The auxiliary Ubians and Treverians betook themselves to scandalous flight, shifting and dispersing all over the fields: Against them the Germans bent their fury and pursuit; and thus to the Legions an opportunity was minister'd of escaping safely into that called the ancient Camp. CLAUDIUS LABEO, Commander of the Batavian Squadron, as a man engaged against CIVILIS in domestick competition, was

by him removed to the Country of Frisia; lest, had he slain him, upon himself he should have drawn national antipathy and hate, or, were he suffered at home, he might kindle intestine division and quarrels.

ABOUT the same time, the agent by CIVILIS sent to the Cohorts of the Batavians and Caninefates, arrived amongst them, as, in obedience to the orders of VITELLIVS, they were upon their march to Rome. In a moment they took fire, and swelling with pride and contumacy, demanded, "as gratifications for their march, a " Donative, double pay, and an augmentation of their " Cavalry;" all in truth promised them by VITELLIUS, yet now claimed with no view of succeeding, but only to seek cause of insurrection. FLACCUS too, by making them many concessions, effected no more than to set them upon requiring with greater imperiousness such terms as they knew he would refuse. So that scorning FLACCUS, they took their rout towards lower Germany, there to join CIVILIS. HORDEONIUS, in a Council of Tribunes and Centurions, deliberated, whether he should by strong hand repress these men who thus renounced their obedience: anon he concluded to retain his soldiers within the trenches; a purpose proceeding from impotence of spirit natural to him, and from the dismay of the Officers, who were sorely perplexed with distrust and concern, for that the inclinations of the auxiliary troops wavered, and by precipitate levies the Legions had been recruited. Presently after, finding himself seized with regret, and censured even by those whose advice he had followed; as if he were now just ready for the pursuit, he wrote to HERENNIUS GALLUS, who commanded the first Legion and then governed Bonn, "to oppose the passage of the " Batavians, and that he himself with his whole army " would be sure to follow close upon their rear." Without doubt, they might have been totally overwhelmed, had HORDEONIUS from that quarter, GALLUS from this, poured in their forces at the same time, and assailed them thus on each hand beset. FLACCUS quite dropped the attempt, and, in other letters to GALLUS, directed him, not to obstruct them from passing on. Hence the suspicion, that by the co-operation of the chief Commanders

manders the war was kindled, and hence all the many evils produced by it or apprehended from it, were construed to arise from no want of bravery in the soldiers, from no superior power in the enemy, but purely from the guile and baseness of the Leaders.

THE Batavians, as soon as they approached Bonn, sent forward certain persons to lay before GALLUS the instructions with which they were charged by the Cohorts; “ That against the Romans, for whom they had so often
“ made war, they meditated none. As they were weary
“ and wasted with a course of warfare so tedious and so
“ unprofitable, they only longed for their native homes
“ and recess from labour. If no one withstood them their
“ march should be inoffensive: but if they had arms to
“ encounter, they would find a passage by the help of
“ their swords.” The Roman Commander of himself in suspense, was pushed by the soldiers to hazard a combat. Three thousand Legionary soldiers there were, with some Cohorts hastily levied in Belgia, as also a band of boors and of retainers to the camp, a heartless and dastardly band, but full of pertness and defiance ere danger came. At all the gates the whole host sallied, with a purpose to surround the Batavians, in number unequal. They, like men old and experienced in the arts of war, drew up in triangular bodies, close on every side, with their front, rear, and flanks all impenetrable and secure. In this form they pierced quite through our ranks thin and weak. The Belgians recoiling, the soldiers of the Legion were repulsed, and in great dismay fled to their gates and ramparts. Here the greatest slaughter was made. With carcasses in heaps the trenches were choaked and filled. Nor was it wounds only and the hostile sword which proved destructive, many perished in the disasters attending the tumult, many by their own weapons. The vanquishers avoiding Cologne, pursued their march, and during all the rest of it, attempted no act of hostility. To vindicate themselves from blame for the fight at Bonn, they alledged, that they had first sought peace, and had recourse to self defence when peace was refused.

By the accession of the Veteran Cohorts, CIVILIS was become General of a regular and intire army; yet wavering in his purposes, and estimating the formidable might of the Romans, he obliged all that were with him to swear allegiance to VESPASIAN. To the two Legions also, which upon their defeat in the former engagement, had retreated to that called the old Camp, he sent Embassadors, to induce them to take the same oath. The answer returned was, "That they professed not to follow the counsels of a known Traitor, nor those of public enemies. As their Emperor they acknowledged none but VITELLIUS, for him they would persevere in fidelity and arms to the final moment of their lives. Hence, a fugitive Batavian must not assume the controulment of the Roman State, but prepare to meet the deadly doom due to his enormous crimes." When to CIVILIS this reply was recited, in a violent transport of fury and vengeance he excited the intire Batavian Nation to take arms. With them the Bructerans and Tencterans immediately joined: Germany was roused by agents purposely sent, and all were intent upon the perquisites of plunder and renown.

To resist the efforts of a war so threatening, and so many hostile combinations, the Commanders of the Legions, MUMMIUS LUPERCUS and NUMISIUS RUFUS fortified their bulwarks and entrenchments. The buildings which, during a long peace, had been raised near the camp, in such number and extent that they resembled a large town, were all demolished; lest they might prove of service to the enemy. But, little availed this their precaution, unless into the camp they had first conveyed the provisions there contained: These they permitted the men to snatch away. Thus in a few days was dissipated, wantonly, a quantity of stores which for supplying their necessities would have sufficed a long while. CIVILIS leading forth his host, commanded the center in person, at the head of the select forces of Batavia; and, to render his power the more dreadful to behold, with huge bands of Germans he covered both banks of the Rhine, whilst all over the fields the horsemen were terribly bounding: at the same time too the ships were drawn

drawn up the river. Here the standards of the veteran Cohorts were presented to view; there the frightful images of wild beasts brought out of their forests and sacred groves, suitably to the different usage of distinct nations in proceeding to battle. Hence upon our forces, now besieged, dreadful consternation fell, from the sight of an hostile army so diversified as to represent at once the terrors of an intestine and of a foreign war. Besides, the hopes of the assailants were raised and enlivened by the large circumference of the entrenchments, drawn at first of extent sufficient to lodge two Legions, and now guarded by scarce five thousand men. With these in truth there were a multitude of retainers to the camp, such as upon the infraction of the public peace, had flocked thither, and were employed in the services of war. One part of the camp stood upon the side of a hill rising with a gentle ascent, another upon the plain. For, by this winter encampment AUGUSTUS judged that both Germanys would be kept beleaguered and utterly restrained, nor once foresaw a time so disastrous to the Romans, when they would even bid defiance and come to invest our Legions. Hence neither upon the situation, nor upon the ramparts was any uncommon labour bestowed: courage and arms seemed abundant bulwarks. The Batavians and they from beyond the Rhine, that the valour of each nation might glare more signally when apart, chose distinct posts, and began the assault by lancing their darts at a distance. Presently after, as most of these their weapons missive fell without any execution, and hung impotently in the turrets and pinnacles of the walls; nay as they themselves were annoyed and wounded by volleys of stones poured from above; with violent impetuosity and shouting they rushed to storm the ramparts, the most part mounting upon scaling ladders, others upon the military shell formed by their companions. Already in truth some had reached the battlements, from whence they were hurled headlong by blows of sabres and shocks of bucklers, and then slaughtered with stakes and darts thrown after them, as men naturally vehement and precipitate in the first onset, naturally over much elated with success; and at this time so

inflamed with thirst of prey, that they submitted to bear calamities and sore distress. Nay, they even attempted an expedient utterly new to them, the trial of battering engines; and as in these they were destitute of all skill, they had deserters and captives who instructed them to rear a frame of timber in fashion of a bridge, and, by the assistance of wheels underneath, to roll it forward against the fortifications; so as some being posted upon the arch, might from thence fight as from a mound, whilst others enclosed within it were employed unseen in demolishing the walls. But mighty stones cast from the missive machines quite overthrew and levelled with the ground the unweildy and ill compacted fabrick. Then, while they were preparing shelters of hurdles and moving penthouses, upon them were discharged from the engines showers of flaming javelins. Thus even they who made the attack, were themselves assaulted by terrible weapons of fire. At length despairing of success from the method of force and storming, they changed their measures, and had recourse to time and leisure: For they were aware that within the camp there were provisions but for a few days, and a multitude large and unwarlike to maintain. They also hoped that from penury some treason would accrue, that loose and fickle would prove the fidelity of so many slaves, and that by the fortuitous events of war advantages would arise.

FLACCUS the while having learnt the siege of the camp, and sent agents into the territories of Gaul to procure and accelerate succours, to DILLIUS VOCULA Commander of the eighteenth Legion deliver'd a chosen detachment from the Legions, with orders that by as large marches as possible he should speed away along the bank of the Rhine. He himself, as he was impotent and infirm, lingered behind, in his spirit quite benumbed, by his soldiers utterly abhorred. They indeed raged against him, in a stile no wise disguised or obscure, " That he
 " had even consented to the departure of the Batavian
 " Cohorts for Magontiacum; he had falsely feigned igno-
 " rance of the machinations of CIVILIS; he had suffered
 " the Germans to associate in the revolt. Nor had the
 " co-operation and active aid of ANTONIUS PRIMUS,
 " nor

“ nor that of MUCIANUS, more notably ripened and en-
 “ larged the interest of VESPASIAN. Professed hate and
 “ hostility avowed were obvious to be known, and open-
 “ ly to be repressed : fraud and the efforts of guile lurk-
 “ ed under darkness, and thence could not be escaped.
 “ CIVILIS was an enemy declared; he advanced to the
 “ encounter, he embattled his men: HORDEONIUS
 “ out of his chamber, and from his couch, issued what-
 “ ever orders he knew salutary to the foe. Yes; so ma-
 “ ny bands of men compleatly armed and of hearts un-
 “ daunted, were controuled by one man enfeebled through
 “ age and sickness. More adviseable it were, by shed-
 “ ding the blood of the traitor, to rescue their injured
 “ fortune and bravery from an inauspicious General doom-
 “ ed to evil fate.” While yet warm with such discourses
 constantly passing amongst themselves, they were set on
 a flame by the letters brought from VESPASIAN. These,
 because they could not be suppressed, FLACCUS publicly
 recited to the soldiers purposely assembled, and sent such
 as had brought them, in bonds to VITELLIUS.

THE spirits of the men being thus mollified, they ar-
 rived at Bonn, the winter encampment of the first Le-
 gion. The soldiers there were yet more angry and in-
 censed, since upon FLACCUS they charged all the blame
 of their defeat; “ for that, by orders from him, they had
 “ marched out to encounter the Batavians, trusting to his
 “ engagement, that the Legions from Magontiacum should
 “ at the same time press them in the rear: Thus by his
 “ treachery their lives had been betrayed and sacrificed
 “ to the swords of their enemies, as to save them no suc-
 “ cours were sent. To all the other armies these trans-
 “ actions were utterly unknown, nor were they even trans-
 “ mitted to their common Emperor, when it would have
 “ been easy, by the array and concurrence of so many
 “ Provinces, to have suppressed a traiterous defection just
 “ begun. HORDEONIUS for his defence, in the hear-
 ing of the whole army, recited the copies of all the let-
 ters which he had sent into the Provinces of Gaul, into
 both Spains, and into Britain, to press and solicit them
 for succours; and introduced a very mischievous prece-
 dent, by appointing that what public letters came, should
 be

be delivered first to the Eagle-bearers of the Legions, to be by them read to the soldiers before they were presented to the General. He then ordered one of the ringleaders of the sedition to be committed to bonds, rather indeed to assert his own authority, than that there were no criminals but one. And the army moving from Bonn, proceeded to Cologne; whither flocked many succours from amongst the Gauls; a people who at first vigorously supported the cause of the Romans: anon many of their Cities, encouraged by the revolt in Germany daily gathering strength, took up arms against us, in hopes of recovering their liberty, as also thirsting to bear rule over others, were they once redeemed from servitude themselves. Still higher waxed the wrath of the Legions, nor upon them had the example of one man committed to chains, brought any awe or terrour: Nay that One brought a charge too against the General, "of being an accomplice with the rebels, and of oppressing him with a forged crime, to prevent his witnessing the truth, as between CIVILIS and FLACCUS he had been an inter-agent." Instantly VOCULA mounted the Tribunal with amazing courage, ordered this soldier to be seized, and, for all his exclaiming, doomed him to be led to present execution. Thus whilst the guilty and ill disposed were struck with dread, all the innocent and well meaning paid ready obedience to his order. Then as with one accord they craved VOCULA for their General, upon him FLACCUS devolved the whole command.

THEIR spirits, already turbulent, many circumstances concurred to render quite outrageous: They wanted their pay, they wanted grain. The Gauls too haughtily refused to pay tribute, denied to furnish levies. The Rhine, through drought never before known in that climate, was scarce deep enough for the bearing of vessels. Victuals were scarce. All along the banks guards were posted to repulse the Germans from passing: Hence less grain was supplied, and more mouths to consume it. With the vulgar it passed for a prodigy, that the waters had sunk so low; as if the rivers also, and the ancient bulwarks and boundaries of the Empire had forsaken us. An event this, which during peace would have been only called an *ac-*

cident, or, at most, the *course of nature*, but was at this juncture stiled the *decree of fate*, and the *vengeance of the Deity*. Upon their entrance into Novesium, the thirteenth Legion joined them. HERENNIUS GALLUS Commander of a Legion was taken into share of the direction with VOCULA; and, as they durst not advance against the foe, they encamped at a place called Gelduba. Here they hardened and exercised the men, by arraying them frequently in order of battle, by digging trenches, raising ramparts, and other devices and essays in war. Moreover, to kindle them into valour and enterprize by the sweets and incitement of plunder, most of the army was by VOCULA conducted against the adjacent territories of the Gugernians, a people who had confederated with CIVILIS. Part of the forces remained in the camp with GALLUS.

IT happened that, in the river not far from the camp, a vessel laden with grain struck in the shallows; and, as the Germans were pulling it to their shore, GALLUS, who could not brook the indignity, dispatched a band of five hundred men to save and recover it. The Germans at the same time had their number augmented; and, succours on both sides by degrees flocking in, a general conflict ensued. The Germans carried off the vessel, with huge havock of our forces. The vanquished, according to the custom and mode for some time established, censured not their own spiritless behaviour, but GALLUS as a traitor. Out of his tent they dragged him, rent off his apparel, covered his person with stripes, and imperiously commanded him to declare, “for how much reward he had betrayed the army, and who were his accomplices.” Upon HORDEONIUS their spight and the common abhorrence recoiled: Him they stiled the *deviser of the villany*, the other *his agent*. At length, terrified with their incessant menaces of present death, even he also charged HORDEONIUS with treason. Thus he was bound in chains; then, upon the arrival of VOCULA, released. The latter on the day following doomed the authors of the mutiny to capital punishment. Such was the strange contrariety of temper in that army; so prone to outrages, so tame under chastisement! Without question,

the common soldiers adhered sincerely to VITELLIUS: All the men of distinction were devoted to VESPASIAN. Hence the frequent vicissitudes of enormities and punishments, and instances of obsequiousness joined to acts of fury. So that such as would suffer no rule or restraint, could submit to bear severity and correction.

NOW CIVILIS, through the universal concurrence of Germany, and by the arrival of infinite succours from thence, was raised to mighty power. For that people, to bind their alliance with him, had delivered as hostages the principal Lords amongst them. To these his confederates he issued orders, that they should severally, according to their proximity and situation, lay waste the territories of the Ubians and Treverians; and that another band should pass the river Meuse, to harass the country and shake the faith of the Menapians, the Morinians, and the frontier regions of Gaul. In both quarters spoil and ravages were committed; but amongst the Ubians more implacably than elsewhere, for that they, who were by extraction Germans, having cast off and disowned their native country, assumed a Roman name, that of *Agrippinians*. In the Town of Marcodurum their Cohorts were cut in pieces, whilst they lay heedlessly and unguarded, in their own opinion secure at such a distance from the Rhine. Neither did the Ubians acquiesce in the loss, but restlessly infested Germany; and carried off plunder, at first with impunity: afterwards they were intercepted and slaughter'd. In truth, through the whole course of that war, they behaved with more fidelity to us than success to themselves. When the Ubians were crushed, CIVILIS, become thence more keen and implacable, and upon the fortunate issue of his efforts more elated and haughty, pressed forward with vigour the siege of the Legions. To prevent any secret messenger from entering with tidings of approaching succour, he carefully posted guards. Upon the Batavians he transferred the direction of the machines and the task of carrying on the works. To those from beyond the Rhine, urging to be led to the onset, he gave orders to level the entrenchments, nay, to renew the attack after they had been repulsed: for over numerous was his host, and easy to be borne the loss of men.

NOR

NOR did the fall of night put a period to this their toil and pursuit. Bringing together great quantities of wood, they set it on fire quite round the Leaguer, and betook themselves to banqueting and good fellowship: Then, as fast as they were severally inflamed with wine, they flew to the attack with precipitation altogether fruitless and fool-hardy. For, their own darts thrown at random in the dark, fell without execution: whilst to the aim of the Romans the host of Barbarians were presented conspicuous by their own lights; and every particular, signal for boldness or the splendor of his armour, proved a sure mark. Of this CIVILIS was apprized: He therefore ordered "the fires to be extinguished, and the whole to be committed to the blind confusion of arms and darkness." Hence instantly began an uproar various and confused, casualties and encounters unaccountable. Wherever noise or tumult happened to be heard, thither they faced about, thither bent their blows. Of no availment proved bravery or manhood. By the meer anarchy of chance all things were wildly jumbled, all things disconcerted; and by the weapons of cowards the bravest men often fell. The Germans were actuated by fury void of forecast. The Roman soldiers, like men inured to perillous adventures, lanced poles pointed with iron, and stones huge and massy, nor lanced at random. As often as the noise of the efforts against the pallisade, or scaling ladders there planted, had drawn them upon the enemy, down they hurled them with the navels of their bucklers, and after them darted javelins: As many had mounted the battlements, these they slaughtered with their swords.

WHEN the night had been in this manner spent, the succeeding day presented a new method of attack. The Batavians had drawn out a Tower ready made, consisting of two floors, and were moving it towards the Prætorian gate, as thither the ground was most level. Against this structure strong booms were pointed and rammed, and mighty rafters heaved; whence it was crushed to pieces, with mighty havock of such as were posted upon its stories. Upon the foe thus baffled and dismayed an onset was made by a sudden and successful sally. The Legio-

nary soldiers, the while, men practised and dexterous in mechanical devices for war, framed several machines: Signal beyond that of all the rest, was the terror caused by one which was hoisted up and waved over-head: This, suddenly stooping down, pulled the enemy aloft, sometimes one, sometimes several, just in the face of their fellows, and then, upon turning the weight, flung them into our camp. CIVILIS, having now dropped all hopes of succeeding by storm, had again recourse to an inactive siege, and only employed agents and great offers to shake the faith of the Legions.

SUCH were the transactions in Germany before the battle of Cremona; the issue of which was communicated by letters from ANTONIUS PRIMUS, who with them also sent the edict of CECINA, the Consul. In truth, the Captain of a Cohort amongst the vanquished, ALPINUS MONTANUS in person acknowledged the sad fate of the party. Hence amongst them ensued emotions of spirit very different and opposite. The Auxiliaries from Gaul, men who towards neither of the contending parties felt either fondness or aversion, men who bore arms without attachment or affection for any cause, instantly revolted from VITELLIUS upon the persuasion of their Officers. The veteran soldiers hesitated: but when HORDEONIUS proposed the oath, and the Tribunes urged them to take it, they swore, without yielding any assurance of their conviction either in their countenance or their temper. Nay, when they repeated the rest of the form distinctly, they paused at the name of VESPASIAN, and either muttered it hastily, or, which was the practice of the majority, passed it over in utter silence.

AFTER this, to the soldiers purposely assembled were read the letters from ANTONIUS to CIVILIS, and further provoked the jealousy of the men, as conceived in language proper for an associate in the same cause, and mentioning the German army under the stile of enemies. Anon the tidings were carried to the camp at Gelduba, and there, again, the same things spoken and acted. MONTANUS was moreover sent to CIVILIS with instructions, to will him “to forbear war; to cease disguising
“ hostile arms with false names and pretences. If to

“ VESPASIAN he meant to minister aid, his pursuit was
 “ abundantly fulfilled.” To all this CIVILIS, at first,
 made an artful and crafty reply: afterwards when he ob-
 served MONTANUS to be of a spirit very violent and fierce,
 and prone to embark in public innovations, he began to
 complain, and to urge the perils which, without mea-
 sure, he had undergone during a course of five and twen-
 ty years in the camp and service of the Romans. He
 then added; “ a glorious recompence of my labours have
 “ I received, even the untimely death of my brother,
 “ even my own chains and imprisonment, even the cruel
 “ and implacable clamours of this army: and, as by
 “ them my blood was demanded, by the law of nations
 “ I claim vengeance, and pursue it. For you Treve-
 “ rians, and all the rest of mankind who have souls
 “ sold to bondage, what price hope ye for your blood
 “ so often spilt, other than warfare void of profit, ever-
 “ lasting tribute, rigorous rods and axes, and the spirit of
 “ lawless Lords domineering over their helpless slaves?
 “ Behold me, behold the Caninefates and Batavians, me
 “ no more than the Captain of a single Cohort, them
 “ only a handful, a small portion of Gaul: Yet they
 “ and I have demolished their encampments so spacious
 “ and so unavailing; at least we beset them on every
 “ side, and urge them with famine and the sword. To
 “ add no more; by adventuring we shall either recover
 “ public liberty, or, if we be vanquished, suffer but the
 “ same slavery.” He then dismissed MONTANUS thus
 roused and enraged, but with directions to represent in
 a gentler strain whatever had passed between them. He,
 upon his return, owned his embassy to have been fruitless,
 but under dissimulation hid all the rest, which anon broke
 forth glaringly.

CIVILIS, retaining with himself part of his forces,
 against VOCULA and his army dispatched the veteran
 Cohorts with whatever Germans he had remarkably brave,
 assigning them for Leaders JULIUS MAXIMUS, and CLAU-
 DIUS VICTOR husband to his sister. In their rout they
 ravaged the winter encampment of a squadron of horse,
 situated at Asciburgium, and with rapidity so unforeseen
 rushed upon VOCULA’s entrenchments, that he wanted

time to speak to his men, time to array them in order of battle. What only he could do in the confusion of an uproar, was to advise, "That with Legionary soldiers the center should be filled and fortified." Round about these the auxiliary troops were ranged. Presently our cavalry advanced to the onset, and being by the enemy received with ranks steady and firm, turned round and retired flying to their own host. What followed was downright slaughter, and not a battle. Moreover the Nervian Cohorts, moved through perfidiousness or terror, leaving their station, left our men naked on the flanks. So that the attack was pushed on quite to the Legions; nay the Legions, having already lost their Banners, were suffering carnage and discomfiture within their ramparts, when, on a sudden, by the arrival of fresh succours, the fortune of the combat was changed. The Gascon bands, lately levied by GALBA, and at this juncture called in to assist their friends, as they approached the camp, hearing the shouts of the combatants, fell upon the enemy in the rear whilst earnestly pursuing the defeat, and filled them with dismay much heavier than needed from a number no greater, for that amongst the foes many believed that supplies were come from Novesium; as did others that they were the forces intire from Magontiacum. This mistake inspired the Romans with magnanimity; and in assurance of the help minister'd by the vigour of others, they exerted their own. Of the Batavians all the bravest men throughout their infantry were cut off. The horse escaped with the standards and captives taken from us in the beginning of the encounter. There fell on our side, that day, the larger number, but of men the least valiant. Out of the German host perished the very strength and prime.

THE Commanders on either side were equally to blame, and having both merited evil success, were both wanting to improve their good fortune. For, had CIVILIS sent out a more numerous army, it could never have been enclosed in the rear by a few Cohorts, and having already broken into the entrenchments, would have likewise demolished them. VOCULA, who had not so much as sent to spy the motions of the enemy, was not aware
of

of their approach: Hence, as soon as he marched forth against them, he was vanquished by them. Next, when he had even obtained the victory, presuming little upon it, he wasted several days to no purpose ere he moved towards the enemy. Whereas, had he hastened to press them, and to follow the course of events, he might, with the same effort continued, have released the Legions from the siege. CIVILIS the while had tampered with the besieged, and tried to win them to submit, by representing, that upon the Romans destruction was brought and utter despair, and that over them his forces had gained the victory. The Ensigns and Banners just taken were carried about and pompously displayed; nay, in ostentation the Captives were all presented to view. Glorious was the resolution with which one of these at this time acquitted himself: With a voice confident and loud he explained the whole transaction, and was butchered upon the spot by the Germans. Hence the greater credit to his discovery. Moreover, by the sacking and burning of the villages it was perceived that the conquering army approached. VOCULA ordered, “ That in full
 “ fight of the camp the Standards should be erected,
 “ and round about a trench and pallisade to be made,
 “ that there lodging their baggage and burthens, they
 “ might engage without any encumbrance.” Hence the soldiers, craving to be led instantly to the assault, clamoured against the General; nay they had even grown to a habit of threatening their Commanders. In truth, without staying to be ranged in order of battle, still weary and their ranks disorderly, they wilfully proceeded to the encounter. For CIVILIS had already drawn up to receive them; nor placed he less assurance in the faults and licentiousness of his enemies than in the valour and manhood of his own men. In the engagement, the fate and efforts of the Romans greatly varied, and all the most signal for sedition, appeared spiritless cowards. Some animated by the memory of their late victory, maintained their ground, gored the foe, roused their own vigour, roused that of their companions. Moreover, when they had thus restored their yielding battle, they held up their hands and beckoned to the besieged, that
 they

they would not fail to improve the occasion. These, who from their battlements beheld the whole, sallied instantly at all the gates. It happened too that CIVILIS, being thrown by the fall of his horse, was through both armies reported and believed to have been terribly wounded, or quite slain: tidings which upon his own men brought dismay incredible, and upon his enemies incredible spirit and joy.

BUT after the flying foe VOCULA made no pursuit. He only applied himself to enlarge the towers and ramparts of the besieged camp, as if again the siege were at hand. Hence, having so often misused victory, he was suspected, not unjustly, of studying to prolong the war. To our army nothing proved so annoying and severe as scarcity of provisions. So that the baggage and carriages of the Legions, and with these the unwarlike crowd, were sent away from the camp to Novesium, that from thence they might bring back supplies of grain by land carriage: for, of the river the enemy held possession. The first train passed in perfect security; for as yet CIVILIS was not quite sound. As soon as he had learnt “ that a party was again sent to Novesium for “ corn, that for their convoy some Cohorts had been “ assigned them, and that they journeyed in a negligent “ manner, as if full peace had been established;” he advanced against the loose band, the men thin about their Ensigns, their arms carried in the waggons, all straggling without order or restraint, each as he listed; and, with his troops regularly embattled, fell upon them under this disorder; having first sent forward some forces to post themselves upon the bridges and in the passes. For a long way the combat continued, and with dubious success, till night parted the fray. The Cohorts reached to Gelduba, and found the camp there in the same state, still secured by the garrison lately left in it. It remained no doubt what threatening danger must be incurred in the return, whilst they who carried the grain were loaded, and indeed already dismayed. Hence VOCULA, in order to protect them, to his own army joined a thousand chosen men, detached from the fifth Legion and the fifteenth, the Legions besieged in the old encampment;

men very fierce and unmanageable, and against their Leaders full of rancour. With those who were ordered to go more went without orders, and upon their march stormed openly and aloud, "That they would no longer endure famine, no longer endure the frauds and wicked machinations of their Commanders." Nay they too who remained behind, made heavy complaints, "That by thus drawing away one part, the rest were left desperate and forlorn." Hence a twofold sedition, whilst some urged to have VOCULA called back again to the camp, and others refused to return thither.

IN the mean time CIVILIS laid siege to the old encampment. VOCULA proceeded to Gelduba, thence to Novesium. CIVILIS then seized Gelduba. Anon, not far from Novesium, our cavalry engaged the foe, and gained the victory. But, whether after victory or defeat, still equally incensed and outrageous were the soldiers to thirst after the blood of their Leaders. Besides, as the Legions were augmented by the accession of a detachment from the fifth and fifteenth, they confidently claimed present payment of their donative: for they had learnt that the money was already sent thither by VITELLIVS. Neither did HORDEONIUS pause long, but distributed it in the name of VESPASIAN. This very thing was the chief spur and fuel to their disorder and insurrection. They instantly abandoned themselves, without all measure, to a course of debauchery and good cheer, to nocturnal revellings and cabals, and thus renewed their ancient spite and fury against HORDEONIUS. And as none of the General Officers or Tribunes dared to check or oppose them, (so much had the shades of night conduced to banish all shame) out of his bed-chamber they dragged him, and then butchered him. Against VOCULA the same bloody violence was prepared, had he not disguised himself in the habit of a slave, and escaped undiscovered in the dark. The moment their rage became appeased, dread and consciousness took place: Thus they sent Centurions with letters to the Cities of Gaul to entreat succours and money. They themselves, upon the approach of CIVILIS, acted like every

crowd without a ruler, always precipitate, always timorous and lifeless. At first they flew headlong to arms, the next minute dropped them, and took to immediate flight. Their distresses begot dissensions amongst them: they from the higher army withdrew from the rest, and held an interest apart. Through the camp however, and in the Belgick Cities adjoining, the images of VITELLIUS were restored, when VITELLIUS in person was already fallen. In short time, remorse seized and reclaimed those of the first, of the fourteenth and of the eighteenth Legions, and they followed the command of VOCULA. Of him they again took the oath to VESPASIAN, and were then led to raise the siege of Magontiacum. The besiegers were indeed now withdrawn, a motly army of Cattans, Usipians and Mattiacians, all associated for plunder, nor had they forborne feats of cruelty and blood. Upon them as they passed carelessly on in their way, dispersed and apprized of no danger, our soldiers fell sword in hand. The Treverians too had all along their own frontiers reared a wall and defence; nay warred against the Germans, with mighty slaughter given and received. At last, by a revolt they stained all their glorious services done to the Roman people.

DURING these transactions VESPASIAN and TITUS commenced Consuls, the former now the second time, and both absent, whilst in Rome great melancholy prevailed, and the City was racked with fears manifold. The inhabitants, besides the calamities which presently pressed them, had entertained imaginary terrors, “as if Africa had rebelled, and LUCIUS PISO were there concerting a public change.” It was he who ruled that Province; a man who possessed a spirit far from turbulent. But because through the roughness of the seas in the winter season, ships were detained from returning thence to Rome, the common herd, they who were wont every day to purchase sustenance only for the day, they who of all public concerns are solicitous for none but the supply of public provisions, dreaded that the coast there was guarded, that the transportation of grain was prohibited; and this, from dreading it, they believed. The

Vitellians too heightened the rumour, they who had not yet relinquished the spirit of party. In truth such news were no wise offensive to the conquerors, men whose rapacious passions no foreign conquest and spoil could ever satiate, much less any civil acquisition or victory ever gratify.

ON the first of January, the Senate assembled by JULIUS FRONTINUS City-Prætor, awarded, by a solemn decree, the thanks and commendations of the Public to the General Officers, to the Armies, and to our confederate Kings. Moreover, from TERTIUS JULIANUS, for having forsaken his Legion when it was about to espouse the cause of VESPASIAN, the Prætorship was taken away, and transferred to PLOTIUS GRIPHUS. Upon HORMUS the Equestrian dignity was conferred. Soon after, FRONTINUS resigning the Prætor's office, the same was assumed by DOMITIAN now entitled *Cæsar*. To all letters and all edicts his name was prefixed. In MUCIANUS remained the controul and sway; only that DOMITIAN, following the instigation of his intimates, or his own wanton will, boldly exerted many acts of power. But to MUCIANUS the principal cause of dread accrued from ANTONIUS PRIMUS and ARRIUS VARUS, men just recent from feats of glory, signal for fame in war, followed by the zeal and affections of the soldiery, nay beloved even by the populace, for that no man's blood had they shed save in the heat of battle. ANTONIUS was besides reported to have persuaded SCRIBONIANUS CRASSUS to assume the Sovereignty, as he was descended from ancestors very glorious in the State, and shone himself with the lustre derived from his brother; neither was he to fail of a band of associates combined to espouse him. But SCRIBONIANUS refused to comply, he who was by no means easy to be seduced even though all measures had been already ascertained; so very fearful was he of engaging upon uncertainties. MUCIANUS, therefore, seeing he could not openly crush ANTONIUS, after he had heaped upon him publicly in the Senate, praises mighty and many, loaded him in private with large promises, and particularly flattered him with "the government of
" the nethermost Spain, destitute of a ruler by the de-
" parture

“parture of CLUVIUS RUFUS.” Upon the friends of ANTONIUS he, at the same time, accumulated military charges; preferred many to be Captains, many to be Tribunes. Then, when he had with false hopes and ambition puffed up his vain spirit, he quite broke and dissipated his power, having for this purpose dismissed the seventh Legion to their winter encampment, a Legion known to be transported with a very flaming affection for ANTONIUS. Into Syria too was sent back the third Legion, a body of men naturally attached to ARRIUS VARUS. Some part of the army was conducted into Germany. Thus, by removing all the instruments of tumult and disorder, to the City returned her own pacific form, the Laws resumed their old course, the Magistrates their wonted functions.

DOMITIAN, on the day of his going to the Senate, discoursed concerning the absence of his father, and that of his brother, as also concerning his own youth and insufficiency, in very few words and very modest; graceful as he was in his aspect and demeanour. Besides, as his bent and habits were yet unknown, his frequent blushes and marks of confusion, passed for the effects of modesty and shyness. When DOMITIAN proposed that all the abrogated honours of GALBA should be restored, CURTIUS MONTANUS offered it as his sentiments, that to the memory of PISO also some public solemnity should be paid. The Fathers ordained both: But of what regarded PISO nothing was executed. Thereafter were drawn by lot a number of Commissioners, “such as were to adjudge restitution of whatever had been usurped by violence during
“the War: Such too as were to inspect the Tables of brass
“upon which the Laws were engraven, and where by
“age they were decayed, to hang them up anew: Such
“also as were to purify the public records from the vile
“insertions, with which, through the sycophancy of the
“Times, they were contaminated, and to restrain the
“public expence.” To JULIANUS, as soon as he was known to have fled to VESPASIAN, the office of Prator was restored; yet with GRIPPIUS the dignity remained. It was next agreed to resume the process between MUSONIUS RUFUS and PUBLIUS CELER. PUBLIUS was con-
victed

victed and sentenced, and to the manes of SORANUS atonement thus made. Signal was this day, as for such an instance of public vengeance, so for matter of private merit and praise; since MUSONIUS was esteemed to have procured, by his pleading, a just and satisfactory judgment. A character very opposite to DEMETRIUS, one who adhered to the sect of the Cynics, for labouring with views more ambitious than virtuous, to defend so notorious a criminal. CELER himself was utterly unfurnished either with courage under distress, or of speech to plead. Upon this signal given for pursuing revenge against the accusers, JUNIUS MAURICUS made suit to DOMITIAN, "That to the Senate he would impart the registers of the late Emperors; whence they might discover who they were that solicited to be admitted accusers, and against whom." He replied, "That in an affair of this sort, the sentiments of the Emperor must be learnt."

THE Senate upon this occasion devised an oath, by which they severally appealed to the Deities, "That by no artifice or co-operation of theirs had ought been ever done to hurt the life of any particular whatsoever, nor from the calamities of their fellow citizens had they ever reaped honour or price." A precedent this which the chief Lords of the Senate began; the Magistrates followed them with zeal and even competition; as did all the rest as fast as their voices were asked; to the great consternation of such as were conscious of their own guilt, and thence, by divers shifts and evasions, varied the words of the oath. The Fathers declared their approbation of the conscientious swearing: Against the turning it into perjury they expressed their indignation. Insomuch that, upon SARIOLENUS VOCULA, upon NONIUS ACTIANUS and upon CESTIUS SEVERUS, all notorious for the incessant trade of accusing under NERO, such a declaration of the Senate fell very sorely, as if it had been a judgment passed in form against them. Nay SARIOLENUS was likewise pressed by a charge of iniquity just recent, for that he had laboured with VITELLIUS to introduce the same practices. The Fathers even threatened him with uplifted hands, nor forbore till he quitted

the assembly. Then all turning upon PACTIUS AFRICANUS, they set themselves to drive him too from amongst them, as it was he who had marked out, for victims to NERO, the two brothers of the Scribonian house and name, both signal for wealth, both conspicuous for fraternal unity and tenderness, and pursued them to destruction. AFRICANUS dared not confess the charge, nor could he deny it. He therefore confronts VIBIUS CRISPUS, by whom particularly he was worried with questions, and against him urges the same dealings: and, striving to combine charges, which single or mixed he could not defend, he sought to evade the abhorrence of his guilt by shewing others as guilty.

MIGHTY was the name and applause which, for natural affection and eloquence, VIPSTANUS MESSALLA that day acquired, by venturing, tho not yet arrived at the age of a Senator, to plead for favour to AQUILIUS REGULUS his brother. To infinite public abhorrence REGULUS stood exposed, as the man who had destroyed the illustrious house of the ancient Crassi, and that of ORPHITUS. Of his own meer will and motion it appeared that he had assumed to himself the accusation of these noble Romans, whilst yet in his early youth, through no necessity of averting danger from himself, but with a view to favour and power. Moreover, at this juncture, SULPICIA PRETEXTATA, the widow of CRASSUS, and her four fatherless children, attended ready to pursue their just vengeance, were the Senate disposed to proceed to cognizance. MESSALLA, therefore, attempted not to vindicate the charge, nor the person charged; but, interposing between his brother and the danger that threaten'd him, had softened some of the Senators. To defeat this his intercession, CURTIUS MONTANUS intervened with a speech vehement and stern, and in it carried his charge so high, as to alledge, " That after the
 " murder of GALBA, REGULUS had made a present of
 " money to the ruffian who assassinated PISO; nay that
 " he had greedily bitten the head of PISO, when separated from his body. To this, said he, surely NERO
 " never compelled thee; nor didst thou by such inhuman barbarity redeem thy dignity or life. From them
 " who

“ who judged it more advisable to bring destruction up-
 “ on others than danger upon themselves, we may in truth
 “ bear this as their defence. Thou didst live in full se-
 “ curity, derived to thee from the banishment of thy fa-
 “ ther, from the distribution of his fortune amongst his
 “ creditors, from thy young years not yet qualified for
 “ preferment in the State. Thou hadst nothing that
 “ NERO could covet from thee, nothing that he could
 “ fear. Lusting after blood, and ravening for rewards
 “ and gain, thou didst with noble murders season thy
 “ genius, ere it was yet known, even before thou hadst
 “ proved it by appearing an advocate for any man; when,
 “ having brought the Commonwealth to her funeral and
 “ doom, thou didst, for such service, snatch the Confu-
 “ lar Honours as her spoils and remains; when gorged
 “ with a recompence of two hundred thousand crowns,
 “ when refulgent with the splendor of the Pontifical
 “ Office, thou hurriedst to perdition innocent Children,
 “ ancient and illustrious Men, Ladies signal in rank, in-
 “ volving all in one common ruin: when thou chid-
 “ dest the course of NERO’s cruelty as too slow, for that
 “ by gradually overthrowing family after family, he did
 “ but fatigue himself and all the accusers: In his power
 “ it was to crush the whole body of the Senate with a
 “ single breath.

“ RETAIN amongst you, Conscript Fathers, and to
 “ further use reserve a man capable of giving counsel
 “ so decisive, counsel so suddenly to be executed; that
 “ with such an instructor every generation may be sup-
 “ plied; and as our ancient men imitate CRISPUS and
 “ MARCELLUS, so our young may REGULUS. Even
 “ in wickedness which proves unsuccessful, men find
 “ followers and rivals: What must be the consequence,
 “ where it exalts its head and prospers? Nay, if we dare
 “ not offend a man whilst yet only Questor, shall we
 “ willingly see him rise to be Prætor, rise to be Consul?
 “ Do you in truth conceive NERO to have been the last,
 “ the concluding Tyrant? So believed they who had sur-
 “ vived TIBERIUS; so thought they that had outlived
 “ CALIGULA; when in the mean time there arose one
 “ still more detestable, still more brutal and sanguinary.

“ Of VESPASIAN we entertain no dread; such is the
 “ maturity of that Prince’s age, such the moderation of
 “ his spirit. But more lasting are the examples of ju-
 “ stice and severity, than is the good but perishing life
 “ of any mortal man. We grow faint, and our spirit
 “ droops, Conscript Fathers; nor are we any longer that
 “ Senate which, when NERO was slain, boldly claimed
 “ to have the tribe of accusers, and all the tools of ty-
 “ ranny, doomed to execution according to the rigorous
 “ method of antiquity. After the reign of a wicked Prince,
 “ the first day is surely the best.”

WITH such signal concurrence and unanimity of the Senate was MONTANUS heard, that HELVIDIUS gathered hopes of being able to abase MARCELLUS. He therefore began; introducing first the praises of CLUVIUS RUFUS, one who though equally wealthy, though equally applauded for eloquence, had in no instance, during all the Empire of NERO, wrought danger to the life and fortune of any man. Then, applying to MARCELLUS, he urged him at once with his own crying crimes, and with this worthy example. The minds too of the Fathers were on fire for the prosecution. This MARCELLUS no sooner perceived, than making as if he were taking his farewell and withdrawing from the assembly; “ I
 “ am departing, said he, and leave thee, PRISCUS, to
 “ controul a Senate which is thine. Go on and reign
 “ before the face of the Emperor’s son.” There followed him VIBIUS CRISPUS; both enraged, but bearing different countenances, MARCELLUS with eyes full of vengeance, CRISPUS shewing a scornful smile. As they were going, their friends flocking to stop them, haled them back again. As the contest waxed more and more vehement, here maintained by the upright Many, there by the powerful Few, on both sides with much bitterness and rancour, in the strife of words the whole day was wasted.

THE next assembly of the Senate, when DOMITIAN had begun with a motion for “ obliterating the impres-
 “ sions of all resentment and anguish, and of every grie-
 “ vance arising from the necessity of the late times;” MUCIANUS proceeding to offer his sentiments, harangued

at length in behalf of the accusers. To such withal as having begun but afterwards dropped any process, and now offered to revive it, he applied with gentle dissuasions and address, and in the stile of request. The Fathers thus thwarted in their efforts to assert their liberty, ceased the pursuit. MUCIANUS, who feared that the judgment of the Senate might thus seem to be set at nought, and an indemnity to be declared for all the iniquities committed under NERO, remanded OCTAVIUS SAGITTA and ANTISTHIUS SOSIANUS, both in the rank of Senators, back to the islands, whither they had been formerly banished, and from whence they had lately returned. OCTAVIUS, having lived in adulterous commerce with PONTIA POSTUMIA, in a transport of love, for that she refused to marry him, had slain her. SOSIANUS, by a course of life altogether malignant and depraved, had brought deadly destruction upon many. Both indeed had been condemned to exile by a severe decree of the Senate, and, though to others leave was granted to return, both continued under sentence to the same punishment still. Nor even thus did MUCIANUS mollify the despight conceived against him. For, SOSIANUS and SAGITTA were accounted persons impotent and contemptible, had they been even permitted to return. But from the spirit of the accusers many apprehensions arose, many from their great wealth, and many from their great sway, which in mischievous devices they had ever employed. What conciliated in some small measure the discontented minds of the Fathers, was that in the Senate cognizance was taken of a cause conformably to the primitive usage. One of their own Order, MANLIUS PATRUITUS presented a complaint, “ That in the Colony of Siena he
“ had been insulted and beaten by the crowd, even by
“ order of their Magistrates. Nor thus had the outrage
“ ended: They had even constrained him to bear the
“ mummerly of his own funeral, with many mock la-
“ mentations and all the grimace of mourning, as also a
“ torrent of taunts and contumelies uttered against the
“ Senate in a body.” The persons accused were summoned, and upon conviction suffered capital punishment. The sentence was followed by a decree of Senate warn-
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ing the populace of Siena to learn a more respectful and modest behaviour. About the same time ANTONIUS FLAMMA, prosecuted by the people of Cyrene, was condemned for extortion, and doomed to exile for his acts of barbarity.

DURING these transactions; the discontents of the soldiery were near flaming out into a sedition. They of the Prætorian Guards, who had been dismissed by VITELLIUS, and again incorporated for the interest of VESPASIAN, now claimed their former station. The soldiers who, upon hopes given them of the like distinction, had been drawn from the Legions, insisted upon the promise of the like preferment and pay. Nor in truth was it possible, without great slaughter, to have discarded the bands which had continued with VITELLIUS. MUCIANUS therefore proceeding to the camp, directed the vanquishing army to be ranged along, with small intervals between the distinct bands, and all under their particular banners and arms, thence with more certainty to discern during what term of years they had severally served. Then the troops of VITELLIUS, such as I have recounted to have surrender'd at Bovillæ, with the rest who had been discover'd and picked up in Rome, and in the neighbourhood of Rome, were produced, almost destitute of arms. These he ordered to be parted; ordered the soldiers from Germany, the soldiers from Britain, and whatever men else there were from any other army, to stand by themselves apart. A scene this which at first view struck them with sudden consternation, whilst opposite they beheld as it were an army arrayed for battle, terribly armed and displaying their weapons, and saw themselves surrounded, defenceless, in their plight despicable and sordid. But when they came to be divided, and haled hither and thither, terror spread over all. Signal particularly was the dismay of the German soldiers, as if such separation imported that they were destined to present massacre: Hence they embrace their comrades, hang upon their necks, desire a last and parting salute; implore "that they might not be deserted and left alone; that where the cause was common and equal, they might not suffer a lot so particular and unequal." This moment

they pressed and conjured MUCIANUS, the next they besought DOMITIAN though not there: anon they invoked Heaven and all the Gods. MUCIANUS at last stayed their groundless fear, by telling them, “ That “ they were all sworn to the same allegiance, all soldiers “ of the same Prince.” The truth is, that to these their tears and wailings even the vanquishing army joined sympathizing cries. Such was the issue that day. A few days after, as DOMITIAN harangued them, they heard him with minds now re-established and emboldened. His offer of lands and a settlement they confidently rejected, their former stations in the army, and their pay due, was what they prayed: a prayer it was, but a prayer which admitted no denial. They were therefore received into the Prætorian Guards. Thereafter, such as were aged, with such who had served their just number of years, were honourably dismissed. Others were discharged for their misdemeanours, but discharged by intervals, and culled out singly here and there; as the securest course to weaken the combination of a multitude.

FOR the rest; it was moved in the Senate, “ to borrow “ from particulars the sum of fifteen hundred thousand “ crowns;” whether from the real poverty of the State, or to have such poverty believed: And to POPPEUS SILVANUS the care of procuring it was assigned. Yet soon after, such public necessity disappeared; at least the pretence was dropped. Next there passed a law proposed by DOMITIAN, for abrogating the succession of Consulships bestowed by VITELLIUS. To FLAVIUS SABINUS also funeral honours were solemnized, with the same splendor and state as if he had borne the great office of Censor. Glaring monuments these of the signal instability of Fortune, delighting thus to shift the lot of men, and to intermix the highest pomp and the lowest misery.

ABOUT the same time was slain LUCIUS PISO, the Proconsul. This murder is what I shall very truly recount, by beginning further back, and deducing a few particulars pertinent to exhibit the introduction and causes of such feats of iniquity. During the reign of the deified AUGUSTUS and that of TIBERIUS, the forces maintained in Africa for defending the boundaries of the Empire

pire there, namely the Legion and Auxiliaries, were subject to the authority of the Proconsul. Thereafter, CALIGULA, a Prince of a wild and disorder'd spirit, and entertaining beside apprehensions of MARCUS SILANUS, who held the government of Africa, deprived the Proconsul of the command of the Legion and conferred it upon an Imperial Lieutenant purposely sent over. Thus between two the measure of power was independently shared, and thence, as their orders came to clash and interfere, the designed dissention began, and was daily heightened by an obstinate and angry struggle of each to support his own. In truth, the authority of the Imperial Lieutenants gained the predominance, either through their long continuance in office; or probably because men in lower stations are more busy and solicitous to emulate those above them; whilst all the Proconsuls most signal for eminence and quality, consulted their own security and self-preservation much more carefully than the maintenance of their jurisdiction.

At the present juncture the Legion in Africa was commanded by VALERIUS FESTUS, a young man magnificent and profuse, one who entertained very aspiring designs, and indeed laboured under great anxiety because of his near affinity to VITELLIUS. Whether in the frequent conversations which he had with PISO, he tempted him to public innovations, or rejected such temptation from PISO, is a matter of uncertainty; since at these their private interviews no man was present, and after the assassination of PISO, the most part inclined to judge favourably of the man who had slain him. Doubted it is not that the temper of the Province and of the soldiery in it, was averse to VESPASIAN. Moreover certain of VITELLIUS's party having escaped from Rome, strongly represented to PISO, "That all the Provinces of Gaul
" were fluctuating and disaffected, Germany was pre-
" pared and bent to espouse him; his own perils were
" evident and urging; and, in a dubious and suspected
" peace, safer it was to have recourse to war." During these transactions, CLAUDIUS SAGITTA, Commander of the Squadron of horse entitled *Petrina*, embarking for Africa and forwarded by a quick passage arrived there
before

before PAPIRIUS the Centurion, one dispatched thither by MUCIANUS. SAGITTA averred, “ That to the Centurion a warrant was given for putting PISO to death; that already GALERIANUS, his near kinsman and daughter’s husband, had suffered his last doom; and only by adventuring upon some bold effort could he hope to save his own life. To pursue such an adventure two courses were offered to his choice, either instantly to assume arms, or to take shipping for Gaul, and there present himself as a Leader to the armies of VITELLIUS.” Whilst to all these reasonings PISO continued perfectly deaf and inflexible, the Centurion sent from MUCIANUS arrived; nor had he sooner reached the port of Carthage but with a mighty voice he proclaimed how to PISO all things continued propitious, and even that he was raised to the Empire. Nay whomsoever he met, all astonished at a revolution so sudden and wonderful, he pressed to utter in loyal shouts the same glad tidings and congratulations. Forthwith into the place of public assemblies rushed the populace, ever ill judging and credulous, and required that they might see PISO. With rejoicing and acclamations every place resounded; So little curious were they to learn the truth, and such was their abandoned appetite for flattery. PISO, either influenced by the intelligence from SAGITTA, or restrained by his natural modesty, went not forth to appear in public, nor suffered himself to be accosted with the greetings and acclamations of the crowd. Having besides sifted the Centurion, as soon as he discover’d, that the whole was a plot for drawing him into treason, and that his murder was intended, he commanded him to be executed. Nor to this was he so much prompted by any hopes of thence saving his own life, as by his abhorrence of the assassin; for that this very man, he who had been one of the murderers of CLODIUS MACER, brought the same hands yet dyed in the blood of a General, to dip them again in that of a Proconsul. Having then by an edict conceived in a stile of much grief, reprimanded the people of Carthage, he forbore even the ordinary functions of his office, continuing shut up at home, to avoid all occasion however fortuitous, of raising any fresh insurrection.

BUT, as soon as FESTUS was apprized of the dismay amongst the populace, of the execution of the Centurion, with other transactions, some true, some false, all heightened, according to the usual amplifications of common fame; he forthwith dispatched a party of horse to slay PISO. These flew with rapidity, and before the morning had quite dawned, forced the house of the Proconsul with swords drawn. Nay the major part were strangers to the person of PISO; since for perpetrating this murder, FESTUS had chosen certain Punic Auxiliaries and Moors. Not far from his chamber they happened to meet one of his slaves, and asking him who he was, desired him withal to shew them where to find PISO. The slave answering with a glorious falsehood, declared himself to be PISO, and was instantly butchered. Presently after they assassinated PISO; for amongst them was a man who knew him, even BEBIUS MASSA, one of the Imperial Procurators in Africa, he who was already a busy instrument to destroy every excellent person, and will frequently recur to be mentioned amongst the causes of the calamities which we afterwards endured. FESTUS now removing from Adrumetum, where he had rested to learn the issue, proceeded to the Legion, and gave orders for committing to bonds the Camp Marshal, CETRONIUS PISANUS, to avenge an enmity purely personal; but openly charged him as a minister and confederate of PISO. Upon certain soldiers too, and particular Centurions he bestowed chastisement; to others of them he minister'd rewards; proceeding in both from no regard to justice or desert, but only like one who would claim the praise of having suppressed a war. Thereafter he extinguished the dissensions between the OEensians and Leptitanians, such as at first were occasioned by the pillaging of grain and cattle from the peasants, and from beginnings so small, rose to public armaments and combats. For the OEensians, who were fewer and inferiour, had roused the Garamantes to their succour, a nation fierce and wild, and, amongst the circumjacent people, famous for continual robberies. Hence the Leptitanians became sorely pressed; insomuch that their territories being on every side laid waste, they were confined within their walled
Towns,

Towns, and even there urged with fear and distress, till by the opportune arrival of our bands of foot and horse, the Garamantes were put to flight, and all the spoil recovered, except what some of the plunderers straggling from the main body had carried away to their huts amongst the inaccessible deserts, and sold to such as lived in places far remote.

NOW VESPASIAN, when he had already received news of the victory at Cremona, already joyful tidings from all quarters, found many of all ranks and degrees, daily arriving from Italy to acquaint him with the fate and fall of VITELLIUS. For with equal boldness and good fortune they had adventur'd to pass the sea amidst the dangers and horrors of winter. Upon him there also attended Embassadors from VOLOGESUS King of Parthia, with offers to assist him with forty thousand Parthian horse. A matter this of great glory and great pleasure, to be courted to accept succours so mighty from these allies, and not to want them. To VOLOGESUS thanks were returned, with directions, that he should send Embassadors to the Senate, and be made acquainted that the Commonwealth was re-established in peace. VESPASIAN, whilst towards Italy and the affairs of Rome he was bending all his thoughts, heard evil and displeasing reports concerning DOMITIAN, "That he assumed more than
" became the greenness of his years, and exceeded the
" bounds and character suitable to a son only." He therefore committed to TITUS the principal forces of his army, in order to finish what remained of the war against the Jews. Of TITUS it was said, that ere he departed from his father, he pleaded with him in a long discourse,
" to beware of being rashly incensed by intelligence from
" such as brought criminal representations. Towards his
" own son it were but just to bear a spirit of gentleness,
" free from all prejudice. Nor from Fleets, nor from
" Legions were such powerful bulwarks and certain security found for the support of Imperial Dignity, as
" from a numerous issue in the Imperial House. Our
" friends grew diminished with time; they often deserted
" us to follow Fortune; sometimes renounced us
" through desires which we could not gratify, or through
" such

“ such mistakes as we could not foresee: But from his
 “ own blood no man could be severed; Princes, above
 “ all men, could not; they who in their good fortune
 “ had others also to partake with them; whilst to the
 “ nearest in kindred it immediately appertained to bear
 “ their adversities. In truth, even between brothers con-
 “ cord and unanimity would not prove lasting, where
 “ their common parent set them not first an example.”

VESPASIAN, who by this reasoning was not so much re-
 conciled to DOMITIAN, as charmed with the tender af-
 fection of TITUS, willed him “ to be of good cheer, and
 “ to study aggrandizing the Commonweal by war and
 “ the exercise of arms: It should be his own task, to
 “ ensure public peace and that of his family.” He then
 put under sail all his nimblest vessels laden with grain,
 though the sea continued still boisterous and high. For
 such was the mighty danger and extremity which then
 threatened and alarmed Rome, that in all the public stores
 there remained not above ten days provision of corn, when
 the supply minister’d by VESPASIAN arrived.

THE care and office of restoring the Capitol he be-
 stowed upon LUCIUS VESTINUS, one in rank no higher
 than that of the Equestrian Order, but in public credit
 and estimation held amongst the first Lords of Rome.
 By him were assembled the Soothsayers; who directed,
 “ That the remains of the former Temple should be re-
 “ moved from thence into the marshes: Upon the same
 “ foundations the new one should be raised: for its an-
 “ cient form was what the Deities forbad to be varied.”
 Upon the twenty first of June, a day which proved bright
 and fine, the whole space of ground set apart for the
 Temple was enclosed with a cincture of sacred fillets and
 chaplets. Into the circle passed such soldiers as were di-
 stinguished by names which were esteemed auspicious,
 bearing in their hands boughs of the victorious laurel.
 Next, the Vestal Virgins accompanied by a train of chil-
 dren male and female, such as had fathers and mothers
 yet living, besprinkled and purified the place with water
 drawn from the neighbouring springs and running streams.
 Then HELVIDIUS PRISCUS the Prætor, preceded by PLAU-
 TIUS ELIANUS the Pontif, sanctified the floor with the
 sacrifice

sacrifice of a Swine, a Sheep and a Bull, and laying the entrails upon a sod of earth, invoked “JUPITER, JUNO, “MINERVA and all the tutelar Deities of the Empire, “that they would prosper the undertaking; that with “their might and influence divine they would advance “and crown these their own mansions, begun by the “zeal and piety of men.” Having thus prayed, he reached his hands to the strings to which was fastened a foundation-stone with the ropes to draw it; and instantly all the other Magistrates and Pontifs, the Senators, the Roman Knights, and great part of the People, jointly pulling, with common zeal and universal joy haled the vast stone to its place. Into the foundations on all hands were thrown pieces of silver and gold, and other metal, such as had never endured the fire, but just as they were generated in the mine. The Soothsayers in truth had given premonition, “That neither with stone nor with gold “ever destined to other purposes, the work should be “profaned.” To the Temple nothing new except height was added. This variation alone was declared to be conformable to the will of the Deities; nay, this was judged wanting to the magnificence of the former Temple, a public structure intended to contain such an immense multitude of men.

THE death of VITELLIUS the while, being divulged throughout Germany and Gaul, redoubled the fury of the war there. For, CIVILIS throwing off all disguises, rushed into hostilities avowed against the Roman People. The Vitellian Legions would rather submit even to servitude from strangers, than bear the Sovereignty of VESPASIAN. The Gauls became spirited with mighty hopes and assurance, as they imagined that in all countries our armies were yielding to the same evil fortune. For a rumour flew, that “by hosts of Barbarians from Sarmatia and “Dacia, our winter encampments in Mœsia and Pannonia were then besieged.” The same distress we were said, without ground, to be suffering in Britain. But nothing so strongly moved them to believe the dissolution of the Empire to be at hand, as the burning of the Capitol. “The City, they said, had of old been taken “by the Gauls; but the mansion of Jove having escaped,

“ the Empire had thence continued to subsist.” The Druids too, actuated by an impulse superstitious and idle, chanted vain Oracles, “ That to the nations beyond the “ Alps the rule and controulment of humankind were “ thus divinely portended.” It was moreover bruited abroad by flying fame, that the Grandees of Gaul, they who were sent by OTHO against his competitor VITELLIUS, had mutually combined before their departure, “ not to fail of attempting the recovery of their liberty, “ if the Roman People through such successive civil wars “ and repeated calamities, came once to be enfeebled and “ broken.”

BEFORE the murder of HORDEONIUS FLACCUS, there occurred no incident whence any conspiracy might be learnt. After his assassination, constant communication and interagents passed between CIVILIS and CLASSICUS who commanded the squadron of Treverian horse. In nobleness and wealth CLASSICUS surpassed all those of his country: His descent was royal, and signal had been the lustre of his race as well in peace as in war. He himself made his boasts, that by his ancestors he was rather an enemy to the Roman People than an assistant and ally. With him there associated JULIUS TUTOR, and JULIUS SABINUS, this one of the Treverians, the former one of the Lingones. TUTOR had been preferred by VITELLIUS to the charge of guarding the Rhine. SABINUS, besides that he was a man naturally vain, was intoxicated and inflamed with the imaginary glory of a fictitious descent, “ as if to his great grandmother, the “ deified JULIUS CAESAR, then warring in Gaul, had “ proved an admirer and adulterer.” These three, in conferences secretly held, founded the minds of the rest. Then, having engaged as accomplices such whom they judged proper, they assembled together in a private house at Cologne; for, in general, that City detested such designs. Yet in the cabal were present certain Ubians and Tungrians. But amongst the Treverians and the Lingones was found the principal weight and sway. Nor could they brook any delay occasioned by debating and consulting: With one common consent and emulation they proclaimed, “ That the Romans were possessed with the “ madness

“ madness of intestine rage, and destroying one another;
 “ the Legions were slaughter’d, Italy laid desolate, nay
 “ Rome it self taken by violence; all the Roman armies
 “ engaged, each in a different war. Now, were the Alps
 “ secur’d and their passes defended by garrisons, and public
 “ liberty once fully re-established, the people of Gaul might
 “ then deliberate how far they would chuse to push and
 “ extend their own power.”

AT once pronounced and approved were these allegations. The only hesitation which occurred was how to dispose of the residue of the Vitellian army. Many proposed to massacre all, as men altogether turbulent, altogether faithless, and contaminated with the blood of their Generals. But more prevalent was the consideration offered for sparing them, “ left upon seeing themselves bereft of all hopes of mercy, despair should rouse them to vigour and vengeance. They were rather to be gently used, and thus enticed into the confederacy. Were only the Commanders of the Legions put to the sword, the meer crowd, then destitute of a head, conscious of their guilt and crimes, and hoping for impunity, would easily be brought to join.” The substance this of their first consultation; and into all the Regions of Gaul incendiaries were dispatched to rouse them to war. To VOCULA the while the accomplices feigned perfect obsequiousness and duty, thence to surprize and o’erwhelm him unprepared. Yet neither were there wanting some to apprize him of the conspiracy. But what he wanted was force to repress the conspirators; for thin of men were his Legions, and void of faith his men. Thus between the faltering faith of his own soldiers, and a combination of secret enemies, he deemed it the surest expedient in his present distress, to exercise dissimulation also in his turn, and to pursue the same artifices with which he was pursued. With this view he repaired to Cologn. Thither fled CLAUDIUS LABEO, he who, as I have related, having been taken and sent under ward to Frisia, to be there remote from the convention holden in Batavia, had escaped by corrupting his guard. He now offered, “ were he furnished with a band of men, to
 “ march into the territories of the Batavians, and reco-
 “ ver

“ ver the principal part of their State to the interest and
 “ alliance of the Romans.” Having therefore received a moderate force of cavalry and foot, he only induced some Nervians and Betafians to take arms, and against the Batavians ventured not upon the least attempt. He likewise overran the Caninefates and Marfacians, in truth rather by surprize and feats of plunder than by regular war.

VOCULA, incited and misled by the treacherous Gauls, advanced directly against the enemy. He was already near the ancient encampment, when CLASSICUS and TUTOR, under colour of learning the motions of the enemy, marched forward before the host, and at an interview with the German Leaders ratified their mutual compact. Then separating from the Legions for the first time, they raised a trench apart, and encamped by themselves, in spite of all the adjurations of VOCULA, who urged with earnestness, “ That surely the Roman State was not
 “ so much rent and distressed by all her civil Wars, as
 “ to become the scorn of even the Treverians and Lingones. To the Romans still remained many faithful
 “ Provinces, victorious Armies, the Fortune of the Empire, and the Gods armed with vengeance in their behalf. Thus had SACROVIR fallen, in times past, and
 “ the revolting Eduans ; thus more lately had VINDEX
 “ and the Gauls ; so many foes in so many encounters. Now again must they who thus wantonly violated the
 “ sacred bonds of leagues, expect the same heavy doom, with the wrath of the same angry Deities. Better than
 “ the late Emperors had the deified JULIUS, better had the deified AUGUSTUS known their spirit. The benignity of GALBA and reduction of their tribute had
 “ but inspired them with fresh malignity and hostile designs. Because they had been holden in gentle subjection, they had now recourse to open enmity. As
 “ soon as they were routed, sacked and impoverished, they would again be our friends.” When with great asperity and vehemence he had uttered these expressions, and afterwards perceived that CLASSICUS and TUTOR persevered in their desertion and treason, he returned back again, and proceeded to Novesium. Two miles distant

distant from thence the Gauls pitched in the open fields. Thither incessantly resorted our soldiers and Centurions, and there their venal spirits were purchased at a price. They even bargained to perpetrate an abomination prodigious and new, that They, a Roman Army, should swear solemn fealty to Foreigners, nay give earnest of an iniquity so huge and flagrant, by shedding the blood of their General Officers, or, by delivering them up under chains. VOCULA, though by many persuaded to fly, judged it becoming him to dare danger, and therefore assembling the soldiery, reasoned on this wise.

“ Upon no occasion have I ever entertained you with
 “ any discourse of mine, either under higher anxiety for
 “ you, or greater calm and security within my self. For,
 “ that against me you have concerted a tragical doom,
 “ is what I hear with chearfulness, and amidst so many
 “ calamities from our enemies, await death as the wel-
 “ come close and issue of my miseries. For you I am
 “ filled with shame, filled with compassion; you who
 “ are now threaten’d by no impending combat, you against
 “ whom no host is now arrayed. Since this in truth were
 “ no more than the ordinary lot of arms, no more than
 “ the universal usage of hostile armies. Alas, with your
 “ hands and swords CLASSICUS hopes to maintain a war
 “ against the Roman People: Nay, he boasts a new Em-
 “ pire of the Gauls, and that thither your allegiance is
 “ transferred. Suppose Fortune has at present failed you,
 “ and your bravery forsaken you; are there not examples
 “ of old to rouse you, how often the Roman Legions
 “ made it their choice rather to perish than to be driven
 “ from the post which they were to maintain? Often have
 “ even our confederates, upon our account endured to
 “ have their native Cities sacked and overthrown, endured
 “ to be burnt themselves with their tender wives and chil-
 “ dren in one common conflagration. Nor other con-
 “ sideration had they for suffering a fate so tragical, than
 “ to preserve inviolate their faith and their fame. Signal
 “ at this instant is the patience exercised by our own
 “ Legions at the ancient encampment: They are pressed
 “ with famine, pressed with a siege; yet still persist un-
 “ shaken by alarming terrors, or by alluring promises.

“ To us here, besides the strength of men and arms, be-
 “ sides the defence and noble bulwarks of our camp,
 “ there remain stores of grain, stores of provision, such
 “ as would last even during a long war. Treasure was
 “ lately found, abundant to discharge even the public
 “ Donative; which, whether you chuse to construe it
 “ as presented by VESPASIAN or by VITELLIUS, is
 “ surely a largess to you from the Roman Emperor.
 “ For you who have proved victorious in so many wars,
 “ for you who have so often routed the enemy, at Gel-
 “ duba, at the ancient encampment, in so many encoun-
 “ ters, to dread coming to a combat were indeed dege-
 “ nerate and unworthy: Yet, if you fear it, you may
 “ avoid it. You have ramparts and walls, and there are
 “ stratagems for gaining time, till from the adjacent Pro-
 “ vinces bodies of Auxiliaries and compleat Armies ar-
 “ rive at once to relieve us. Be it so, that in me you
 “ find ground for distaste: You have still other General
 “ Officers, you have your Tribunes; nay, there are Cen-
 “ turions or even common Men whence to make choice.
 “ Only let not a story so monstrous be divulged over the
 “ face of the earth, that CIVILIS and CLASSICUS are
 “ invading Italy with you for their champions and sup-
 “ port. Were the Germans and Gauls to lead you against
 “ the walls of Rome, would you, would you indeed
 “ like public enemies fight against your Country? Hor-
 “ rour seizes my soul whilst to my self I represent an abo-
 “ mination so enormous and shocking. For TUTOR, a
 “ Treverian, as for a Roman General, shall nightly guards
 “ be pompously posted? Shall a Batavian give the word
 “ in the Camp, a Batavian the signal for battle? Will
 “ you supply, as recruits, the German hosts? What will
 “ prove the end of such unnatural wickedness? When
 “ against you the Roman Legions shall advance embat-
 “ tled, will you then, from having deserted to the ene-
 “ my, desert back again? Of old traitors to the Empire,
 “ will you become new traitors to your present friends,
 “ and thus distracted and entangled between old oaths
 “ and new, be miserably agitated to and fro by opposite
 “ inclinations and ties, pursued all the while by the ven-
 “ geance of the angry Deities? Upon thee, O *Jupiter*,

“ all good, all great, upon thee whose glory during a
 “ tract of eight hundred and twenty years, we have by
 “ the celebration of so many triumphs pursued ; as also
 “ upon thee, *Romulus*, Parent of Rome, I with adora-
 “ tion call, that if it be not your will that under my
 “ command this camp be preserved from all profanation
 “ and stain, at least suffer it not to be vitiated and un-
 “ hallowed by TUTOR and CLASSICUS. To the Roman
 “ soldiers grant hearts intirely innocent, or timely and
 “ guiltless remorse.”

VARIOUS was the reception which this speech found, according to the different operations of hope, and fear and shame in the hearers. VOCULA, having retired, was preparing to put a present period to his life, but by his freedmen and slaves restrained from preventing with his own hands an impending death altogether ignominious. Moreover CLASSICUS hastened his murder by the means of EMILIUS LONGINUS, a deserter from the first Legion, purposely sent. Upon HERENNIUS and NUMISIUS, Commanders of Legions, he judged it sufficient to inflict no more than bonds. After this he passed into the camp, invested with the decorations of a Roman Ruler. But even CLASSICUS, he who was hardened to all feats of iniquity, found words and elocution to fail him, nor could he do more than just recite the new oath. They swore, all who were present swore allegiance to the sovereignty and empire of the Gauls. Upon the murderer of VOCULA he conferred a higher rank in the service, and upon others proper rewards, according as each had signalized himself in deeds of infamy. Between TUTOR and CLASSICUS was shared the charge of administering the war. TUTOR at the head of a powerful band begirt Cologne, and obliged the inhabitants to take the same oath, as he did all the soldiers who lay further up the Rhine: For at Magontiacum the Tribunes and Camp-Marshal having refused it, the former he slew, the other he drove from thence. CLASSICUS culling out every the most notorious profligate from amongst those who had gone over to the enemy, ordered them to “ proceed to the an-
 “ cient encampment, and upon the men besieged there
 “ to press the tempting offer of full pardon and mercy,
 “ if

“ if they would comply with the present measures: Other-
 “ wise, they had no resource of hope. Devouring fa-
 “ mine, and the raging sword, with the last and most
 “ unrelenting miseries was what they must expect and en-
 “ dure.” To this message they who were sent added the
 argument and influence of their own example.

HITHER and thither the besieged found themselves
 swayed between honour and ignominy, here inspired by
 faith and duty, there urged by pinching want. During
 this their hesitation their provisions failed them, not only
 the ordinary, but even such as were extraordinary. For,
 having quite consumed in food their horses, their beasts
 of burden, and other animals, which, however abomina-
 ble and impure necessity had converted into use and suste-
 nance; they at last supported themselves by plucking
 shrubs and plants, and picking the herbs which sprouted
 amongst the stones of the walls; and indeed shewed
 themselves glaring instances of wretchedness and patience;
 till upon so much glory they brought a foul stain by an
 issue very infamous, in sending Deputies to CIVILIS to
 implore their life. Neither were these their supplications
 received till they had first sworn homage and fidelity to
 the Gauls. He stipulated for the plunder of the camp,
 then assigned guards to detain and secure the money, slaves
 and baggage, with others for a convoy to the men, who
 were departing thus divested of all. When they had tra-
 velled about five miles, the Germans rushed upon them,
 and assailed them in their march, utterly unapprized of
 danger. All the remarkably brave fell fighting upon the
 spot; many were slain flying and dispersed. The remain-
 der fled back to the camp. It must be owned, CIVILIS
 made sore complaint, and upbraided the Germans, “ That
 “ by this cruel proceeding they had violated their plight-
 “ ed faith.” Whether such resentment were feigned, or
 whether he really could not contain these violent men de-
 lighting in blood, is a doubt not easily resolved. When
 they had sacked and pillaged the camp, they threw in
 firebrands and set it on a blaze; and such as by escaping
 survived the late conflict, were every man now devoured
 by the flames.

CIVILIS, who, in pursuance of a barbarous vow, had suffered his hair to grow ever since he had taken up arms against the Romans, having now accomplished the slaughter of the Legions, cut short his long locks, lank and red. Nay, it was reported that to his son yet very young he presented some of the prisoners, to be by him pierced with arrows shot and javelins darted, of such size as was fit for the diversion of a child. For the rest, he neither swore himself, nor made any Batavian swear fealty to the Gauls: For he relied upon the great power of the Germans, and concluded, that should it prove necessary to have a struggle with the Gauls for the supreme rule, he himself excelled in warlike renown, and had superior claim. MUMMIUS LUPERCUS was, with many other gifts, sent away to be presented to VELEDA. A virgin this, who was a native Bructerian, and ruled over a territory of wide extent. Such is the ancient usage of the Germans. They imagine that in many of their women a spirit of divination dwells; and, as superstition is ever progressive and growing, they come to think them Deities. At that very juncture, the reverence and credit of VELEDA were greatly advanced; for that, to the Germans she had prophesied all success, and to our Legions utter destruction. In the journey thither LUPERCUS was slain: A few Tribunes and Centurions, such as had been born in Gaul, were saved and reserved as pledges of public faith and alliance. The winter encampments of the auxiliary Cohorts, those of the auxiliary Horse, and those of the Legions, were razed and burned: Indeed none were left but that at Magontiacum, and that at Vindonissa.

To the thirteenth Legion, as also to the auxiliary troops which had with it gone over to the enemy, orders were given to retire from Novesium into the Colony of the Treverians, and a particular day was limited for their leaving the camp. The interval they passed under agitations and anxieties many and various. Terrified were all the most dastardly by the fate of those massacred at the ancient encampment. The more valuable part were struck with confusion, and a sense of infamy, when they reflected, “What kind of march they had to make, under

“ whose conduct they were to be led; and that all remained in the meer will and option of such as over themselves they had created Lords of life and death.” Others, utterly insensible of any shame or disgrace, stowed about them their money or whatever else they prized most. Some prepared their arms and accoutred themselves, as if they had been proceeding to battle. Whilst in these thoughts their minds were employed, the hour of their departure came, and sadder it proved than their own sorrowful presages. For, within the circuit of the entrenchment the deformity of their condition was not so manifest and remarkable. By drawing them out into the fields, under the open day, their reproach became evident and notorious. From the standards were taken down the Images of the Roman Emperors: the Roman Ensigns were neglected and obscure, while on every side were seen refulgent the Banners of the Gauls. In heavy silence marched the wretched host, like a multitude solemnizing a funeral in a train long and mournful. For their Head and Leader they had *CLAUDIUS SANCTUS*, one bereft of an eye, in his countenance hideous and truculent, in his faculties still more defective and impotent. The ignominy became redoubled by the accession of the other Legion, who had evacuated their camp at Bonn. Moreover, as the rumour flew that the Legions were led captive; all they who lately trembled at the bare name of the Romans, ran impatiently from the fields, out of their houses, and on all hands flocked in crowds to behold a spectacle thus surprizing and new, and indeed shewed themselves delighted with it beyond measure. These rejoicings and insults of the petulant populace, were what the squadron of horse entitled *Picentina* could not bear: So that despising the fair promises of *SANCTUS*, as well as his menaces, they went off directly to *Magontiacum*. In their way they happened to meet *LONGINUS*, (him who butchered *VOCULA*) and covering the assassin with darts and wounds they thus made a step towards expiating hereafter their own faults and defection. The Legions, without offering in the least to change their rout, proceeded, and encamped under the walls of the *Treverians*.

CIVILIS and CLASSICUS, elated with a torrent of good fortune, had it under deliberation, whether to resign the City of Cologne to be sacked by their armies. From the savageness of their spirit, and their avidity of plunder, they were prompted to the pillage and destruction of the Town. What withstood them was the policy of war, and that they aimed at the renown of clemency, so useful and important to such as are erecting a new Empire. CIVILIS too was softened by the memory of a particular obligation, for that, upon the first rise of the public combustions, the people of that Colony having seized his son amongst them, had treated him under his confinement with great honour and courtesy. But the nations beyond the Rhine bore towards that City notable animosity and hate, for its signal opulence and increase: Nor, in their opinion, could the war be otherwise ended, than by rendering it a place of free resort to all Germans in common, or by laying it quite waste, and thence dispersing the whole clan of the Ubians. The Tensterians, therefore, a people separated from Cologne by the Rhine, sent Deputies thither, with orders to declare their embassy to the common assembly of the City: And in the following strain the sternest of the Deputies pronounced it.

“ FOR your return into the name and community of
 “ the Germans, we present our thanks to our common
 “ Deities, and to MARS the principal Deity. To you
 “ also we bring congratulations, that at length you will
 “ live like freemen amongst the free. For, till now, the
 “ Romans had hemmed in lands and rivers, nay, in some
 “ sort, the very air and sky; purposely to cut off all
 “ communication and intercourse between you and us,
 “ or to subject us to an indignity still more contumelious
 “ to men born for war, that of coming amongst you
 “ stripped of our arms, as ’twere almost naked, under a
 “ guard, and obliged to pay duty. Now in order to
 “ have this our mutual friendship secured and established
 “ for ever, we desire of you to demolish these bonds and
 “ ramparts of your servitude, the walls of your City.
 “ Even beasts that are naturally savage and wild, if you
 “ hold them confined, are brought to forget their bold-
 “ nefs

“ nefs and vigour. We defire you to maffacre all the
 “ Romans within your territories: Hard to be reconciled
 “ is popular liberty with lordly Mafters. We defire you,
 “ when you have finifhed the flaugter, to apply all their
 “ goods to the common lot and benefit, nor to fuffer
 “ ought to be concealed, or appropriated by particulars
 “ to their own feparate advantage. We defire that to us
 “ as well as to you it may be allowed to inhabit both
 “ fides of the Rhine, as of old it was to our forefathers.
 “ Nature with the fame equal hand, that upon all men
 “ beftows the univerfal bleffing of light and day, has
 “ alfo given to fuch as are brave a right of poffeffing all
 “ lands and regions wherefoever found. Refume the na-
 “ tive inftitutions of your country, refume the hereditary
 “ ufages of Germans, by fhaking off all foreign luxury
 “ and voluptuoufnefs, to which the Romans owe, much
 “ more than to their arms, the eftablifhment of their
 “ power over fubdued nations. Then, like a people in
 “ their primitive purity, and prime vigour, and forget-
 “ ting all bondage, you will at leaft live independently
 “ your felves, or perhaps bear rule over others.”

THE inhabitants of Cologne, after they had taken time
 for confultation, when they found that it was neither con-
 fiftent with their dread of future dangers, to fubmit to
 fuch conditions, nor with their prefent fituation to reject
 them openly, made anfwer on this wife. “ The firft oc-
 “ cafion prefented for afferting our liberty, we have fnatch-
 “ ed with more ardour than precaution, on purpofe to
 “ be joined in union with you and the other Germans
 “ our brethren. To the walls of our City, inftead of
 “ throwing them down, much fafer it is to add new
 “ ftrength, whilft againft us the armies of the Romans
 “ are thus terribly affembling. If within our borders any
 “ foreigners out of Italy or the Provinces have at any time
 “ been found; fuch the war hath confumed, or they are
 “ fled feverally home. Of all thofe who were transplant-
 “ ed hither of old, and are linked with us by intermar-
 “ riages, as alfo of their defcendents, this is the native
 “ country. Neither do we efteem you fo mercilefs and
 “ unjuft, as to require us to flay our parents, our bro-
 “ thers, and our children. All taxes, all duties charged
 “ upon

“ upon commerce, we declare to be cancelled and abo-
 “ lished. Communication and resort hither we grant you
 “ free and unguarded, yet only during the day and all
 “ arms apart, till such time as these rules and institutions,
 “ yet new and tender, ripen into age by daily habit and
 “ usage. For common judges between us we will have
 “ recourse to CIVILIS and VELEDA: before them the
 “ compact shall be ratified.” When the Tencterians were
 thus mollified, Embassadors were sent, with presents, to
 CIVILIS and VELEDA, and from them obtained all things
 pursuant to the wishes of the people of Cologne. But to
 appear in the presence of VELEDA, or to speak to her,
 was refused them. They were debarred from beholding
 her, thence to gain to her person higher veneration and
 awe. She her self remained shut up in a high tower.
 Thither one purposely chosen from amongst her kindred,
 carried what the consultants proposed, and thence brought
 her answers, like the minister and interpreter of a Deity.

CIVILIS seeing his power increased by an alliance with
 the people of Cologne, determined to gain the neighbour-
 ing Cities, or to make war upon such as opposed him.
 As he had already won the country of the Sunicians, and
 formed their young men into Cohorts; to prevent his
 further acquisitions CLAUDIUS LABEO, at the head of
 a band of Batavians, Tungrians and Nervians, suddenly
 raised, set himself to withstand him. LABEO confided
 in the situation of his post; for he had before seized
 the bridge upon the river Meuse: And as long as the
 encounter continued in the pass, the issue was uncertain,
 till the Germans swimming across, assailed him in the
 rear. CIVILIS withal flung himself into the band of
 the Tungrians, and whether through intrepidity, or by
 agreement and collusion he did it, declared with an ex-
 tended voice; “ We have not therefore had recourse to
 “ war, that the Batavians and Treverians might exercise
 “ dominion over these nations. Far from us be such
 “ presumption. Receive us only upon terms of alliance.
 “ To you I commit my self without conditions, whe-
 “ ther you chuse me for your Leader, or dispose of me
 “ as a common soldier.” With this speech the crowd
 were struck, and all sheathed their swords, when pre-
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sently CAMPANUS and JUVENALIS, two Chiefs amongst the Tungrians, surrender'd him the whole nation. LARBO, ere he was quite beset, escaped. To CIVILIS also submitted the Betasians and Nervians, and to his other forces he joined them. He was thus become mighty in fway, since the several States were either awed by his power, or willing to follow his fortune.

JULIUS SABINUS the while, having despitefully pulled down and broken the public Tables containing the Confederacy with Rome, caused himself to be proclaimed *Cæsar*, and leading a huge and tumultuous host of his countrymen, suddenly invaded the Sequanians, an adjacent State persevering in its fidelity to us. Nor were the Sequanians averse to fight him. To the juster cause fortune proved propitious. The Lingones were routed. Their Leader SABINUS, who with notable rashness had proceeded to battle, with equal cowardice and affright fled from it; nay, in order to raise a report that he had perished, he set on fire the country-dwelling whither he had fled. There he was believed to have suffered a voluntary death. But by what singular artifices he lurked, and thence saved his life yet for nine years, I shall hereafter recount, as also the unshaken constancy of his friends, with the signal example shewn by EPPONIA his wife. By the victory of the Sequanians the fury of the war was stay'd. The several States began by degrees to recover coolness and judgment, to consider mutual right and the obligation of treaties, the rest following the example of that of Rheims: This people published over all the Provinces of Gaul a proposal and invitation, "for assembling
" their several Deputies, to consult, which conduced
" most to the good of the whole, Liberty or Peace."

At Rome these transactions were all represented worse than they were, and filled MUCIANUS with anguish. For, though he had already chosen two signal Commanders, GALLUS ANNIUS and PETILIUS CERIALIS, he feared that they would scarce be able to bear the weight of the war. Neither was it safe to leave the City without a ruler. He dreaded the spirit of DOMITIAN, pursuing his headstrong lusts. He distrusted ANTONIUS PRIMUS and ARRIUS VARUS, as above I have related. VARUS who
2
commanded

commanded the Prætorian Guards, was thence vested with power and arms. Him MUCIANUS displaced, and as some solacement for his loss, set him over the public stores of grain. Moreover to mollify DOMITIAN, who wanted not affection for VARUS, he bestowed the Command of the Guards upon ARRETINUS CLEMENS, one nearly allied to the house of VESPASIAN, and very dear to DOMITIAN. He urged, "That under the Emperor CALIGULA, the father of ARRETINUS had gloriously discharged the same trust: 'Twas a name well pleasing to the soldiery; and tho he were by rank a Senator, he was equal to both functions." In the intended expedition were employed all men of eminent quality in the City; as were others through application and interest: and now DOMITIAN and MUCIANUS equipped themselves for war, with spirits very different; the former pressing and impatient from views of his own and the fire of youth; the latter devising procrastinations and delays, thence to check his ardor, lest following the impetuosity of his age, and instigated by mischievous prompters, were he once master of the army, he might disconcert all measures whether for peace or war. There were led over the Alps the sixth and eighth Legions, these who had lately proved conquerors, as also the one and twentieth of the Vitellian Legions, and the second of the new levies, by different routs, some over the Penine and Cottian mountains, some over the Graian. From Britain was called away the fourteenth Legion; as from Spain were the sixth and tenth. The Cities therefore of the Gauls, quickened by the tidings which flew of the advance of the army, and of themselves disposed to gentler counsels, assembled at Rheims. There waited here Embassadors from the Treverians, particularly TULLIUS VALENTINUS, an incendiary vehemently exciting war. He, in an harangue purposely framed, vented a torrent of all the grievances and evils commonly objected to great empires, with many contumelies and odious imputations upon the Romans; for he had a turbulent spirit fit to rouse insurrections, and was favoured by many for his intemperate eloquence.

BUT

BUT JULIUS AUSPEX, one of the Chiefs in the State of Rheims, displayed at large the might of the Romans, and the blessings of peace, shewed, "That war might be undertaken even by the spiritless and cowardly, but must be conducted at the peril of all the active and brave, and that already over their heads hung the terror and vengeance of the Legions." He thus restrained all who had superior prudence, by the motives of reverence and allegiance, all the younger men by those of danger and fear. Thus they extolled the magnanimity of VALENTINUS, but followed the counsel of AUSPEX. To the Treverians and Lingones 'tis certain it proved a great obstacle with the Gauls, that in the insurrection of VINDEX, they had adhered to VERGINIUS. From pursuing a general confederacy many were deterred by the mutual jealousy and competition of the several Provinces. It was asked, "Where must be the head of the war? whither must they recur for supreme authority and the direction of the Auspices? and should all their pursuits prosper, what place would they chuse for the seat of Empire?" No victory had they gained, yet already were they jarring. Some boasted their alliances, some their wealth and forces, others their antiquity; and from all these each claimed superior prerogative and rule. From their anxiety about future uncertainties and events, they at last agreed to acquiesce in their present condition. To the Treverians letters were written in the name of the States of Gaul, "to lay down their arms whilst their pardon was yet to be procured, and their friends ready to intercede for them, if they manifested remorse." This counsel the same VALENTINUS opposed, and against it shut the ears of his Nation; not that he was so intent upon providing for war, as assiduous in popular harangues.

IN truth, nor Treverians nor Lingones, nor others of the revolted nations, acted suitably to the mighty peril and difficulty which they had ventured to encounter. Even their Leaders united not to promote the common interest: CIVILIS was tracing the Belgic desarts, with design to take CLAUDIUS LABEO, or to drive him away. CLASSICUS was mostly immersed in sloth and ease, as

if his Monarchy were established in security, and he were thus enjoying it. Nor indeed did TUTOR hasten to fortify with garrisons the upper bank of the Rhine, no more than the ridges and passes of the Alps. During all this the twenty first Legion forced an entrance by the way of VINDONISSA, as did SEXTILIUS FELIX with the auxiliary Cohorts through Rhætia. To these there joined themselves the squadron of horse entitled the *Singular*, they who had been formerly called to the assistance of VITELLIUS, and then espoused the party of VESPASIAN. Over them commanded JULIUS BRIGANTICUS, sister's son to CIVILIS, hated by his uncle and hating him: Such usually are the enmities of relations, of all others the keenest. TUTOR to his Treverian forces, already augmented by a fresh levy of the Vangiones, Ceracatians and Tribocians, added a reinforcement of veteran foot and horse. These legionary soldiers, debauched by promises, or vanquished by fear, at first slew a Cohort sent before the rest by SEXTILIUS FELIX, but anon seeing the Roman Leaders and Armies approach, by an honourable desertion returned again to us. Their example was followed by the Tribocians, the Vangiones and Ceracatians. TUTOR accompanied by the Treverians, avoiding Magontiacum, retired to Bingium, confiding in the situation of the place, for that he had broken the bridge upon the river Nava. But by the Cohorts who, under the conduct of SEXTILIUS, pursued him and had discovered a ford, he was surprized and routed. By this defeat the Treverians were thoroughly struck and humbled. The common sort cast away their arms, and straggled over the fields. Some of their Chiefs, to appear the first who had renounced the war, repaired for sanctuary to the cities which had not relinquished their alliance with Rome. The Legions, whom I have above related to have been removed from Novesium and Bonn to the State of the Treverians, renewed of their own accord the oath of allegiance to VESPASIAN. These transactions happened in the absence of VALENTINUS. As he hastened to return, full of rage, and bent upon reviving universal confusion and calamity, the Legions withdrew to the Mediomatrici, a people confederate with us. VALENTINUS and TUTOR urged the

Treverians again to arms, and caused HERENNIUS and NUMISIUS, Commanders of Legions, to be slain, thence to strengthen the common band of iniquity and guilt, by precluding all hopes of pardon.

SUCH was the state of the war, when PETILIUS CERALIS arrived at Magontiacum. By his arrival, confident hopes were raised. He himself, passionate for fighting, and rather brave in despising the enemy than circumspect to ward against them, by the boldness and defiance of his language fired the minds of the soldiery: for he resolved, on the first occasion of meeting the enemy, to proceed without delay to battle. The levies made amongst the Gauls he sent home again to their respective cities, with orders there to declare, “ That for the defence of the
 “ Roman Empire the Roman Legions sufficed. Our al-
 “ lies might return to the ease and occupations of peace,
 “ in the same security as if the war were ended, since
 “ the Roman bands had now undertaken it.” This behaviour augmented the duty and submission of the Gauls. For having recovered again the youth of their country, they bore with the greater patience the exaction of Tribute. They indeed proved the more obsequious for being contemned. But CIVILIS and CLASSICUS, when they learnt, that TUTOR was defeated, the Treverians slaughtered, all things prosperous to their enemies, were under great hurry and affright, and gathering together their scattered forces warned VALENTINUS the while, by repeated messages, not to risk the whole cause in a battle. Hence with the more rapidity CERALIS moved; and having sent certain persons into the region of the Mediomatrics, with directions to lead the Legions there by a shorter way against the foe, he drew into one body whatever soldiers he found at Magontiacum, with all that he had brought over the Alps, and in three marches reached Rigodulum. A place this where VALENTINUS, with a numerous band of Treverians, was posted, defended and enclosed by the mountains and the river Moselle. He had besides added deep trenches, with barricades of huge stones. These bulwarks daunted not the Roman General, nor stay’d him from ordering the foot to force a passage, nor from leading the horse in battle array

array up the hill, in contempt of the enemy, as men who were levied at random, and could derive no such aid from their situation, but that his would find still more in their own bravery. In mounting the ascent some small stay was found, from the great flight of the enemy's missive weapons. The moment they closed, they were thrown down, and tumbled like the ruins of a falling edifice. Moreover part of the cavalry wheeling round the more level brows of the mountain, took the most illustrious Belgians, and amongst them VALENTINUS the General.

CERIALIS on the day following entered the Colony of the Treverians, and the soldiers were passionate for razing the City, for that "this was the birth-place of
 " CLASSICUS, this that of TUTOR; men by whose barbarous wickedness the Legions were besieged and slain.
 " What guilt so mighty had Cremona incurred, a City
 " plucked from the bosom of Italy only for having postponed for a single night the glory of the conquerors?
 " Upon the borders of Germany stood this Capital untouched, nay triumphing in the spoils, triumphing
 " in the slaughter of our armies and Commanders. The
 " spoil of the place let the Exchequer reap and enjoy.
 " To themselves, to the soldiers, the conflagration of
 " the place and utter ruin of a Colony so rebellious,
 " would be abundant satisfaction, such as would compensate the loss and destruction of so many camps."

CERIALIS dreading infamy to himself, should he be thought to inure the soldiery to licentiousness and cruelty, rebuked their rage, and they obeyed; for since civil wars had ceased, they were more tractable and observant in such as were foreign. From this bent another object diverted their attention, even the miserable aspect of the Legions called from the State of the Mediomatrici-ans. Sad and dejected they stood, filled with compunction for their ignominy and crimes, their eyes unmovably fixed upon the ground. Between the two armies, when they joined, no mutual salutation ensued. To such as offered them consolation, to those who exhorted them to be of good cheer, they made no answer, seeking to hide themselves in their tents, and flying the light. Nor so much
 through

through peril or apprehension were they thus confounded, as through shame and dishonour. Under consternation too remained the other body, they who had just been conquerors. As by arguments and supplications they durst not intercede for themselves, they implored their pardon by silence and weeping, till CERIAUS pacified their minds. He urged, "That whatever had happened through
 " the turbulence of the soldiers, the dissention of their
 " Commanders, or the wicked artifices of their enemies,
 " had been no other than the inevitable operations of fate.
 " This day they must consider as the first day of their
 " warfare and allegiance. Their offences past neither the
 " Emperor nor himself would remember." They were then received into the same camp, and through every company an order was published, that upon any contest or dispute, no one should presume to reproach his fellow soldiers with any past insurrection or defeat. Anon having assembled the Treverians and Lingones, he spoke to them in the following strain.

" The faculty of eloquence I never cultivated; and
 " 'tis only by arms that I have asserted and maintained
 " the magnanimity of the Romans. But since with you
 " words are found of such exceeding weight; since good
 " and evil are not estimated by their qualities and nature,
 " but by the clamours of incendiaries; I determine to
 " offer you a few considerations, which, since the war
 " is dissipated, may be more advantageous for you to
 " hear, than for us to have explained. Into your terri-
 " tories and those of the other Gauls the Roman Com-
 " manders entered not from any avidity or passion of
 " their own, but at the earnest suit of your ancestors
 " then urged by intestine quarrels even to common ruin
 " and desolation. Nay the Germans, called in for suc-
 " cours, had fastened the yoke of servitude upon friends
 " and enemies, without distinction. Abundantly appa-
 " rent it is and glaring, in how many battles we have
 " encounter'd the Cimbrians and Teutones, with what
 " infinite fatigue and distress to our armies, as well as
 " with what success, we have conducted so many Ger-
 " man wars. Nor do we therefore guard the Rhine,
 " that by it we may secure Italy; but only to prevent
 " another

“ another ARIOVISTUS from gaining the Sovereignty over
 “ the Gauls. Do you believe your selves dearer to CIVI-
 “ LIS and the Batavians, dearer to the nations beyond the
 “ Rhine, than were your fathers and grandfathers to the
 “ ancestors of these? For the descent of the Germans
 “ into the Provinces of Gaul, the same motives will be
 “ for ever subsisting, even the gratification of their ap-
 “ petites, their avarice, their fondness of changing seats,
 “ that forsaking their own marshes and desarts they may
 “ possess this your fine and fertile soil, and you with it.
 “ But they tempt you with Liberty, with fine pretences
 “ and fine names. Nor did ever man thirst for domi-
 “ nion to himself and to put bonds upon others, without
 “ employing the same popular sounds. Tyrants and wars
 “ there ever were amongst the Gauls, till to our jurif-
 “ diction you submitted. We, however frequently pro-
 “ voked by you, have never exercised the right of con-
 “ querors further over you, than just to enjoin you what
 “ we found necessary for maintaining public peace. For,
 “ neither can nations be maintained in repose without
 “ arms, nor arms without soldiers and pay, nor pay with-
 “ out tribute. In all other matters, your lot is the same
 “ with ours. ’Tis you that frequently command our
 “ Legions, ’tis you that administer these Provinces as well
 “ as other Provinces. From you we keep nothing di-
 “ stinct, nothing withholden. From the reign too of
 “ princes popular and beloved you derive equal bene-
 “ fit with us, however remote you live; and cruel
 “ princes are always ready to discharge their fury up-
 “ on those who are nearest. With the same patience
 “ that you bear a barren season or tempestuous rains,
 “ and other natural calamities, learn to bear the prodi-
 “ gality or avarice of your Sovereigns. Vices there will
 “ be as long as there are men: yet such misfortunes are
 “ not perpetual, and by the intervention and return of
 “ a better lot, compensation is made. Unless perhaps
 “ you hope for gentler rule under the reign of TUTOR
 “ and CLASSICUS, and that, with impositions lighter
 “ than the present, armies will be raised and maintained,
 “ such as are able to repulse the Britons and Germans.
 “ For were (what the Gods forbid) the Romans expelled,
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“ what else must succeed but universal war of nation
 “ against nation? By propitious fortune and good disci-
 “ pline for a course of eight hundred years, has this
 “ frame of Empire been settled into compactness and
 “ strength, nor can it be rent asunder without bringing
 “ destruction upon such as rend it. But to you Gauls,
 “ of all men, the greatest danger is threaten’d, you who
 “ possess gold and wealth, things which are the strongest
 “ temptations to war. Hence you ought to love peace
 “ and cultivate it, to love and reverence Rome, a City
 “ from which we possess in common, the vanquished and
 “ vanquishers, the same equal privileges and protection.
 “ Take warning from experience, from your trial of both
 “ fortunes, and yield not to a spirit of revolt followed
 “ by destruction, rather than to the duty of submission
 “ accompanied with security.” With this discourse he
 calmed and encouraged them; for they were apprehending
 a chastisement very severe.

THE conquering army were yet in possession of the
 territories of the Treverians, when from CIVILIS and
 CLASSICUS there came letters to Cerialis, and in sub-
 stance contained, “ That VESPASIAN was certainly dead,
 “ though the couriers suppressed the tidings of his death.
 “ With intestine war Italy and Rome were utterly con-
 “ sumed. MUCIANUS and DOMITIAN were only names,
 “ vain and destitute of strength. Now were Cerialis
 “ disposed to assume to himself the Empire of the Gauls,
 “ they declared themselves content with the extent and
 “ bounds of their own State. But if to such a proposal
 “ he preferred a battle, neither was that what they de-
 “ clined. To CIVILIS and CLASSICUS he returned no
 answer. Him who brought the letters he sent to DOMI-
 TIAN. From all quarters the enemy advanced in parties.
 Many censured Cerialis for suffering them to join, when
 he might have surprized and routed them piecemeal. The
 Roman Army enclosed their camp with a trench and
 rampart; for at first they had encamped without any
 defence.

IN the German host were found opposite opinions and
 debate. CIVILIS judged “ it necessary to await the ar-
 “ rival of the nations beyond the Rhine: Through dread
 “ of

“ of these the Roman forces would be struck with dif-
“ may and trod under foot. Of the Gauls what other
“ account could be made, but that they would be the
“ sure prey of the conquerors? Yet the Belgians, who
“ are the strength of the Gauls, espouse us openly, at
“ least favour us in their hearts.” TUTOR maintained,
“ That by procrastination and time the power of the
“ Romans would increase, as from all parts their armies
“ were assembling. From Britain a Legion was trans-
“ ported; from Spain there were Legions called; out
“ of Italy the Legions were already advancing: Forces
“ these not hastily levied, but old soldiers trained in
“ war. The Germans, whose coming they themselves
“ hoped, were people subject to no authority, no disci-
“ pline or management; but guided in all things by
“ their own headstrong humour. Of money and pre-
“ sents, by which only they were to be corrupted, the
“ Romans had far the greater store; nor was any man
“ so addicted to arms, as not to chuse repose rather than
“ danger, where the wages were equal. Now were a
“ battle forthwith to ensue, Cerialis had no Legions
“ to support him, save such as remained of the German
“ army, and had stood engaged in a confederacy with
“ the Gauls. Even their success in routing, beyond their
“ own hopes, the tumultuous band led by VALENTINUS,
“ was an incentive to their temerity and that of their
“ Leader. Again they would assuredly venture, and thus
“ fall into the hands, not of a youth void of experience,
“ rather exercised in words and in animating popular as-
“ semblies, than in weapons and war, but into the hands
“ of CIVILIS, the hands of CLASSICUS. At the sight
“ of these Chiefs, their former terrors would repossess their
“ souls, their former flight and defeats, their former fa-
“ mine and miseries, with the sad reflection how often
“ they had been taken captive, how often holden their
“ lives at the mercy of these their conquerors. Neither
“ were the Treverians or the Lingones staid by choice or
“ affection to the Romans: They were ready to resume
“ their arms as soon as their present fear was removed.”
CLASSICUS ended the contest by approving the counsel of
TUTOR, and instantly they pursued it.

IN

IN arraying their army, to the Ubians and Lingones the center was assigned. Upon the right wing were posted the Batavian Cohorts; upon the left the Bructerians and Tencterians. To the assault they proceeded with such suddenness and rapidity, part descending from the hills, others passing between the highway and the river Moselle, that Cerialis whilst yet in his chamber, nay in his bed (for he passed not the night in the camp) had at the same time an account of the encounter, and of the defeat of his men. Whilst he continued reproaching the timidity of such as brought it, the general havock and rout appeared manifest to his sight. The entrenchments of the Legions were forced, the horse put to flight, the bridge of communication over the Moselle, in the middle of the City, seized by the enemy. Cerialis undaunted by all this confusion and distress, with his own hand staying and rallying the fugitives, daring and active, tho void of armour, amidst swords and darts, by a happy temerity and the accession of all who were remarkably brave, recovered the bridge and secured it by a guard of chosen men. Anon returning to the camp, flying and dispersed he found the companies of the Legions which had been taken at Novesium and Bonn, found the soldiers thin about their standards, and the Eagles nigh surrounded with enemies. Fired with wrath, " 'Tis not
 " FLACCUS, said he, 'tis not VOCULA that you are de-
 " serting. Against me you have no treason to charge,
 " nor in my conduct is there ought that needs to be ex-
 " cused, save my credulity in trusting that you had for-
 " got your late alliance with the Gauls, and again recall-
 " ed and held fast your natural fealty to Rome. 'Twill
 " be my lot to be ranked with such as NUMISIUS and
 " HERENNIUS; so that of all your Generals not one
 " might escape falling by the hands of his own soldiers,
 " or by the hand of the enemy. Go, and acquaint
 " VESPASIAN, or, which is nearer, go and acquaint CI-
 " VILIS and CLASSICUS, that in the field of battle you
 " relinquished your Leader. The Legions are coming,
 " they who will not suffer me to perish unrevenged, nor
 " you to go unpunished."

VERY

VERY true were all these charges, and by the Tribunes and Captains the like were urged. They made head by single cohorts, and small companies; for, they could not possibly extend their line, since the enemy every where poured in, and as they fought within the trenches, the tents and baggage proved notable obstructions. TUTOR, and CLASSICUS, and CIVILIS, each in his station, were all busy in animating the fight. The Gauls they prompted by the temptation of liberty, the Batavians by that of glory, the Germans by the allurements of spoil. In truth, to favour the enemy every thing conspired, till the one and twentieth Legion, finding a larger space, and embattling themselves in close array, stood the shock of the foe, and anon repulsed them. Nor without influence divine did it happen, that they who were conquerors so suddenly changed their minds, lost their courage and turned their backs. They themselves declared, that they were dismayed at the sight of the Cohorts, which at the first onset had been routed, but rejoining afterwards upon the tops of the hills, carried the appearance of so many fresh succours. But what marred their victory was a wayward contest amongst themselves about the booty, to pursue which they quitted their enemies. As CERIALIS had by his negligence nigh ruined the cause, so by his vigour and bravery he restored it, and pursuing his good fortune, on that very day took the enemy's camp and razed it.

NOR to the soldiers was long space allowed for repose. The people of Cologne besought aid, and offered to deliver up the wife of CIVILIS and his sister, with the son of CLASSICUS, all pledges left with them to bind their mutual stipulations. In the interval they slaughtered all the Germans living amongst them and dispersed in their houses. Hence their dread and just petitions for protection, ere the enemy had recruited their forces and were prepared to engage in fresh designs, or at least to execute their vengeance. For, CIVILIS too was bent upon proceeding thither furnished with no contemptible force, as confiding in a Cohort which he thought yet intire and the most resolute of all the rest, that composed of Chau-cians and Frizians, and quartered at Tolbiacum in the

territories of Cologn. But he changed his purpose upon sad tidings, that by the fraud of the people of Cologn the Cohort was destroyed; for the former having largely feasted the Germans, and when drunk and asleep, shut them in, set fire to their dwellings and burnt them alive. At the same time Cerialis, by a hasty march, was come to protect that State. Another terror too beset Civilis, lest the fourteenth Legion in conjunction with the fleet from Britain, should distress the Batavians, by devastations upon their sea coasts. But this Legion Fabius Priscus, its Commander, led by land into the territories of the Nervians and Tungrians, and under the Roman protection these two States were taken. Upon the fleet the Caninefates, without staying for an assault, made one; and the greater part of the ships were sunk or seized. Moreover a large multitude of the Nervians, who of their own accord had taken arms in defence of the Romans, were routed by the same Caninefates. Classicus too had a successful encounter with the horsemen sent forward by Cerialis to Novesium. Disasters these which however inconsiderable, yet by being frequent and successive, impaired the credit and renown of the victory lately obtained.

DURING these days Mucianus ordered the son of Vitellius to be slain. He pretended, that civil discord would never cease, unless the seeds of war were crushed and extinguished. Nor would he suffer Antonius Primus to attend Domitian in the concerted expedition; such pain and jealousy he felt from the love of the soldiers to Antonius, as well as from the arrogance of the man, one so far from bearing a superior, that even his equals he could not bear. Thus Antonius retired and proceeded to Vespasian, where he was received, as not suitably to his own hopes, so without any ill countenance or sourness from the Emperor. The mind of Vespasian was under a conflict, on one side sway'd by the great services of Antonius, by whose military conduct the war was unquestionably accomplished, on the other by letters from Mucianus. All the rest at the same time combining to disgrace him, charged him with a pestilent spirit, swollen with pride, and overbearing; and to heighten

heighten the charge added the enormities of his former life. Neither failed he to invite enmities from his contumacious carriage; for with excessive ostentation he was wont to recount his exploits and deserts. The other Commanders he treated with despight, particularly CECINA, as a captive, a mean spirit that had tamely surrend'ed. Hence by degrees he sunk in his character and estimation, yet from the Emperor still retained the face and appearance of friendship.

DURING the months which VESPASIAN passed at Alexandria, awaiting a safe passage from the gentle weather returning with the summer, many miracles were wrought, whence to VESPASIAN was signified celestial favour, with the concurrence and designation of the Deities. A certain man of Alexandria, one of the commonalty noted for want of sight, prostrating himself at his feet implored a cure for his blindness, by premonition from SERAPIS, the God whom that nation, devoted to superstition, adores beyond all others. He besought the Emperor, "That with his spittle he would condescend to wash his cheeks and the balls of his eyes." Another lame in his hand, at the direction of the same God, prayed him to tread upon it. VESPASIAN at first derided and refused them. As they continued importunate, he wavered: now he feared the character and imputation of vanity, anon was drawn into hopes through the intreaties of the supplicants, and the arguments of flatterers. At last he ordered the physicians to examine whether such blindness and such lameness were curable by human aid. The physicians reasoned doubtfully: "In this man the power of sight was not wholly extinct, and would return, were the obstacles removed. The other man's joints were distorted, and might be restored with regular pressure and straining. To the Gods perhaps the cure was well pleasing, and by them the Emperor was ordained the divine instrument to accomplish it. To conclude, from the success of the remedy the glory would accrue to the Prince. If it failed, the wretches themselves must bear the derision." VESPASIAN therefore conceiving that within the reach of his fortune all things lay, and that nothing was any longer incredible, performed

performed the task with a chearful countenance, before a multitude intent upon the issue. Instantly the lame hand recovered full strength, and upon the eyes of the blind light broke in. Both events those who were present continue even now to recount, when from falsification any gain is no longer to be hoped.

HENCE VESPASIAN was seized with a passion more profound for visiting the residence of the Deity, to consult him about the state and fortune of the Empire. He commanded all men to retire from the Temple, and then entered himself. Whilst he was there intent upon contemplating the Deity, behind his own back he perceived one of the Grandees of Egypt named *Basilides*, one whom he knew to be then distant many days journeys from Alexandria, and by sickness confined. He examined the priests, whether *Basilides* had that day entered the Temple: He asked such as he met, whether he had been seen in the City. Then by horsemen purposely dispatched, he fully learnt, that he was at that instant eighty miles from thence. He then understood the vision to be divine, and from the name of *Basilides* inferred an effectual answer.

CONCERNING the original of this Deity the Roman writers are hitherto silent. The arch-priests of Egypt thus recount it; “ That when King PTOLOMY, the first Macedonian who settled the Egyptian State, had with walls fortified Alexandria then lately built, in it reared a Temple, and instituted religious rites, there appeared to him in his sleep a young man of signal beauty, in stature more than human, who admonished him to dispatch into Pontus some of his most trusty friends, thence to bring away his Statue; for that fortunate to his kingdom it would prove, and mighty and glorious would be the city which entertained it: that the young man having thus once appeared, mounted up into heaven in a huge blaze of fire.” PTOLOMY struck with the augury and miraculous apparition, discovered this his mighty vision to the Egyptian priests, whose profession it is to be skilled in things of this sort. But as they appeared to be ignorant of Pontus and of all things foreign, he had recourse to TIMOTHEUS the Athenian, of the race of the Eumolpides, one whom he had sent for from Eleusis,

to preside in the administration of things sacred. Him he asked what kind of superstition this might be, and who that same Deity? TIMOTHEUS informing himself by such as had frequently passed into Pontus, learnt that the City of Sinope stood there, and not far from it a Temple of ancient renown amongst the natives, that of the *Infernal Jupiter*, for that by him stood also a feminine Statue by many called *Proserpina*. But PTOLOMY who, suitably to the spirit of Kings, was very subject to dread, as soon as he had resumed his former security, more bent upon feats of pleasure than those of religion, came by degrees to neglect the pursuit and to apply his mind to other cares; till the same apparition, now more terrible and urging, denounced certain perdition to his person and monarchy, if its orders were not executed. He then directed Embassadors and rich gifts to be dispatched to SCYDROTHERMIS, him who then reigned in Sinope, with orders when they were ready to sail, to repair to the Oracle of the Pythian Apollo. Calm and favourable they found the sea, and the answer of the God void of ambiguity; "That they should proceed, and with them carry home the Image of his father, but leave behind that of his sister."

UPON their arrival at Sinope, to SCYDROTHERMIS they presented their gifts, their suit, and the instructions from their King. The Prince of Sinope found himself under different agitations of spirit. Now he dreaded to offend the Deity, anon was frightened by the menaces of the people opposing the removal of his Statue; and frequently by the presents and promises of the Embassadors, he was disposed to comply. In this negotiation three years were spent; for PTOLOMY spared no intreaties, nor cooled in his zeal; he augmented the number and dignity of the Embassadors, increased the ships, and added fresh store of gold. To SCYDROTHERMIS then appeared a spectre direful and threatening, warning him "no longer to retard what the Deity had determined." Upon him, whilst he still lingered, there fell calamities manifold, and sore diseases, with the vengeance of the offended Deities manifestly pursuing him and proving every day more and more severe. Having called a popular assembly, he to them explained "the injunctions of the


“ God, his own vision with those of PTOLOMY, and the
 “ fearful evils which were impending.” The commonalty
 opposed the King. They envied Egypt such an acquisition,
 apprehended evil consequences to themselves, and tumultuously
 encompassed the Temple. Hence common fame heightening the
 marvel, has recounted, “ That the
 “ God of his own motion, and without help, conveyed
 “ himself into the ships lying close to the shore.” Inso-
 much that, what is prodigious to be told, on the third
 day after, they arrived at Alexandria; in so short a space
 had they traversed such an immense tract of sea. A Temple
 was reared suitable to the greatness of the City, in a
 place called Rhacotis. There a Chappel had stood, dedi-
 cated of old to *Serapis* and *Isis*. These are the traditions
 of most renown concerning the origin and transportation
 of the God. Neither am I unapprized of what is asserted
 by some, that he was brought from Seleucia a City of Sy-
 ria, in the reign of PTOLOMY the third; or by others,
 that the same PTOLOMY caused him to be removed, but
 that the removal was from Memphis, a City once very ce-
 lebrated, the head and glory of ancient Egypt. The God
 himself many conjecture to be *Esculapius*, for that by
 him the sick are healed. Some take him to be *Osiris*,
 a Deity of the highest antiquity amongst these nations. Ma-
 ny think him *Jupiter*, as accounted the almighty disposer
 of all things. Most of all imagine, that he is old *Pluto*,
 either from apparent tokens and indications about him, or
 from guesses and inferences of their own.

NOW DOMITIAN and MUCIANUS, ere they reached
 the Alps, received tidings of the successful feats against
 the Treverians. What proved the chief confirmation of the
 victory was the captivity of VALENTINUS the enemy's
 General, who with a soul no wise cast down, by his coun-
 tenance declared the intrepidity and defiance with which
 he had acted. If he was heard in his own vindication,
 'twas only for curiosity, to discover the spirit of the man.
 He was therefore condemned. But even under the hands
 of the executioner, when one upbraided him that his coun-
 try was taken, he replied, “ That he therefore embraced
 “ death as a consolation and relief.” What MUCIANUS
 had long purposed and concealed, he now communicated

as no more than his sentiments upon the present situation,
 “ That since by the benignity of the Gods the forces of
 “ the enemy were broken, with an ill grace would DO-
 “ MITIAN proceed, now the war was nigh concluded,
 “ and intercept the glory due to another: Indeed were the
 “ Empire threatened with peril, or were the Gauls in ge-
 “ neral exposed to danger, it behoved the Emperor’s son
 “ to venture his person in battle. To contend with the
 “ Caninefates and Batavians smaller Leaders were to be
 “ assigned. Let DOMITIAN retire to Lyons, and from
 “ thence display the power and fortune of the Empire at
 “ hand, neither engaging in diminutive hazards, nor fail-
 “ ing to meet such as were greater.” These his artifices
 were well understood; but here in a good measure de-
 pended the merit of obeying, that they were not to seem
 discovered. Thus they came to Lyons. From thence DO-
 MITIAN is believed to have tried, by secret interagents,
 to corrupt the fidelity of Cerialis, and proposed whether
 he would commit into his hands the Army and Empire,
 if he came in person. Uncertain it remained what de-
 signs possessed him, whether he meditated a war against
 his father, or to arm himself with power and forces against
 his brother. For by sage management and evasions CER-
 ALIS eluded his suit, as that of one who with a childish
 fondness longed for things wild and vain. DOMITIAN
 perceiving that the elder men despised his youth, began to
 relinquish all functions of government, even the smallest,
 and such as he was wont to dispense. Under the guise of
 simplicity and an humble mind, he buried himself in so-
 litude, feigning a zeal for learning and the love of poetry,
 thence to conceal his passions, and to escape the jealousy
 of his brother, upon whose gentler nature, so different
 from his own, he put a contrary and malevolent con-
 struction.

THE
HISTORY
OF
TACITUS.
BOOK V.

The SUMMARY.

HE expedition of TITUS against Judea and Jerusalem. The original of the Jewish Nation deduced, with their religion and customs. The strength and situation of the City and Temple. The progress of the war in Germany. Divers encounters between CERIALIS and CIVILIS. Peace ensues.

The rest of this book is lost.



IN the beginning of the same year the Emperor's son TITUS was by his father appointed to accomplish the reduction of Judea, a captain who had been signal in war whilst his father and he were no other than subjects, but now bore command with greater sway and renown, as in zeal and good offices towards him the Provinces and the Armies were striving for priority. He moreover, in order to be thought to surpass his fortune, was continually presenting himself to view, splendid in arms and alert for war, continually alluring his men to their duty by complaisance and kind words, nay usually thrust himself amongst the common
VOL. II. H h h h soldiers,

soldiers, whether they worked or marched, but still preserved undebased the dignity of a General. In Judea he was received by three Legions, the fifth, tenth and fifteenth, men who had long served under VESPASIAN. Syria too furnished him with the twelfth, as also with those of the twenty first and the third drawn from Alexandria. There accompanied him twenty Cohorts of our allies, eight squadrons of horse, as also the Kings AGRIPPA and SOHEMUS, a body of auxiliaries from King ANTIOCHUS, and a band of Arabs natural enemies to the Jews through an antipathy usual between contiguous nations. To him there repaired many out of Italy, many from Rome, all excited by their particular hopes of possessing the young Prince whilst yet free from new engagements. With these forces he entered the enemies territories, marching in battle array, sending to gain intelligence on every side, and holding himself ready for an encounter, then encamped near Jerufalem.

BUT since I am going to recount the final doom of a City so famed, it seems pertinent to explain its antiquity and rise. It is a tradition, "That the Jews, as
 " fugitives from the island of Crete, at the time when
 " Saturn expelled by the violence of Jupiter forsook
 " his kingdom, settled themselves upon the extremities
 " of Lybia." For proof of this, their name is alledged:
 " For that in Crete stands the celebrated mountain *Ida*,
 " and the *Ideans* natives of the mountain, by a barbarous
 " extension of the name, are called Judeans (Jews)." Some hold, "That Egypt swarming with people beyond
 " measure, during the reign of *Isis*, to relieve it self
 " poured a great multitude into the regions adjoining,
 " under the leading of *Hierosolymus* and *Juda*." Many take them, "to be descended from the Ethiopians, and
 " to have been through their dread and hate of King
 " CEPHEUS, forced to seek a new habitation." There are authors who say, "That they were a band of people
 " from Assyria, who wandering and destitute of land,
 " occupied a portion of Egypt, anon had cities of their own,
 " possessed the territories of the Hebrews, and the confines of Syria." Others assign the Jews a nobler foundation and pedigree, "as derived from the *Solymites*,
 " a nation

“ a nation celebrated by the poet *Homer*, and founders
 “ of Jerusalem, a City which from them had its name.”
 In one account a number of writers concur, “ That when
 “ Egypt was overrun by a pestilent disease, contaminat-
 “ ing living bodies, and very foul to behold, BOCHORIS
 “ the King applying for a remedy to the Oracle of *Ju-*
 “ *piter Hammon*, was ordered to purge his kingdom, and
 “ to remove into another country that generation of men
 “ so detested by the Deities.” Hence when they were
 all searched out, and the multitude swept together, car-
 ried into the immense deserts and there abandoned, whilst
 all continued wailing under astonishment and despair,
Moses, one of these exiles, exhorted them, “ to entertain
 “ no hopes of relief from Gods or men, since both by
 “ Gods and men they had been forsaken, but in him-
 “ self to trust as to a Leader sent from Heaven, one by
 “ whose aid they should vanquish their present misery and
 “ distress.” They assented, and utterly ignorant of what-
 ever was to befall them, began to journey on at random.
 But nothing aggrieved them so sorely as want of water.
 Already they were lying scattered over the plains, ready
 to perish, when a flock of wild asses leaving their pasture
 climbed up a rocky mountain covered with a thick wood.
 MOSES followed them, forming a conjecture from the sin-
 gular verdure of the herbage, and there discovered some
 large springs. This proved their solacement and relief,
 and travelling for six days without intermission, on the se-
 venth they gained a settlement by exterminating the inha-
 bitants. There they raised their City, there founded and
 dedicated their Temple.

MOSES, to ensure the subjection of the nation to him-
 self for ever, established religious ordinances altogether new,
 and opposite to those of all other men and countries.
 Whatever we esteem holy, is with them profane. Again
 they permit many things as lawful, which to us are for-
 bidden and impure. The Statue of the beast by whose
 guidance they stay'd their thirst and wandering, they
 consecrated in the sanctuary of their Temple, with the
 solemn immolation of a Ram, in contumely to *Jupiter*
Hammon. The Ox too is what they sacrifice, a creature
 which the Egyptians worship for the God *Apis*. From
 feeding

feeding on swine they refrain, in memory of their former calamity; for that they had once been infected and defiled with the same leprous tumors and eruptions to which that animal is subject. The famine which once they so long endured, they still acknowledge and commemorate by frequent fastings. And as a standing proof of their having by robbery supplied themselves with grain, the Jewish bread is still baked without leaven. It is said, that they chuse to rest every seventh day, because then ended their labours. Afterwards, through the growth and allurements of laziness, every seventh year too was devoted to sloth. Others hold such observance to be in honour of Saturn; whether it be that from the Ideans, who are said to have been expelled with Saturn, and to have founded their nation, they derive the elements of their religion, or that, of all the seven Planets by which this earth is governed, that of Saturn rolls in the highest orb and possesseth the greatest energy. Moreover most of the celestial bodies accomplish their course and operation by the number seven.

THESE ceremonies, in whatever way introduced, are by their antiquity maintained. The rest of their institutions are unhallowed, filthy, and from their depravity drew their influence. For here from every quarter all who were most profligate and wicked accumulated tribute and rich offerings, rejecting the worship and divinities of their own country. Hence the encrease and improvement of the Jewish State, as also because they are inflexible in their faith and adherence to one another, and prone to mutual acts of compassion; but towards the whole human race besides they retain deadly and implacable hate. With all others they refuse to eat, with all others they refuse to lodge; nay, they who are a people abandoned to sensuality, avoid the embraces of all foreign women. Amongst themselves nothing is accounted unlawful. They instituted circumcision on purpose to be distinguished by a peculiar mark. The same is assumed by their proselytes; and the earliest lesson which these are taught, is to despise the Deities, to renounce all love to their country; and for their parents, for their brethren, and children to entertain no tenderness or consideration.

deration. Yet to the multiplying of their nation regard is had. For, besides that to kill their infants is thought a heinous sin, they suppose the souls of such as die in battle or by the hand of justice to be immortal. Hence their passion for generation, hence their contempt of dying. They chuse to inter their dead, rather than to burn them according to the usage of the Egyptians. With these they concur in their notions of an infernal world; but far different is their persuasion about things celestial. The Egyptians offer worship divine to several brute animals, to images and the works of art. The Jews know but one Deity, to be conceived and adored by the mind only. "For profane and unhallowed" they hold "all such" "as out of materials mortal and perishing, use to fashion" "their Gods after the likeness of men;" they hold "that" "the Divine Being, eternal and supreme, is incapable of" "all change, incapable of ever ending." In their Cities therefore no Images are seen, so far are they from allowing such in their Temples. This is a complement which they pay not to their Kings, this an honour which they deny to the Cæsars. Yet, as their Priests used to chant to the sound of pipes and drums, as with ivy their brows were bound, and as in the Temple a golden vine was found, some have inferred that they worshipped BACCHUS, conqueror of the East: though void of all resemblance are their institutions to his. For, jovial and gay were the solemnities established by BACCHUS: The Jewish rituals are preposterous and rueful.

THEIR territories, where they stretch Eastward, are bounded by Arabia: to the South lies Egypt; to the West, Phenicia and the sea: Northward they are by a long frontier joined to Syria. The bodies of the men are hale, such as can endure hardship and labour. They have rarely any rain. The soil is fruitful and rich. In all the fruits of the earth which are common with us, they abound; and besides these they enjoy the palm tree and that of the balm. The palms are lofty and beautiful. The balm is a small tree: When its branches swell, if you pierce them with steel, the veins shrink with shyness, and refuse to flow: They are opened by a shell or the splint of a stone. The liquor is used for a medicine. Above

all their mountains that of Libanus rises to a prodigious height, and what is wonderful to be told, amidst such excessive heats is covered thick with eternal snow. From this mountain the river Jordan derives its source and stream. Neither falls the Jordan into the sea, but passing first through one lake, then through another, still preserving its waters unmixed, is swallowed up in the third. This lake is vast in compass, resembling a sea, in taste more nauseous, and by its noisome vapour and smell baneful to the adjacent inhabitants. Neither is it ruffled by any wind: nor fish nor water fowl does it suffer to live. Whatever bodies are cast upon the stagnate flood, it bears like a solid surface: Alike borne up are all such who can swim and such who cannot. At a certain season of the year it ejects pitch. The art of gathering this, as well as all other arts, experience has taught. The liquid substance naturally black, and congealed, by sprinkling it with vinegar, emerges and floats. Such as are appointed to collect it, take it like a rope with their hand and guide it to the upper part of the ship. From thence it continues flowing in without help, and fills the vessel, till you cut off the communication; neither can you cut it off with an instrument of iron or brass. It recoils only when touched with blood, and from cloaths tainted with menstrual purgations. This is what ancient authors relate. But the writers acquainted with the country recount, that these huge heaps of pitch lying upon the surface, are either driven to the shore, or dragged thither by the help of hands; that anon, when sufficiently baked by vapours from the Land and by the reflections and strength of the Sun, they are rent and divided with hatchets and wedges.

Not far hence lye the desert plains, such as they report to have been of old a country fruitful and flourishing, and full of populous cities, but consumed by lightning and thunderbolts; they add, that still remaining are the traces and monuments of such desolation, and that the soil itself looks scorched, and has ever since lost its fructifying force. For, all vegetables found here, be the same spontaneously produced, or reared by man, whether small herbs or flowers, as soon as they attain their ordinary growth and form, prove black and arid, devoid of sub-

stance, and dissipate as it were into cinders. To speak my own sentiments, as I would allow cities once very great and signal to have been burnt by fire from Heaven; so I conceive that by exhalations from the lake the soil is infected, and the ambient air poisoned, and that thence the grain and all the fruits of the harvest are putrified and blasted, since equally malignant is the earth and the clime. Moreover into the sea of Judea the river Belus discharges itself: The sands gathered at its mouth are, with a mixture of nitre, melted into glass. But a narrow shore this, yet by such as are daily draining it of its sands found inexhaustible.

THE larger part of Judea consists in villages scattered up and down. They have likewise cities. Jerusalem is the Capital of the nation. Here stands the Temple immensely wealthy and proves to the City one of its strongest bulwarks. To all foreigners the inner Temple is shut: nor to a Jew is there access beyond the portal. From entering all men are excluded except the Priests. Whilst the Empire of the East was possessed by the Assyrians, next by the Medes and Persians, the Jews were held the most despicable of all the enslaved nations. Afterwards when the Macedonian power prevailed, King ANTIOCHUS laboured to extinguish their superstition, and to introduce the institutions of Greece, in order to reform in some measure that hideous and detestable nation, but was diverted from this pursuit by a war with the Parthians. For, at this conjuncture had ARSACES revolted. The Jews on this occasion, whilst the Macedonians were weakened, the Parthians not yet established, the Romans then far from them, assumed Kings of their own. These were afterwards expelled through the inconstancy of the populace, but having again seized the Sovereignty by arms, let themselves loose to all the cruelties and excesses usual to Kings, banished their citizens, destroyed cities, murdered their brethren, murdered their wives, murdered their parents, and with all this their tyranny, carefully supported and nourished the established superstition; for to the functions of Royalty they annex'd that of the Priesthood.

POMPEY was the first Roman that subdued the Jews. He, exercising the right of a Conqueror, entered their Temple.
Thence-

Thenceforward it was rumour'd abroad, "That within
 " it he had found no Images of the Gods, but the refi-
 " dence of the Deity void of any, and a sanctuary desti-
 " tute of sacred solemnities." The walls of Jerusalem
 were levelled: The holy edifice remained unhurt. There-
 after followed our civil War, and under the jurisdiction
 of ANTHONY the eastern Provinces fell. PACORUS King
 of the Parthians then seized Judea, but was slain by VEN-
 TIDIUS, the Parthians were chased over the Euphrates, and
 the Jews reduced to subjection by CAIUS SOSIUS. Over
 them ANTHONY had set HEROD for their King, and to him
 his Kingdom was continued and enlarged by AUGUSTUS
 who conquered ANTHONY. Upon the death of HEROD, one
 SIMON, without ever staying for the pleasure of the Em-
 peror, usurped the title of King. Upon him QUINCTI-
 LIUS VARUS, Governor of Syria, inflicted punishment;
 and the Nation, as soon as repressed and quiet, was com-
 mitted under a triple partition, to be ruled by the three
 sons of HEROD. Under TIBERIUS they enjoyed perfect
 repose. But in the reign of CALIGULA, when he ordered
 them to place his own Image in their Temple, they chose
 rather to rise in arms: A combustion this which, upon
 the death of CALIGULA, ceased. CLAUDIUS, when
 the Jewish Kings were all deceased, at least extreme-
 ly shortened in power, bestowed Judea to be ruled as a
 Province by the Roman Knights, or by his Freedmen.
 ANTONIUS FELIX was one of these, one who rioting in
 the excesses of licentiousness and cruelty, exercised the au-
 thority of a King with the spirit and baseness of a slave.
 He had indeed received in wedlock DRUSILLA, grand-
 daughter to ANTHONY and CLEOPATRA: Insomuch that
 whilst the Emperor was MARK ANTHONY's grandson, FE-
 LIX his manumised slave was married to the grand-daugh-
 ter of that very MARK ANTHONY.

THE Jews however bore their oppression with patience
 till the time of GESSIUS FLORUS, who governed them
 with the title of Imperial Procurator. Under him a war
 arose; and CESTIUS GALLUS, Governor of Syria, trying
 to crush it, in all his encounters with the revolvers found
 the issue at best doubtful, frequently disastrous. Up-
 on the death of GALLUS, whether it happened through
 the

the course of nature or through melancholy and regret, the charge was by NERO transferred upon VESPASIAN, who favoured by his good fortune and great fame, and served by excellent officers and assistants, in the space of two summers with his victorious army possessed the whole country and all the cities besides Jerusalem. The year following was employed in the civil War, and to the Jews proved altogether pacific. When at home in Italy peace ensued, with it the care of affairs abroad revived. What heightened the public indignation was, that of all nations the Jews only refused to submit. It was withal judged more politic and secure, that TITUS should continue at the head of armies, to be ready against all the events and casualties incident to a new reign. Having therefore encamped, as I have related, near the walls of Jerusalem, he displayed his Legions in array.

UNDER the very walls the Jews embattled their host, ready to adventure further, were their efforts successful, and trusting to a refuge at hand, were they repulsed. Against them the cavalry were sent, with some cohorts lightly armed, but left the issue of the conflict doubtful. Afterwards the enemy retired, and on the subsequent days maintained frequent skirmishes just without the gates, till by continual losses they were forced within their walls. These the Romans resolved to storm. For honourable it seemed not to await their reduction by famine. Nay the army sought to encounter dangers, some from magnanimity, many from impetuosity, or for the recompences attending victory. TITUS himself was setting Rome before his eyes, with all the opulence and many pleasures there, and it seemed tedious to wait for the enjoyment of these, unless Jerusalem were razed without all delay. But steep and high was the situation of the City, and fortified besides with works and ramparts, such as would have proved a sufficient defence to a place even standing in a plain. There were two hills immensely high and enclosed by a wall built purposely crooked, with angles and windings, whence the flanks of the assailants might be exposed to be galled by the besieged. The extremities of the rock were sharp and inaccessible. They had also great towers, some built upon the summit and raised sixty

foot high, others upon the declensions of the hills mounting up to an hundred and twenty foot, both forts beautiful and marvellous to behold, and to such as viewed them at a distance, all appearing equal in height. Within the City there were other walls furrounding the palace, with the tower *Antonia* exceeding stately and conspicuous, called so by HEROD in honour to ANTHONY.

THE Temple was raised like a great castle, enclosed with fortifications of its own, in structure and strength superior to all the others. Even the Portals and Cloisters built round the Temple were a noble Fortrefs. With water they were supplied from a fountain which never waxed dry. The mountains were all scooped into caverns. There were many pools and cisterns for preserving the rain. From the singularity of the Jewish institutions, different from those of all other nations, they who founded the City had foreseen that frequent wars would accrue. Hence no precaution, no defence had been omitted proper for sustaining a siege, however long. And as they had been already sacked by POMPEY, fear and experience had enlightened them in many instances. Besides, such had been the venality of the reign of CLAUDIUS, that they had then procured with money a right to rebuild their walls, which they built so strong during peace, as if they had had nothing in view but war. Mighty was the multitude there, and greatly augmented by the destruction of the other cities, since from these had fled hither, all the most turbulent and resolute; and thence amongst them the more discord and sedition prevailed. Three Commanders there were, and as many Armies. SIMON guarded the extent and circuit of the walls: JOHN, he whom they surnamed BARGIORAS, commanded the heart of the City: ELEAZAR maintained the Temple. In multitudes and arms JOHN and SIMON surpassed; in situation ELEAZAR. But amongst themselves there prevailed mutual slaughter and battles, circumvention and ambush, with the fury and devastation of fire, whence mighty store of grain was utterly consumed. JOHN next employed certain assassins, under colour of performing sacrifice, to butcher ELEAZAR and his whole band, and thus gained possession of the Temple. In this manner the City was

rent

rent into two factions, till, upon the approach of the Romans, war from without produced concord within.

THERE had happened omens and prodigies, things which that nation so addicted to superstition, but so averse to the Gods, hold it unlawful to expiate either by vows or victims. Hosts were seen to encounter in the air, refulgent arms appeared, and by a blaze of lightning shooting suddenly from the clouds all the Temple was illuminated. The great gates of the Temple were of themselves in an instant thrown open, and a voice more than human heard to declare, that "the Gods were going to depart." There followed withal a huge stir and tumult, as resulting from their motion and departure. Wonders these from which a few found cause of dread. Many were under a strong persuasion, that in the ancient books kept by their Priests, a Prophecy was contained, "That at this
" very time the power of the East would prevail, and
" out of Judea should spring such as were to rule over
" all nations." A prophetic riddle, by which VESPASIAN and TITUS were prefigured. But the populace, according to the usual fondness and credulity of human wishes, construed to themselves all this mighty fortune reserved by fate, insomuch that even by their severe sufferings and disasters they could not be reclaimed to truth and their understandings. The number of the besieged of all ages and both sexes, we learn to have been six hundred thousand. Arms were borne by all who were able: nay, more there were who adventured upon arms, than even from a multitude so vast could have been expected. In men and women was found an equal obstinacy to resist, and (were they indeed doomed to change their native country) a greater dread of surviving than of perishing. Against this strong City and this stubborn people, TITUS determined to proceed by mounds and machines of battery, since such was the situation as to be proof against storming and the sudden efforts of an army. Amongst the Legions their several tasks and employments were parted, and all combating ceased, till they were prepared to prosecute the siege by every engine and art devised by the ancients, or lately invented, for the attacking and reduction of cities.

NOW CIVILIS, who after this disastrous fight in the region of the Treverians, had repaired his army by supplies in Germany, pitched his camp in the old entrenchments; for he meant to secure himself by the situation and defence of the place, and to heighten the courage and ferocity of the Barbarians with the memory of their former exploits there. Thither CERIALIS followed him, with forces now doubled, by the accession of the second, the sixteenth and the fourteenth Legions. Moreover the auxiliary Cohorts and Squadrons of horse, they who were long since called to his assistance, had after the victory made great speed to join him. Both the Leaders were far from slowness or affecting delays: But the fields very large and naturally marshy, obstructed them. CIVILIS too had by a great damm diverted the course of the Rhine, which thence flooded all the neighbouring grounds. This was the quality of the place, very dangerous and deceitful from the uncertainty of the depths and shallows, and to the Romans brought notable damage. For, our soldiers were heavily armed and fearful of swimming: The Germans, besides their being accustomed to rivers, were so lightly armed and so tall, that they easily kept themselves above the water. Under this unequal condition, as the Batavians began to insult us, all the most resolute amongst our men were provoked to the onset: But a general consternation ensued, when in the deep pools horses and arms were seen swallowed up. The Germans, who knew the shallows, bounded hither and thither, but generally avoiding a direct attack, beset us in the flank and rear. Neither was it a close encounter as between armies of foot, but, as in a naval combat, they engaged at random, straggling in the waters: Or where any firm footing was found, there grappling and contending man to man with all their might, the sound with the maimed, such as were skilled in swimming with such as could not swim, were reciprocally involved in perdition. Smaller however was the slaughter than usual in confusion so great; for that the Germans not daring to venture out of the marshes, returned to their camp. By the issue of this engagement each of the Leaders was prompted, tho from different operations of spirit, to quicken the decision of the whole

cause

cause by a general battle, CIVILIS passionate to pursue his good fortune, Cerialis to cancel his dishonour. The Germans were fierce and bold upon success; the Romans were roused by shame. Amongst the Barbarians the night was spent in shouting or in songs, with us in rage and menaces.

THE next morning Cerialis furnished his front with the Cavalry and auxiliary Cohorts: Behind them were ranged the Legions: With himself he reserved a choice body against all emergencies. CIVILIS extended not his forces in a line, but formed them into several bands. In the right were the Batavians and Gugernians; on the left towards the river stood those from beyond the Rhine. The two Generals exhorted not their men by haranguing them in a body, but addressed themselves severally now to these, anon to those, as they passed through them. Cerialis urged “ the ancient glory of the Roman
“ name, their victories of old and of late; that such an
“ enemy as this, so faithless, impotent and vanquished,
“ it behoved them to extirpate for ever. The present
“ was rather a call to inflict vengeance than to fight a
“ battle. They had lately encountered upon unequal
“ terms, a few against many; yet the Germans were de-
“ feated, they who furnished the principal strength. There
“ remained such only who in their minds retained their
“ late rout, and upon their backs their recent wounds.” He next animated the several Legions with stimulations proper for each. Those of the fourteenth “ he stiled
“ the conquerors of Britain. By the sixth GALBA had
“ been created Emperor. To the second this was the
“ first battle, and in it they were about to initiate and
“ hallow their fresh banners and their new Eagle.” From thence passing to the German army, with uplifted hands he reminded them to “ reconquer at the expence of the
“ enemy’s blood, their own post upon the Rhine, and
“ their own entrenchments.” By the whole were returned shouts chearful and confident, as well from such as tired with long peace, wished to fight, as from those who longed for peace through weariness of war; and thereafter they hoped for rewards and repose.

NEITHER was the host of CIVILIS embattled in silence. For a witness of their magnanimity he appealed to the very field of battle; “ That upon the traces and
 “ monuments of their own glory stood the Germans and
 “ Batavians, trampling upon the bones and ashes of the
 “ Legions. Here to the eyes of the Romans, whither-
 “ soever they turned them, nothing was presented but
 “ their own captivity, slaughter, calamity and direful
 “ omens. Nor must they be daunted by the variable
 “ issue of the conflict in the Treverian territories. The
 “ Germans had there found an obstacle from their own
 “ victory, whilst quitting their weapons they embarrassed
 “ themselves with plunder. Presently after all things
 “ proved propitious, but to the enemy cross and unfor-
 “ tunate. Whatever measures the wit of a General was
 “ capable of concerting, he had concerted; the fields
 “ were overflowed and marshy, places familiar and safe
 “ to themselves, and there were pools pernicious to the
 “ enemy; the Rhine in full view with the Gods of Ger-
 “ many: under their favour and influence divine they
 “ were now to advance to battle, mindful of their wives,
 “ mindful of their parents and their country. Either
 “ very glorious would this day prove, worthy to be num-
 “ bered with those of their ancestors, or black and ig-
 “ nominous to all posterity.” When, by the clangor of
 their arms, and by beating the ground with their feet
 (such is the custom of the Nation) they had applauded
 his speech, they began the charge with stones, leaden balls,
 and other missive weapons. As our men forbore entering
 the marsh, the Germans were thus provoking them to
 enter.

WHEN the flying weapons were wasted, and the battle waxed hot, the enemy rushed on with deadly rage, and with their huge bodies and long spears, at arms length gored our soldiers sliding and tumbling in the slippery marsh. At the same time the band of Bructerians came swimming over from the great dam, which I have mentioned to have been raised in the channel of the Rhine. Where they attacked, disorder ensued, and the body of Cohorts were recoiling when the Legions sustained the combat, and having slayed the fury of the
 enemy,

enemy, rendered the conflict equal. During this a Batavian who had deserted to the Romans, applied to Cerialis, and assured him “ of an opportunity of falling
“ upon the enemy in the rear, if some cavalry were sent
“ away to the extremity of the marsh. They would
“ there find firm footing as well as small vigilance
“ amongst the Gugernians, to whom the charge of securing that post had fallen.” With the deserter two squadrons of horse were sent, and surrounded the enemy destitute of all precaution and unprepared to resist. When by the shoutings which ensued this was learnt, the Legions urged the foe in front, the Germans were defeated and betook themselves in flight to the Rhine. A compleat issue of the War that day had seen, if our Fleet had hastened to follow the victory. In truth the Cavalry pressed not after the flying foe, as there fell a sudden storm of rain and the night approached.

THE next day, the fourteenth Legion was sent into the higher Province to ANNIUS GALLUS: With the tenth from Spain the army of Cerialis was supplied. To civilis there came succours from the Chaucians. Yet he ventured not to trust to arms the defence of the Batavian cities, but, carrying off whatever was moveable, set fire to all the rest, and retired into the Island; for he was aware that for forming a bridge the Romans wanted boats, nor in any other manner could their army pass after him. He even ruined the great damm made by DRUSUS GERMANICUS, and thus from the Rhine, whose strong current rolls naturally down to Gaul, caused an inundation by demolishing what had restrained it. Inasmuch that when the river was driven as it were into another course, the channel which parts the Island from Germany was so small, that the two lands seemed contiguous. Over the Rhine too passed TUTOR and CLASSICUS, as also an hundred and thirteen Senators of the Treverian State. Of that number was ALPINUS MONTANUS, he whom I have heretofore remember’d to have been sent by ANTONIUS PRIMUS into Gaul. There now accompanied him his brother DECIMUS ALPINUS. These and all the rest, by the force of commiseration attended with gifts, gathered succours amongst those nations so eager to encounter perils.

MOREOVER

MOREOVER in such strength the war still subsisted, that in one day CIVILIS made a fourfold assault upon our forces, those of our Cohorts, of our Cavalry, nay of our Legions, lying separate in so many garrisons; upon the tenth Legion at Arenacum, upon the second at Batavodurum, and upon the auxiliary Cohorts and Cavalry at Grinnes and Vada. For he had so divided his own forces, that he himself, and VERAX his sister's son, and CLASSICUS, and TUTOR, led each a distinct band. Not that he hoped to succeed in all these attempts, but it was urged, "That whilst they adventured upon many, fortune would prove assisting to them in some. CERIALIS withal exercised not sufficient caution, and might be easily intercepted as he was called hither and thither by several messengers and alarms." The party appointed to attack the entrenchments of the tenth Legion, judging it difficult to carry the assault against such a body, fell upon such of the men who were abroad busied in cutting of wood, and routed them with the slaughter of the Camp-Marshal, of five Centurions of principal rank, and of some few soldiers. The rest defended themselves within their fortifications. A band of Germans the while were labouring to destroy the bridge begun at Batavodurum, where the combat continued doubtful till night parted the combatants.

GREATER was the peril and onset sustained at Grinnes and Vada. CIVILIS assaulted Vada, as did CLASSICUS Grinnes. Nor could their assaults be withstood; for all the men remarkably brave were slain. Amongst these fell BRIGANTICUS Commander of a squadron of horse, one whom I before mentioned as faithfully attached to the Romans, and at utter enmity with CIVILIS his uncle. But when CERIALIS, at the head of a choice band of horse, brought relief, suddenly changed was the fortune of the fight, the Germans were routed and cast themselves precipitately into the river. CIVILIS, whilst he strove to stay the fugitives, was known, and as he was pursued by a volley of darts, relinquished his horse and swam across. The same refuge had the Germans. TUTOR and CLASSICUS went over in skiffs sent purposely to fetch them. Neither again in this engagement was the Ro-

man Fleet present to assist, according to orders sent them. What restrained them was fear; besides the mariners were dispersed, attending other military functions. Cerialis had in truth allowed them a very short space for executing his orders, as he was sudden in forming his resolutions, yet gained signal renown from their event. Fortune aided him, even where his conduct failed. Hence in himself and his army was found less regard for discipline. Nay, a very few days after, tho he escaped the hazard of being taken, he bore the infamy of having incurred it.

He had made a progress to Novesium and Bonn, to visit the camp raised there for wintering the Legions, and was returning by water in a Fleet which proceeded in a manner very loose and disorderly, and the watches were negligently kept. This the Germans observed, and devised how to circumvent them. They chose a night very dark and cloudy, and descending down the stream with great rapidity, entered the lodgments of the soldiers upon the shore, nor found a man to oppose them. The first slaughter was forwarded by art and dexterity. They cut the tent-cords, then butcher'd the men thus entangled and overwhelmed under their own pavilions. Another party embarrassed the Fleet, grappled the ships and dragged them away. As they had conducted the stratagem with universal silence, so, when the carnage was begun, to heighten the terror, they filled the air with incessant shouts. The Romans roused by their wounds, searched for their arms, and run forth in the lanes of the camp, few equipped like soldiers, many with their garments wrapped round their arm, and their swords drawn. The General half awake, and almost naked, escaped through the mistake of the enemy. For they had carried off the Admiral's ship, distinguished by its standard, from a belief that in it the General was carried. Cerialis passed the night elsewhere, as many believed in the embraces of CLAUDIA SACRATA, a native of Cologne. From the dishonour of their General the watch borrowed an excuse for their own fault and negligence, for that "they were enjoined to keep silence for fear of interrupting his repose: so that as the usual word and signal had been omitted, and speaking restrained, they too had dropped asleep." 'Twas open day when the

enemy failed back with our captive ships, and led away the Admiral's galley upon the river Luppia for a present to *Veleda*.

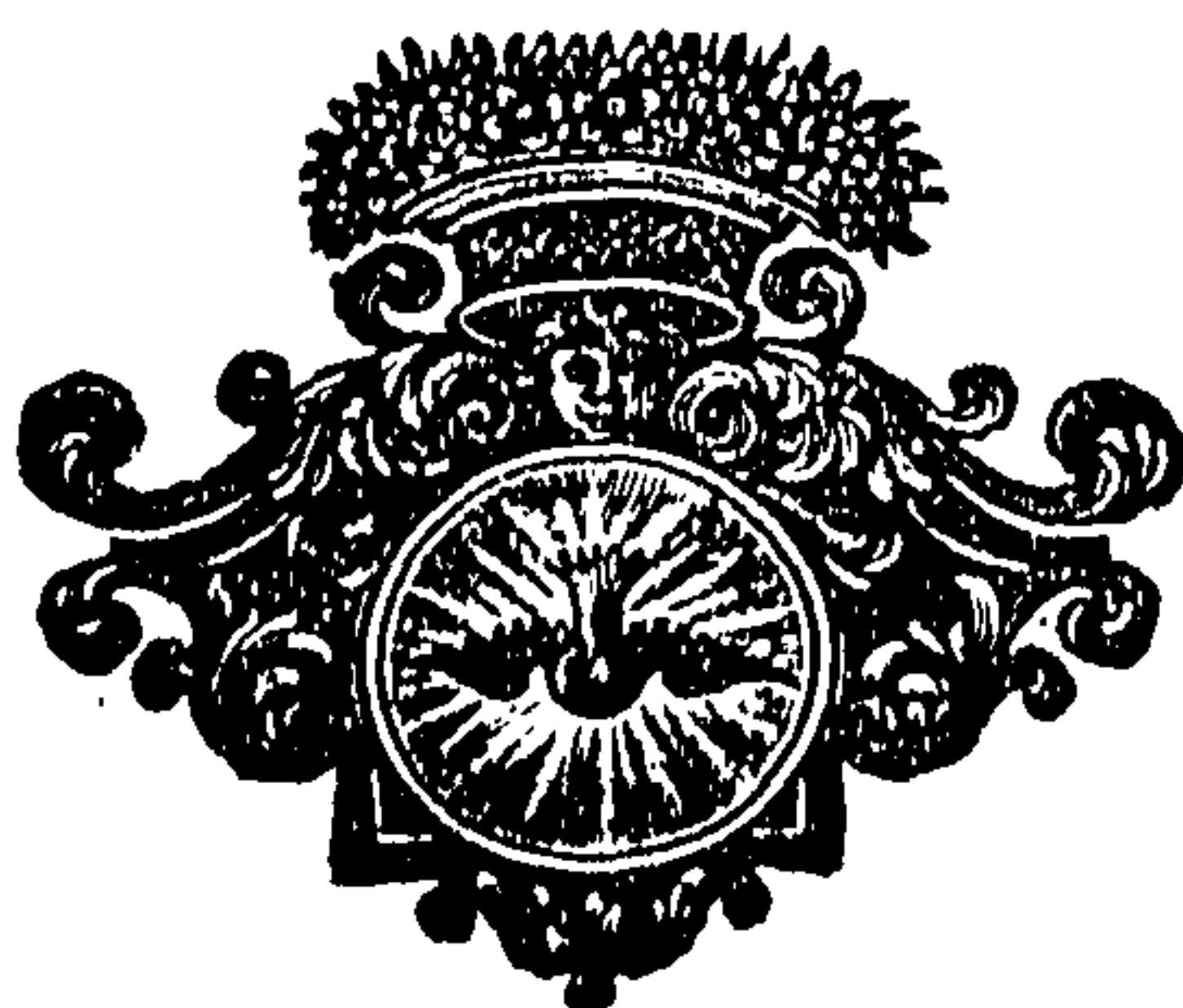
CIVILIS became possessed with a passion to display the power of a naval army. Hence he filled with men whatever gallies there were of one or two banks of oars. To these was added a great number of skiffs, with pinnaces, such as are wont to carry thirty or forty men, as also the skiffs which had been lately taken, and for sails carried mantles of divers colours not unpleasing to behold. For ranging this his Fleet he chose a bay spacious as a sea, where the Rhine discharges itself through the mouth of the Moselle into the Ocean. The cause of forming a Fleet, besides the vanity inherent in that Nation, was by such a force to prevent and intercept the provisions which were coming to our army from Gaul. Cerialis, struck with wonder rather than with fear, arrayed his Fleet, in number unequal to that of the enemy, but in expert sailors, in skilful pilots, and in largeness of ships, far surpassing. The latter sailed with the stream; the enemy moved before the wind. Thus they advanced and just exchanging some flights of darts, passed by each other and parted. CIVILIS without adventuring any thing further, retired beyond the Rhine. Cerialis ravaged the Island of the Batavians like an enemy's country; but, through policy usual to Generals, left all the lands and dwellings of CIVILIS untouched; when in the mean while, by the excessive and incessant rains following the declension of autumn, the river overflowed, and spread over the Island naturally low and moorish, and now resembling a great Lake. Neither was the army furnished with ships or provisions: moreover the tents, pitched upon a flat, were tossed and overborne by the violence of the inundation.

Hence the merit pleaded by CIVILIS, "for that the
"Legions might have been destroyed, and that the Ger-
"mans designed it, but, through his art and manage-
"ment, receded." Nor does it seem repugnant to truth, since in a few days after he yielded himself to the Romans. For, Cerialis employing secret agents, whilst he tempted the Batavians with an offer of peace, CIVILIS by that of pardon, warned *Veleda* and the nations about
her,

her, “ by some signal and seasonable service towards the
 “ Roman people, to change their own fortune, one so
 “ disastrous in war and by so many defeats and cala-
 “ mities found to be cross and contrary. The Treverians
 “ were cut off, the Ubians had submitted, the Batavians
 “ were bereft of their country; nor ought else had been
 “ gained by the friendship of CIVILIS, save wounds
 “ and defeats, expulsion and anguish. The man was
 “ a vagabond and an exile, a sure burthen and misfortune
 “ to such as received him. Already they had transgressed
 “ abundantly in having so often passed the Rhine. If
 “ they were still devising further efforts and machinations,
 “ with themselves would remain the guilt and iniquity,
 “ with us just vengeance and the Gods.” With these
 threatnings promises were mix’d. And as the faith of
 those beyond the Rhine was shaken and wavered, amongst
 the Batavians also reasonings and conferences arose, “ That
 “ it behoved them to urge no further their own ruin;
 “ nor was it possible for a single nation to deliver the
 “ whole earth from bondage. What had they accom-
 “ plished by slaughtering and burning the Legions, but
 “ only to occasion the calling in of others more nume-
 “ rous and more powerful? If for VESPASIAN the war
 “ was waged, VESPASIAN was now victorious and
 “ settled in supreme power. But if against the Roman
 “ people they took arms, what an inconsiderable part were
 “ the Batavians of human kind? They should consider
 “ the nations of Rhoetia and Noricum, consider the bur-
 “ thens and impositions upon other countries confederate
 “ with Rome. Upon themselves no tribute was laid,
 “ other than to contribute men and magnanimity; a
 “ condition this bordering upon liberty, and if they were
 “ free to chuse their supreme Lords, they might more
 “ honourably bear the Emperors of the Romans than the
 “ Women ruling the Germans.” These were the descant-
 ings of the populace. Their Chiefs urged, “ That by the
 “ deadly fury of CIVILIS they had been driven headlong
 “ into war; a man who for the cure of his own domes-
 “ tick misfortunes sought the ruin and desolation of the
 “ whole nation. Then it was that the Gods became in-
 “ censed against the Batavians, when by the Batavians
 “ the

“ the Legions were besieged, the Commanders of the
 “ Legions murdered, and a war begun, necessary only
 “ to one man, to themselves fatal and deadly. They
 “ were now reduced to the last pass and their condition
 “ desperate, unless they began instantly to retrieve their
 “ understanding and innocence, and, by devoting to pu-
 “ nishment the guilty head, manifested their own remorse.”

No secret to CIVILIS was this inclination of theirs, and he determined to prevent them. Besides his anguish under a series of evils and distress, he was influenced by his hopes of life, a passion which frequently sinks very high and haughty spirits. As he sought a conference, the bridge upon the river Wahal was broken down in the middle, and the two Generals stepping forwards on each side, stood upon the opposite extremities, and thus CIVILIS accosted Cerialis. “ Were I to make my defence
 “ before a Lieutenant of VITELLIUS, neither would par-
 “ don be due to my deeds, nor credit to my professions.
 “ Between him and me nothing passed but continual ef-
 “ forts of hostility and hate, all begun by him, all height-
 “ ened by me. Towards VESPASIAN ancient is my ob-
 “ servance and veneration, and whilst he was a private
 “ person, we were called friends. To ANTONIUS PRI-
 “ MUS this is well known, and by letters from him I was
 “ urged to the War, to obstruct the German Legions and
 “ the youth of Gaul from passing over the Alps. What
 “ ANTONIUS exhorted me to by letters, what HORDEO-
 “ NIUS FLACCUS advised me in person, I did, and took
 “ up arms in Germany, such arms as MUCIANUS took up
 “ in Syria, Aponius in Mœsia, and FLAVIANUS in Pan-
 “ nonia.



A
TREATISE
OF THE
SITUATION,
CUSTOMS,
AND
PEOPLE
OF
GERMANY.

L O N D O N:

Printed for T. WOODWARD and J. PEELE,
M, DCC, XXXI.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

J O H N

Lord CARTERET.

My LORD,



AS an acknowledgment of the friendly concern which during the course of this Work Your Lordship has been pleased constantly to shew for its accomplishment and success, I beg leave to prefix Your Name to the following Account of

Germany, a very curious Treatise very beautifully composed: a character which none who know Yours will suppose I give it for your information, but only as the just commendation of TACITUS, whose genius never fails to spirit and embellish whatever subject he undertakes.

DEDICATION.

As Your Lordship understands him thoroughly, and consequently the difficulty of making him speak any modern Language (for, how much modern Languages are able to bear, Your Lordship likewise knows,) You will find fewer faults than they who often abound in censure without abounding in knowledge. For, such generally are the readiest Censurers, as well as the least merciful. This is a constant hardship upon Authors, though it be too, in some measure, their consolation. Men, at least the bulk of men, are naturally turned rather to blame than to approve, and all who read do almost of course pass judgment. 'Tis indeed the right of Readers, and must therefore be the lot of Writers.

FROM the many observations which I have frequently had the pleasure of hearing You make upon the Genius, Language and Peculiarities of TACITUS, and about the manner of Translating him, I have likewise the pleasure of knowing Your Lordship's opinion to be the same with my own, that a common and familiar stile would no wise have suited either his ideas or his phrase. He delights in a particular pomp and gravity of thought, in an uncommon brevity and vigour of expression, and 'tis his talent at once to affect and surprize. This is his manner, and he never departs from it. Even where he is abrupt and stiff, he pleases, nay pleases by being so.

THEY therefore who study not his manner, will never have success in translating his words; nor is it possible they should; since, in writing as well as in speaking, the manner often conveys stronger ideas than the words convey. And as it is possible for a face to persuade, when the mouth says very little; so the turn of a phrase may have great energy, when the words are not remarkable. The same sentence from two different men moves us not equally, if their manner be different; and their words, though alike, affect us variously, as they themselves seem variously affected. In the looks of a man of sense, even
2 when

DEDICATION.

when he is silent, there is observation and meaning, such as words sometimes cannot convey, or can convey but very imperfectly.

It is much like this in writing: even the turn and manner of stile has infinite force; and to avoid speaking out, is often the most powerful way of speaking. A half sentence, a pause, or sudden break, has frequently much more effect than the fullest expression and the roundest periods. We see some men eloquent without persuasion, others persuasive without eloquence, and a hint or insinuation from one man more prevalent than long reasonings from another. So that it is necessary to attend to the manner, to the spirit of a writer more than to his words, else his words will not be very instructive. I doubt not but many a man has read over TACITUS, and understood every word in him, without understanding TACITUS.

THESE remarks, my Lord, which upon this subject occur to me, I address, not to Your Lordship for an obvious reason, but to the Public under Your Name, to let the world know that about the method of translating TACITUS Your Lordship judges as I do: whence I am the less likely to forsake or change this my judgment.

I MUST also in another instance appeal to Your Lordship, and defend my self by Your Authority. The Dialogue about *Orators*, or *concerning the causes of the decay of Eloquence*, is by some ascribed to TACITUS, and generally, if not always, bound up with his Works. They who are of this opinion, or follow that of such who are, may expect that I should have translated it with the rest, as I certainly should, were I not persuaded that it is none of his.

It is a fine Tract, and the Latin is beautiful; it is very polite, full of good sense, and indeed of eloquence. But though the discernment be lively, the expression noble,

(N n n n)

and

DEDICATION.

and the sense strong, it wants the profound touches of TACITUS, and resembles not his manner. Though it be written with great spirit, 'tis a spirit of another sort than his, which always darts like lightning, and strikes without warning. He would moreover have accounted for the failure of popular eloquence in fewer words, and assigned a reason of more cogency than all that are mentioned there, though they be there very judiciously enumerated. But the principal is hardly touched. There are other considerations also to be urged against ascribing that Dialogue to TACITUS.

YOU see, my Lord, that instead of paying You any complements, I venture to lay a task upon You. But it is the part of a Patron to defend. How well qualified you are to discharge such a part, I have long known, and all men allow; nor can it, I hope, be any news to Your Lordship to be told, how much I am, and with what very great respect,

MY LORD,

Your most Obedient,

and most Humble Servant,

T. GORDON.

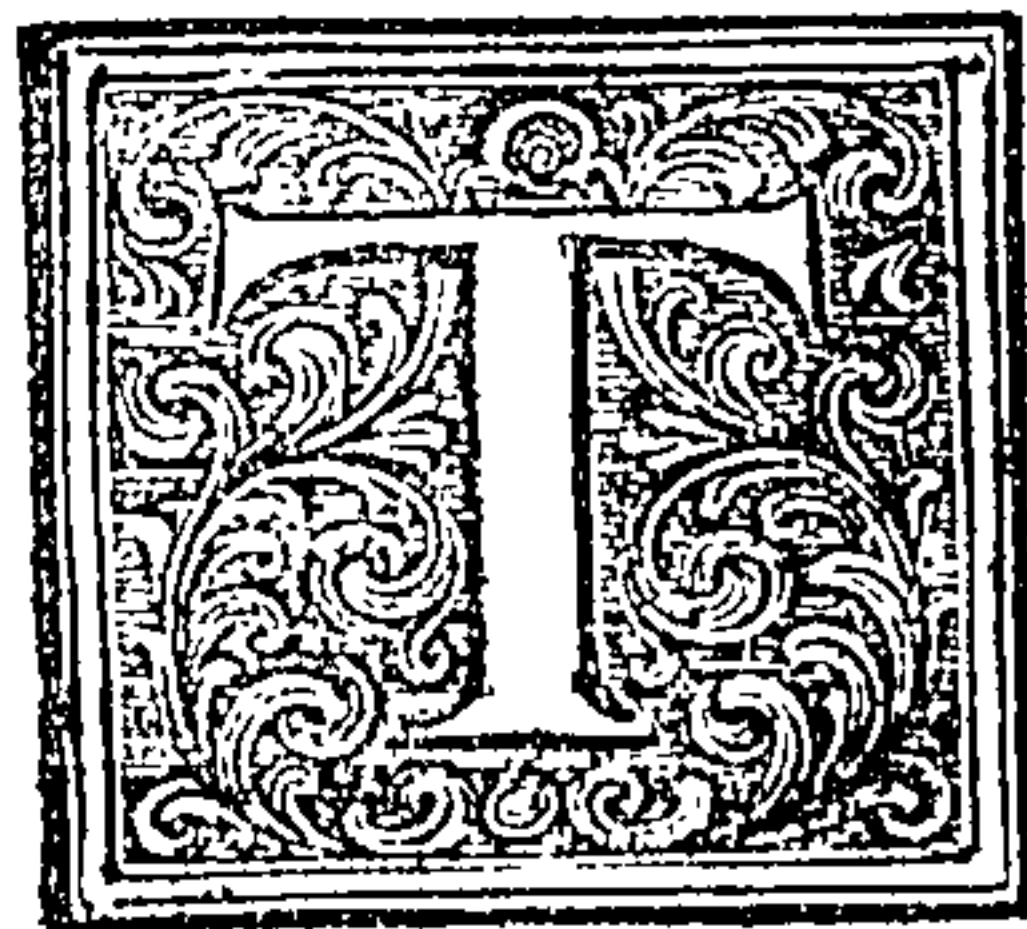
A T R E A T I S E

O F T H E

Situation, Customs, and People

O F

G E R M A N Y .



THE whole of Germany is thus bounded; separated from Gaul, from Rhætia and Pannonia, by the rivers Rhine and Danube; from Sarmatia and Dacia by mutual fear or by high mountains: The rest is encompassed by the Ocean, which forms huge bays, and comprehends a tract of islands immense in extent: for we have lately known certain Nations and Kingdoms there, such as the War discovered. The Rhine rising in the Rhætian Alps from a summit altogether rocky and perpendicular, after a small winding towards the West, is lost in the Northern Ocean. The Danube issues out of the mountain Abnoba, one very high but very easy of ascent, and traversing several nations, falls by six streams into the Euxine sea; for its seventh channel is absorbed in the Fenns.

THE Germans, I am apt to believe, derive their original from no other people, and are nowise mixt with different Nations arriving amongst them: since anciently those who went in search of new dwellings, travelled not by land, but were carried in fleets; and into that mighty

Ocean so boundless, and, as I may call it, so repugnant and forbidding, ships from our world rarely enter. Moreover, besides the dangers from a sea tempestuous, horrid and unknown, who would relinquish Asia, or Africa, or Italy, to repair to Germany, a region hideous and rude, under a rigorous climate, dismal to behold or to manure; unless the same were his native country? In their old ballads (which amongst them are the only sort of Registers and History) they celebrate *Tuisto*, a God sprung from the earth, and *Mannus* his son, as the fathers and founders of the Nation. To *Mannus* they assign three sons, after whose names so many people are called; the Ingævones, dwelling next the Ocean; the Herminones, in the middle country; and all the rest, Istævones. Some, borrowing a warrant from the darkness of antiquity, maintain that the God had more sons, that thence came more denominations of people, the Marfians, Gambrians, Suevians, and Vandaliāns, and that these are the names truly genuine and original. For the rest, they affirm Germany to be a recent word, lately bestowed: for that those who first passed the Rhine and expelled the Gauls, and are now named Tungrians, were then called Germans: and thus by degrees the name of a tribe prevailed, not that of the Nation; so that by an appellation at first occasioned by terror and conquest, they afterwards chose to be distinguished, and assuming a name lately invented were universally called *Germans*. They have a tradition that HERCULES also had been in their country, and him above all other heroes they extol in their songs when they advance to battle.

AMONGST them too are found that kind of verses by the recital of which (by them called *Barding*) they inspire bravery; nay by such chanting itself they divine the success of the approaching fight. For, according to the different dinn of the battle, they urge furiously, or shrink timorously. Nor does what they utter so much seem to be singing as the voice and exertion of valour. They chiefly study a tone fierce and harsh, with a broken and unequal murmur, and therefore apply their shields to their mouths, whence the voice may by rebounding swell with greater fulness and force. Besides there are some
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of opinion, that ULYSSES, whilst he wandered about in his long and fabulous voyages, was carried into this Ocean and entered Germany, and that by him Asciburgium was founded and named, a City at this day standing and inhabited upon the bank of the Rhine: nay that in the same place was formerly found an altar dedicated to ULYSSES, with the name of his father LAERTES added to his own, and that upon the confines of Germany and Rhætia are still extant certain monuments and tombs inscribed with Greek characters. Traditions these which I mean not either to confirm with arguments of my own or to refute. Let every one believe or deny the same according to his own bent. For my self, I concur in opinion with such as suppose the people of Germany never to have mingled by intermarriages with other nations, but to have remained a people pure, and independent, and resembling none but themselves. Hence amongst such a mighty multitude of men, the same make and form is found in all, eyes stern and blue, yellow hair, huge bodies, but vigorous only in the first onset. Of pains and labour they are not equally patient, nor can they at all endure thirst and heat. To bear hunger and cold they are hardened by their climate and soil.

THEIR Lands, however somewhat different in aspect, yet taken all together consist of gloomy Forests or nasty Marshes; lower and moister towards the confines of Gaul, more mountainous and windy towards Noricum and Pannonia; very apt to bear Grain, but altogether unkindly to fruit Trees; abounding in Flocks and Herds, but generally small of growth. Nor even in their Oxen is found the usual stateliness, no more than the natural ornaments and grandeur of head. In the number of their Herds they rejoice; and these are their only, these their most desirable riches. Silver and Gold the Gods have denied them, whether in mercy or in wrath, I am unable to determine. Yet I would not venture to aver that in Germany no vein of gold or silver is produced; for who has ever searched? For the use and possession 'tis certain they care not. Amongst them indeed are to be seen vessels of silver, such as have been presented to their Princes and Embassadors, but holden in no other esteem than vessels made
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of earth. The Germans however adjoining to our frontiers value gold and silver for the purposes of commerce, and are wont to distinguish and prefer certain of our coins. They who live more remote are more primitive and simple in their dealings, and exchange one commodity for another. The money which they like is the old and long known, that indented, or that impressed with a chariot and two horses. Silver too is what they seek more than gold, from no fondness or preference, but because small pieces are more ready in purchasing things cheap and common.

NEITHER in truth do they abound in Iron, as from the fashion of their weapons may be gathered. Swords they rarely use, or the larger spear. They carry Javelins or, in their own language, *Framms*, pointed with a piece of iron short and narrow, but so sharp and manageable, that with the same weapon they can fight at a distance or hand to hand, just as need requires. Nay the Horsemen also are content with a Shield and a Javelin. The Foot throw likewise weapons missive, each particular is armed with many, and hurls them a mighty space, all naked or only wearing a light cassock. In their equipment they shew no ostentation; only that their shields are diversified and adorned with curious colours. With coats of mail very few are furnished, and hardly upon any is seen a head-piece or helmet. Their horses are no-wise signal either in fashion or in fleetness, nor taught to wheel and bound, according to the practice of the Romans: they only move them forward in a line, or turn them right about, with such compactness and equality that no one is ever behind the rest. To one who considers the whole it is manifest, that in their foot their principal strength lies, and therefore they fight intermixt with the horse: for such is their swiftness as to match and suit with the motions and engagements of the cavalry. So that the infantry are elected from amongst the most robust of their youth, and placed in the front of the army. The number to be sent is also ascertained, out of every village *an hundred*, and by this very name they continue to be called at home, *those of the hundred band*: Thus what was at first no more than a number, becomes
thenceforth

thenceforth a title and distinction of honour. In arraying their army they divide the whole into distinct battalions formed sharp in front. To recoil in battle, provided you return again to the attack, passes with them rather for policy than fear. Even while the combat is no more than doubtful, they bear away the bodies of their slain. The most glaring disgrace that can befall them, is to have quitted their shield; nor to one branded with such ignominy is it lawful to join in their sacrifices, or to enter into their assemblies; and many who had escaped in the day of battle, have hanged themselves to put an end to this their infamy.

IN the choice of Kings they are determined by the splendor of their race, in that of Generals by their bravery. Neither is the power of their Kings unbounded or arbitrary: and their Generals procure obedience not so much by the force of their authority as by that of their example, when they appear enterprizing and brave, when they signalize themselves by courage and prowess; and if they surpass all in admiration and preheminance, if they surpass all at the head of an army. But to none else but the Priests is it allowed to exercise correction, or to inflict bonds or stripes. Nor when the Priests do this, is the same considered as a punishment, or arising from the orders of the General, but from the immediate command of the Deity, him whom they believe to accompany them in war. They therefore carry with them when going to fight, certain images and figures taken out of their holy groves. What proves the principal incentive to their valour is, that it is not at random nor by the fortuitous conflux of men that their troops and pointed battalions are formed, but by the conjunction of whole families, and tribes of relations. Moreover close to the field of battle are lodged all the nearest and most interesting pledges of nature. Hence they hear the doleful howlings of their wives, hence the cries of their tender infants. These are to each particular the witnesses whom he most reverences and dreads; these yield him the praise which affect him most. Their wounds and maims they carry to their mothers, or to their wives, neither are their mothers or wives shocked in telling, or in sucking their bleed-

ing fores. Nay to their husbands and sons whilst engaged in battle, they administer meat and encouragement.

IN history we find, that some armies already yielding and ready to fly, have been by the women restored, through their inflexible importunity and intreaties, presenting their breasts, and shewing their impending captivity; an evil to the Germans then by far most dreadful when it befalls their women. So that the spirit of such cities as amongst their hostages are enjoined to send their damsels of quality, is always engaged more effectually than that of others. They even believe them endowed with something celestial and the spirit of prophecy. Neither do they disdain to consult them, nor neglect the responses which they return. In the reign of the deified VESPASIAN we have seen *Veleda* for a long time and by many nations esteemed and adored as a Divinity. In times past they likewise worshiped *Aurinia* and several more, from no complaisance or effort of flattery, nor as Deities of their own creating.

OF all the Gods Mercury is he whom they worship most. To him on certain stated days 'tis lawful to offer even human victims. Hercules and Mars they appease with beasts usually allowed for sacrifice. Some of the Suevians make likewise immolations to *Isis*. Concerning the cause and original of this foreign sacrifice I have found small light; unless the figure of her Image formed like a galley, shew that such devotion arrived from abroad. For the rest, from the grandeur and majesty of Beings celestial, they judge it altogether unsuitable to hold the Gods enclosed within walls, or to represent them under any human likeness. They consecrate whole woods and groves, and by the names of the Gods they call these recesses; Divinities these which only in contemplation and mental reverence they behold.

To the use of lots and auguries they are addicted beyond all other nations. Their method of divining by lots is exceeding simple. From a tree which bears fruit they cut a twig, and divide it into two small pieces. These they distinguish by so many several marks, and throw them at random and without order upon a white garment.

Then the Priest of the Community, if for the public the lots are consulted, or the father of a family if about a private concern, after he has solemnly invoked the Gods, with eyes lifted up to heaven, takes up every piece thrice, and having done thus forms a judgment according to the marks before made. If the chances have proved forbidding, they are no more consulted upon the same affair during the same day: Even when they are inviting, yet, for confirmation, the faith of auguries too is tried. Yea here also is the known practice of divining events from the voices and flight of birds. But to this Nation it is peculiar, to learn presages and admonitions divine from horses also. These are nourished by the State in the same sacred woods and groves, all milk white and employed in no earthly labour. These yoked in the holy chariot, are accompanied by the Priest and the King, or the Chief of the Community, who both carefully observe his actions and neighing. Nor in any sort of augury is more faith and assurance reposed, not by the populace only, but even by the Nobles, even by the Priests. These account themselves the Ministers of the Gods, and the horses privy to his will. They have likewise another method of divination, whence to learn the issue of great and mighty wars. From the nation with whom they are at war they contrive, it avails not how, to gain a captive: him they engage in combat with one selected from amongst themselves, each armed after the manner of his country, and according as the victory falls to this or to the other, gather a presage of the whole.

AFFAIRS of smaller moment the Chiefs determine: About matters of higher consequence the whole Nation deliberates; yet in such sort, that whatever depends upon the pleasure and decision of the People, is examined and discussed by the Chiefs. Where no accident or emergency intervenes, they assemble upon stated days, either when the moon changes, or is full: since they believe such seasons to be the most fortunate for beginning all transactions. Neither in reckoning of time do they count, like us, the number of days but that of nights. In this stile their Ordinances are framed, in this stile their Diets appointed; and with them the night seems to lead and govern

govern the day. From their extensive liberty this evil and default flows, that they meet not at once, nor as men commanded and afraid to disobey; so that often the second day, nay often the third is consumed through the slowness of the members in assembling. They sit down as they list, promiscuously, like a crowd, and all armed. 'Tis by the Priests that silence is enjoined, and with the power of correction the Priests are then invested. Then the King or Chief is heard, as are others, each according to his precedence in age, or in nobility, or in warlike renown, or in eloquence; and the influence of every speaker proceeds rather from his ability to persuade than from any authority to command. If the proposition displease, they reject it by an inarticulate murmur: if it be pleasing, they brandish their javelins. The most honourable manner of signifying their assent, is to express their applause by the sound of their arms.

IN the assembly 'tis allowed to present accusations, and to prosecute capital offences. Punishments vary according to the quality of the crime. Traitors and deserters they hang upon trees. Cowards, and sluggards, and unnatural prostitutes they smother in mud and bogs under a heap of hurdles. Such diversity in their executions has this view, that in punishing of glaring iniquities, it behoves likewise to display them to fight; but effeminacy and pollution must be buried and concealed. In lighter transgressions too the penalty is measured by the fault, and the delinquents upon conviction are condemned to pay a certain number of horses or cattle. Part of this mulct accrues to the King or to the Community, part to him whose wrongs are vindicated, or to his next kindred. In the same assemblies are also chosen their Chiefs or Rulers, such as administer Justice in their villages and boroughs. To each of these are assigned an hundred persons chosen from amongst the populace, to accompany and assist him, men who help him at once with their authority and their counsel.

WITHOUT being armed they transact nothing, whether of public or private concernment. But 'tis repugnant to their custom for any man to use arms, before the Community has attested his capacity to wield them. Upon
such

such testimonial, either one of the Rulers, or his father, or some kinsman dignify the young man in the midst of the assembly, with a shield and javelin. This amongst them is the *manly robe*, this the first degree of honour conferred upon their youth. Before this they seem no more than part of a private family, but thenceforward part of the Commonwealth. The princely dignity they confer even upon striplings, whose race is eminently noble, or whose fathers have done great and signal services to the State. For about the rest who are more vigorous and long since tried, they crowd to attend: Nor is it any shame to be seen amongst the followers of these. Nay there are likewise degrees of followers, higher or lower, just as he whom they follow judges fit. Mighty too is the emulation amongst these followers, of each to be first in favour with his Prince; mighty also the emulation of the Princes, to excell in the number and valour of followers. This is their principal state, this their chief force, to be at all times surrounded with a huge band of chosen young men, for ornament and glory in peace, for security and defence in war. Nor is it amongst his own people only, but even from the neighbouring Communities, that any of their Princes reaps so much renown and a name so great, when he surpasses in the number and magnanimity of his followers. For such are courted by Embassies, and distinguished with presents, and by the terror of their fame alone often dissipate wars.

IN the day of battle, 'tis scandalous to the Prince to be surpassed in feats of bravery, scandalous to his followers to fail in matching the bravery of the Prince. But it is infamy during life, and indelible reproach, to return alive from a battle where their Prince was slain. To preserve their Prince, to defend him, and to ascribe to his glory all their own valorous deeds, is the sum and most sacred part of their oath. The Princes fight for victory; for the Prince his followers fight. Many of the young nobility, when their own Community comes to languish in its vigour by long peace and inactivity, betake themselves through impatience to other States which then prove to be in war. For, besides that this people cannot brook repose, besides that by perillous adventures they more

quickly blazon their fame, they cannot otherwise than by violence and war support their huge train of retainers. For from the liberality of their Prince they demand and enjoy that *War-horse* of theirs, with that *victorious Javelin* dyed in the blood of their enemies. In the place of pay, they are supplied with a daily table and repasts tho grossly prepared, yet very profuse. For maintaining such liberality and munificence a fund is furnished by continual wars and plunder. Nor could you so easily persuade them to cultivate the ground, or to await the return of the seasons and produce of the year, as to provoke the foe and to risk wounds and death: Since stupid and spiritless they account it, to acquire by their sweat what they can gain by their blood.

UPON any recess from war, they do not much attend the chase. Much more of their time they pass in indolence, resigned to sleep and repasts. All the most brave, all the most warlike apply to nothing at all; but to their wives, to the ancient men, and to every the most impotent domestick, trust all the care of their house, and of their lands and possessions. They themselves loiter. Such is the amazing diversity of their nature, that in the same men is found so much delight in sloth, with so much enmity to tranquillity and repose. The Communities are wont, of their own accord and man by man, to bestow upon their Princes a certain number of beasts, or a certain portion of grain; a contribution which passes indeed for a mark of reverence and honour, but serves also to supply their necessities. They chiefly rejoice in the gifts which come from the bordering countries, such as are sent not only by particulars but in the name of the State, curious horses, splendid armour, rich harness, with collars of silver and gold. Now too they have learnt, what we have taught them, to receive money.

THAT none of the several people in Germany live together in Cities, is abundantly known; nay that amongst them none of their dwellings are suffered to be contiguous. They inhabit apart and distinct, just as a fountain, or a field, or a wood happened to invite them to settle. They raise their villages in opposite rows, but not in our manner with the houses joined one to another. Every

man has a vacant space quite round his own, whether for security against accidents from fire, or that they want the art of building. With them in truth is unknown even the use of mortar and of tiles. In all their structures they employ materials quite gross and unhewn, void of fashion and comeliness. Some parts they besmear with an earth so pure and resplendent, that it resembles painting and colours. They are likewise wont to scoop Caves deep in the ground, and over them to lay great heaps of dung. Thither they retire for shelter in the winter, and thither convey their grain: For by such close places they mollify the rigorous and excessive cold. Besides when at any time their enemy invades them, he can only ravage the open country, but either knows not such recesses as are invisible and subterraneous, or must suffer them to escape him, on this very account that he is uncertain where to find them.

FOR their covering a Mantle is what they all wear, fastened with a clasp or, for want of it, with a thorn. As far as this reaches not they are naked, and lie whole days before the fire. The most wealthy are distinguished with a Vest, not one large and flowing like those of Sarmatians and Parthians, but girt close about them and expressing the proportion of every limb. They likewise wear the skins of savage beasts, a dress which those bordering upon the Rhine use without any fondness or delicacy, but about which such who live further in the country are more curious, as void of all apparel introduced by commerce. They chuse certain wild beasts, and, having slay'd them, diversify their hides with many spots, as also with the skins of monsters from the deep, such as are engendered in the distant Ocean and in seas unknown. Neither does the dress of the Women differ from that of the Men, save that the Women are orderly attired in linnen embroidered with purple, and use no sleeves, so that all their arms are bare. The upper part of their breast is withal exposed. Yet the laws of matrimony are severely observed there; nor in the whole of their manners is ought more praise-worthy than this: For they are almost the only Barbarians contented with one wife, excepting a very few amongst them, men of dignity who marry di-

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vers wives, from no wantonness or lubricity, but courted for the lustre of their family into many alliances.

To the Husband the Wife tenders no dowry, but the Husband to the Wife. The parents and relations attend and declare their approbation of the Presents, not Presents adapted to feminine pomp and delicacy, nor such as serve to deck the new married woman, but Oxen and a Horse accoutred, and a Shield, with a Javelin and Sword. By virtue of these gifts she is espoused. She too on her part brings her husband some arms. This they esteem the highest tie, these the holy mysteries, and matrimonial Gods. That the woman may not suppose herself free from the considerations of fortitude and fighting, or exempt from the casualties of War, the very first solemnities of her wedding serve to warn her, that she comes to her husband as a partner in his hazards and fatigues, that she is to suffer alike with him, to adventure alike, during peace or during war. This the Oxen joined in the same yoke plainly indicate, this the Horse ready equipped, this the Present of arms. 'Tis thus she must be content to live, thus to resign life. The arms which she then receives she must preserve inviolate, and to her sons restore the same, as presents worthy of them, such as their wives may again receive, and still resign to her grand-children.

THEY therefore live in a state of chastity well secured, corrupted by no seducing shews and public diversions, by no irritations from banqueting. Of learning and of any secret intercourse by letters they are all equally ignorant, men and women. Amongst a people so numerous adultery is exceeding rare, a crime instantly punished, and the punishment left to be inflicted by the husband. He, having cut off her hair, expells her from his house naked, in presence of her kindred, and pursues her with stripes throughout the village. For, to a woman who has prostituted her person, no pardon is ever granted. However beautiful she be, however young, however abounding in wealth, a husband she can never find. In truth, no body turns vices into mirth there, nor is the practice of corrupting and of yielding to corruption, called the custom of the age. Better still do those Communities in which none

but Virgins marry, and where to a single marriage all their views and inclinations are at once confined. Thus, as they have but one body and one life, they take but one husband, that beyond him they may have no thought, no further wishes, nor love him only as their Husband but as their Marriage. To restrain generation and the increase of children, is esteemed an abominable sin, as also to kill infants newly born. And more powerful with them are good manners, than with other People are good Laws.

IN all their houses the children are reared naked and nasty, and thus grow into those limbs, into that bulk which with marvel we behold. They are all nourished with the milk of their own mothers, and never surrendered to hand-maids and nurses. The Lord you cannot discern from the Slave by any superior delicacy in rearing. Amongst the same cattle they promiscuously live, upon the same ground they without distinction lie, till at a proper age the free-born are parted from the rest, and their bravery recommend them to notice. Slow and late do the young Men come to the use of Women, and thus very long preserve the vigour of youth. Neither are the Virgins hastened to wed. They must both have the same sprightly youth, the like stature, and marry when equal and able-bodied. Thus the robustness of the parents is inherited by the children. Children are holden in the same estimation with their Mother's Brother, as with their Father. Some hold this tie of blood to be most inviolable and binding, and in receiving of hostages, such pledges are most considered and claimed, as they who at once possess affections the most unalienable, and the most diffuse interest in their family. To every Man, however, his own children are heirs and successors: Wills they make none: For want of children his next akin inherits; his own Brothers, those of his Father, or those of his Mother. To ancient Men the more they abound in descendents, in relations and affinities, so much the more favour and reverence accrues. From being childless no advantage or estimation is derived.

ALL the enmities of your house, whether of your Father or of your Kindred, you must necessarily adopt, as well as all their friendships. Neither are such enmities un-

appeasable and permanent: Since even for so great a crime as homicide compensation is made by a fixt number of sheep and cattle, and by it the whole family is pacified to content. A temper this wholesome to the State; because to a free nation animosities and faction are always more menacing and perillous. In social feasts and deeds of hospitality no nation upon earth was ever more liberal and abounding. To refuse admitting under your roof any man whatsoever, is held wicked and inhuman. Every man receives every comer and treats him with repasts as large as his ability can possibly furnish. When the whole stock is consumed, he who had treated so hospitably guides and accompanies his guest to a new scene of hospitality, and both proceed to the next house, tho neither of them invited. Nor avails it that they were not: They are there received with the same frankness and humanity. Between a stranger and an acquaintance, in dispensing the rules and benefits of hospitality, no difference is made. Upon your departure, if you ask any thing, 'tis the custom to grant it, and with the same facility they ask of you. In gifts they delight, but neither claim merit from what they give, nor own any obligation for what they receive. Their manner of entertaining their guests is familiar and kind.

THE moment they rise from sleep, which they generally prolong till late in the day, they bathe, most frequently in warm water, as in a country where the Winter is very long and severe. From bathing they sit down to meat, every man apart, upon a particular seat, and at a separate table. They then proceed to their affairs, all in arms, as in arms they no less frequently go to banquet. To continue drinking night and day without intermission, is a reproach to no man. Frequent then are their broils, as usual amongst men intoxicated with liquor; and such broils rarely terminate in angry words, but for the most part in maimings and slaughter. Moreover in these their Feasts they generally deliberate about reconciling parties at enmity, about forming affinities, chusing of Princes, and finally about peace and war. For they judge, that at no season is the soul more open to thoughts that are artless and upright, or more fired with such as are great

and bold. This people, of themselves no wise subtle or politic, from the freedom of the place and occasion acquire still more frankness to disclose the most secret motions and purposes of their hearts. When therefore the minds of all have been once laid open and declared, on the day following the several sentiments are revised and canvassed; and to both conjunctures of time due regard is had. They consult when they know not how to dissemble; they determine when they cannot mistake.

FOR their drink they draw a liquor from barley or other grain, and ferment the same so as to make it resemble Wine. Nay, they who dwell upon the bank of the Rhine deal in Wine. Their food is very simple, wild Fruit, fresh Venison, or coagulated Milk. They banish hunger without formality, without curious dressing and curious fare. In extinguishing thirst they use not equal temperance. If you will but humour their excess in drinking, and supply them with as much as they covet, it will be no less easy to vanquish them by vices than by arms. Of public diversions they have but one sort, and in all their meetings the same is still exhibited. Young men, such as make it their pastime, fling themselves naked and dance amongst sharp swords and the deadly points of javelins. From habit they acquire their skill, and from their skill a graceful manner; yet from hence draw no gain or hire: though this adventurous gayety has its reward, namely that of pleasing the spectators.

WHAT is marvellous, playing at Dice is one of their most serious employments, and even sober they are gamesters: nay so desperately do they venture upon the chance of winning or losing, that when their whole substance is played away, they stake their Liberty and their Persons upon one and the last throw. The loser goes calmly into voluntary bondage. However younger he be, however stronger, he tamely suffers himself to be bound and sold by the winner. Such is their perseverance in an evil course: They themselves call it honour. Slaves of this class they exchange away in commerce, to free themselves too from the shame of such a victory. Of their other slaves they make not such use as we do of ours, by distributing amongst them the several offices and employments of the family.

family. Each of them has a dwelling of his own, each a household to govern. His Lord uses him like a Tenant, and obliges him to pay a quantity of grain, or of cattle, or of cloth. Thus far only the subserviency of the slave extends. All the other duties in a family, not the Slaves, but the Wives and the Children discharge. To inflict stripes upon a slave, or to put him in chains, or to doom him to severe labour, are things rarely seen. To kill them they sometimes are wont, not through correction or government, but in heat and rage, as they would an enemy, save that no vengeance or penalty follows. The Freedmen very little surpass the Slaves, rarely are of moment in the house, in the Community never, excepting only such nations where arbitrary dominion prevails. For there they bear higher sway than the freeborn, nay higher than the Nobles. In other countries the inferior condition of freedmen is a proof of public liberty.

To the practice of usury and of increasing money by interest, they are strangers; and hence is found a better guard against it, than if it were forbidden. They shift from land to land, and, still appropriating a portion suitable to the number of hands for manuring, anon parcel out the whole amongst particulars according to the condition and quality of each. As the plains are very spacious, the allotments are easily assigned. Every year they change, and cultivate a fresh soil; yet still there is ground to spare. For they strive not to bestow labour proportionable to the fertility and compass of their lands, by planting Orchards, by inclosing Meadows, by watering Gardens. From the earth Corn only is exacted. Hence they quarter not the year into so many Seasons. Winter, Spring and Summer they understand, and for each have proper appellations. Of the name and blessings of Autumn they are equally ignorant.

IN performing their Funerals they shew no state or vain glory. This only is carefully observed, that with the coarces of their signal men certain woods be burned. Upon the funeral pile they accumulate neither apparel nor perfumes. Into the fire are always thrown the arms of the dead, and sometimes his horse. With sods of earth only the Sepulchre is raised. The pomp of tedious and elaborate

elaborate monuments they contemn, as things grievous to the deceased. Tears and wailings they soon dismiss: Their affliction and woe they long retain. In Women 'tis reckoned becoming to bewail their loss, in Men to remember it.

THIS is what in general we have learnt of the original and customs of the whole people of Germany. I shall now deduce the institutions and usages of the several People, as far as they vary one from another, as also an account of what nations from thence removed to settle themselves in Gaul. That the Gauls were in times past more puissant and formidable, is related by the Prince of Authors, the deified JULIUS; and hence 'tis probable that they too have passed into Germany. For what a small obstacle must be a river to restrain any nation; as each grew more potent, from seizing or changing habitations, when as yet all habitations were common, and not parted or appropriated by the founding and terror of Monarchies? The Region therefore between the Hercynian Forest and the Rivers Mœnus and Rhine, was occupied by the Helvetians, as was that beyond it by the Boians, both nations of Gaul. There still remains a place called *Boiemum*, which denotes the primitive name and antiquity of the country, although the inhabitants have been changed. But whether the Araviscans are derived from the Ofians, a nation of Germans passing into Pannonia, or the Ofians from the Araviscans removing from thence into Germany, is a matter undecided, since they both still use the language, the same customs and the same laws. For, as of old they lived alike poor and alike free, equal proved the evils and advantages on each side the river, and common to both people. The Treverians and Nervians aspire passionately to the reputation of being descended from the Germans, since by the glory of this original they would escape all imputation of resembling the Gauls in person and effeminacy. Such as dwell upon the bank of the Rhine, the Vangiones, the Tribocians, and the Nemetes, are without doubt all Germans. The Ubians are ashamed of their original, though they have a particular honour to boast, that of having merited an establishment as a Roman Colony, and still delight to be called *Agrippinensians*,

nenfians, after the name of their founder: They indeed formerly came from beyond the Rhine, and, for the many proofs of their fidelity, were settled upon the very bank of the river, not to be there confined or guarded themselves, but to guard and defend that boundary against the rest of the Germans.

OF all these Nations the Batavians are the most signal in bravery. They inhabit not much territory upon the Rhine, but possess an Island in it. They were formerly part of the Cattans, and by means of feuds at home removed to these dwellings, whence they might become a portion of the Roman Empire. With them this honour still remains, as also the memorials of their ancient association with us: For they are not under the contempt of paying tribute, nor subject to be squeezed by the farmers of the revenue. Free from all impositions and payments, and only set apart for the purposes of fighting, they are reserved wholly for the wars, in the same manner as a Magazine of weapons and armour. Under the same degree of homage are the Nation of the Mattiacians. For such is the might and greatness of the Roman People, as to have carried the awe and esteem of their Empire beyond the Rhine and the ancient boundaries. Thus the Mattiacians living upon the opposite banks enjoy a settlement and limits of their own, yet in spirit and inclination are attached to us; in other things resembling the Batavians, save that as they still breathe their original air, still possess their primitive soil, they are thence inspired with superior vigour and keenness. Amongst the People of Germany I would not reckon those who occupy the Lands which are under decimation, though they be such as dwell beyond the Rhine and the Danube. By several worthless and vagabond Gauls, and such as poverty rendered daring, that Region was seized as one belonging to no certain possessor: Afterwards it became a skirt of the Empire and part of a Province, upon the enlargement of our bounds and the extending of our garrisons and frontier.

BEYOND these are the Cattans whose territories begin at the Hercynian Forest, and consist not of such wide and marshy plains, as those of the other Communities contained within the vast compass of Germany, but pro-
duce

duce ranges of hills, such as run lofty and contiguous for a long tract, then by degrees sink and decay. Moreover the Hercynian Forest attends for a while its native Cattans then suddenly forsakes them. This People are distinguished with bodies more hardy and robust, compact limbs, stern countenances, and greater vigour of spirit. For Germans, they are men of much sense and address. They dignify chosen men, listen to such as are set over them, know how to preserve their post, to discern occasions, to rebate their own ardour and impatience, how to employ the day, how to entrench themselves by night. They account fortune amongst things slippery and uncertain, but bravery amongst such as are never-failing and secure; and, what is exceeding rare nor ever to be learnt but by a wholesome course of discipline, in the conduct of the General they repose more assurance than in the strength of the army. Their whole forces consist of foot, who besides their arms carry likewise instruments of iron and their provisions. You may see other Germans proceed equipped to battle, but the Cattans so as to conduct a war. They rarely venture upon excursions or casual encounters. It is in truth peculiar to cavalry, suddenly to conquer, or suddenly to fly. Such haste and velocity rather resembles fear. Patience and deliberation are more akin to intrepidity.

MOREOVER a custom, practised indeed in other nations of Germany, yet very rarely and confined only to particulars more daring than the rest, prevails amongst the Cattans by universal consent. As soon as they arrive to maturity of years, they let their hair and beards continue to grow, nor till they have slain an enemy do they ever lay aside this form of countenance by vow sacred to valour. Over the blood and spoil of a foe they make bare their face. They alledge, that they have now acquitted themselves of the debt and duty contracted by their birth, and rendered themselves worthy of their country, worthy of their parents. Upon the spiritless, cowardly and unwarlike, such deformity of visage still remains. All the most brave likewise wear an iron ring (a mark of great dishonour this in that Nation) and retain it as a chain, till by killing an enemy they become released. Many of
the

the Cattans delight always to bear this terrible aspect, and, when grown white through age, become awful and conspicuous by such marks both to the enemy and their own countrymen. By them in all engagements the first assault is made: Of them the front of the battle is always composed, as men who in their looks are singular and tremendous. For even during peace they abate nothing in the grimness and horror of their countenance. They have no house to inhabit, no land to cultivate, nor any domestic charge or care. With whomsoever they come to sojourn, by him they are maintained, always very prodigal of the substance of others, always despising what is their own, till the feebleness of old age overtakes them, and renders them unequal to the efforts of such rigid bravery.

NEXT to the Cattans dwell the Usipians and Tencterians, upon the Rhine now running in a channel uniform and certain, such as suffices for a boundary. The Tencterians, besides their wonted glory in war, surpass in the service and discipline of their cavalry. Nor do the Cattans derive higher applause from their foot than the Tencterians from their horse. Such was the order established by their forefathers, and what their posterity still pursue. From riding and exercising of horses their children borrow their pastimes, in this exercise the young men find matter for emulating one another, and in this the old men take pleasure to persevere. Horses are by the father bequeathed as part of his household and family, horses are conveyed amongst the rights of succession, and as such the son receives them, but not the eldest son, like other effects, by priority of birth, but he who happens to be signal in boldness and superior in war.

CONTIGUOUS to the Tencterians formerly dwelt the Bructerians, in whose room 'tis said the Chamavians and Angrivarians are now settled, they who expelled and almost extirpated the Bructerians with the concurrence of the neighbouring nations, whether in detestation of their arrogance, or allured by the love of spoil, or through the special favour of the Gods towards us Romans. They in truth even vouchsafed to gratify us with the sight of the battle. In it there fell above sixty thousand souls, without a blow struck by the Romans, but, what is a circum-

stance

stance still more glorious, fell to furnish them with a spectacle of joy and recreation. May the Gods continue and perpetuate amongst these nations, if not any love for us, yet by all means this their animosity and hate towards each other: Since whilst the destiny of the Empire thus urges it, fortune cannot more signally befriend us than in sowing strife amongst our foes.

THE Angrivarians and Chamavians are enclosed behind by the Dulgibinians and Chasuarians, and by other nations not so much noted: before, the Frisians face them. The country of Frisia is divided into two, called the greater and lesser, according to the measure of their strength. Both nations stretch along the Rhine quite to the Ocean, and surround vast lakes such as once have borne Roman Fleets. We have moreover even ventured out from thence into the Ocean, and upon its coasts common fame has reported the Pillars of HERCULES to be still standing: whether it be that HERCULES ever visited these parts, or that to his renowned name we are wont to ascribe whatever is grand and glorious every where. Neither did DRUSUS who made the attempt, want boldness to pursue it: but the roughness of the Ocean withstood him, nor would suffer discoveries to be made about itself no more than about HERCULES. Thenceforward the enterprize was dropped: Nay more pious and reverential it seemed, to believe the marvellous feats of the Gods than to know and to prove them.

HITHERTO I have been describing Germany towards the West. To the Northward it winds away with an immense compass. And first of all occurs the Nation of the Chaucians, who though they begin immediately at the confines of the Frisians, and occupy part of the shore, extend so far as to border upon all the several people whom I have already recounted, till at last, by a circuit they reach quite to the boundaries of the Cattans. A Region so vast the Chaucians do not only possess but fill; a people of all the Germans the most noble, such as would rather maintain their grandeur by justice than violence. They live in repose, retired from broils abroad, void of avidity to possess more, free from a spirit of domineering over others. They provoke no wars, they ravage

no countries, they pursue no plunder. Of their bravery and power the chief evidence arises from hence, that, without wronging or oppressing others, they are come to be superior to all. Yet they are all ready to arm, and if an exigency require, armies are presently raised, powerful and abounding as they are in men and horses; and even when they are quiet and their weapons laid aside, their credit and name continue equally high.

ALONG the side of the Chaucians and Cattans dwell the Cheruscans, a people who finding no enemy to rouse them, were enfeebled by a peace over lasting and uniform, but such as they failed not to nourish. A conduct which proved more pleasing than secure; since treacherous is that repose which you enjoy amongst neighbours that are very powerful and very fond of rule and mastership. When recourse is once had to the sword, modesty and fair dealing will be vainly pleaded by the weaker; names these which are always assumed by the stronger. Thus the Cheruscans, they who formerly bore the character of *Good and Upright*, are now called *Cowards and Fools*, and the fortune of the Cattans who subdued them, grew immediately to be Wisdom. In the ruin of the Cheruscans the Fossians also their neighbours were involved, and in their calamities bore an equal share, though in their prosperity they had been weaker and less considered.

IN the same winding tract of Germany live the Cimbrians close to the Ocean, a Community now very small, but great in fame. Nay of their ancient renown many and extensive are the traces and monuments still remaining, even their entrenchments upon either shore, so vast in compass that from thence you may even now measure the greatness and numerous bands of that people, and assent to the account of an army so mighty. It was on the six hundred and fortieth year of Rome, when of the arms of the Cimbrians the first mention was made, during the Consulship of CAECILIUS METELLUS and PAPIRIUS CARBO. If from that time we count to the second Consulship of the Emperor TRAJAN, the interval comprehends near two hundred and ten years, so long have we been conquering Germany. In a course of time so vast between these two periods, many have been the
blows

blows and disasters suffered on each side. In truth neither from the Samnites, nor from the Carthaginians, nor from both Spains, nor from all the nations of Gaul have we received more frequent checks and alarms; nor even from the Parthians: For, more vigorous and invincible is the Liberty of the Germans than the Monarchy of the Arcades. Indeed, what has the power of the East to alledge to our dishonour, but the fall of CRASSUS, that power which was itself overthrown and abased by VENTIDIUS, with the loss of the great King PACORUS bereft of his life? But by the Germans the Roman People have been bereft of five Armies all commanded by Consuls; by the Germans the Commanders of these Armies, CARBO, and CASSIUS, and SCAURUS AURELIUS, and SERVILIUS CAEPIO, as also MARCUS MANLIUS, were all routed or taken: By the Germans even the Emperor AUGUSTUS was bereft of VARUS and three Legions. Nor without difficulty and loss of men were they defeated by CAIUS MARIUS in Italy, or by the deified JULIUS in Gaul, or by DRUSUS or TIBERIUS or GERMANICUS in their native territories. Soon after, the mighty menaces of CALIGULA against them ended in mockery and derision. Thenceforward they continued quiet, till taking advantage of our domestic division and civil wars, they stormed and seized the winter entrenchments of the Legions, and aimed at the dominion of Gaul; from whence they were once more expelled, and in the times preceding the present we gained a triumph over them rather than a victory.

I must now proceed to speak of the Suevians, who are not, like the Cattans and Tencterians, comprehended in a single People, but divided into several Nations all bearing distinct names, tho in general they are intitled Suevians, and occupy the larger share of Germany. This People are remarkable for a peculiar custom, that of twisting their hair and binding it up in a knot. 'Tis thus the Suevians are distinguished from the other Germans, thus the free Suevians from their Slaves. In the other Nations, whether from alliance of blood with the Suevians, or, as is usual, from imitation, this practice is also found, yet rarely, and never exceeds the years of youth. The Sue-

vians even when their hair is white through age, continue to raise it backwards in a manner stern and staring, and often tie it upon the top of their head only. That of their Princes is more accurately disposed, and so far they study to appear agreeable and comely, but without any culpable intention. For by it they mean not to make love or to incite it: They thus dress when proceeding to war, and deck their heads so as to add to their height and terror in the eyes of the enemy.

OF all the Suevians the Semnones recount themselves to be the most ancient and most noble. The belief of their antiquity is confirmed by religious mysteries. At a stated time of the year, all the several people descended from the same stock, assemble by their deputies in a wood consecrated by the idolatries of their forefathers and by superstitious awe in times of old. There by publicly sacrificing a Man they begin the horrible solemnity of their barbarous worship. To this Grove another sort of reverence is also paid. No one enters it otherwise than bound with ligatures, thence professing his subordination and meanness, and the power of the Deity there. If he fall down, he is not permitted to rise or be raised, but grovels along upon the ground. And of all their superstition this is the drift and tendency, that from this place the Nation drew their original, that here God, the supreme Governor of the world, resides, and that all things else whatsoever are subject to him and bound to obey him. The potent condition of the Semnones has increased their influence and authority, as they inhabit an hundred towns; and from the largeness of their Community it comes, that they hold themselves for the head of the Suevians.

WHAT on the contrary ennobles the Langobards is the smallness of their number, for that they, who are surrounded with very many and very powerful Nations, derive their security from no obsequiousness or plying, but from the dint of battle and adventurous deeds. There follow in order the Reudignians, and Aviones, and Angles, and Varinians, and Eudoses, and Suardones and Nuithones, all defended by Rivers or Forests. Nor in one of these Nations does ought remarkable occur, only that they universally join in the worship of *Hertum*, that

is to say, the Mother Earth. Her they believe to interpose in the affairs of Men, and to visit Countries. In an Island of the Ocean stands the Wood *Castum*: in it is a Chariot dedicated to the Goddess, covered over with a curtain, and permitted to be touched by none but the Priest. Whenever the Goddess enters this her holy Vehicle, he perceives her, and with profound veneration attends the motion of the Chariot, which is always drawn by yoked Cows. Then 'tis that days of rejoicing always ensue, and in all places whatsoever which she descends to honour with a visit and her company, Feasts and Recreation abound. They go not to war; they touch no arms; fast laid up is every hostile weapon; Peace and repose are then only known, then only beloved, till to the Temple the same Priest reconducts the Goddess when well tired with the conversation of mortal beings. Anon the Chariot is washed and purified in a secret lake, as also the curtains, nay the Deity herself too, if you chuse to believe it. In this office 'tis slaves who minister, and they are forthwith doomed to be swallowed up in the same lake. Hence all men are possessed with mysterious terror, as well as with a holy ignorance what that must be which none see but such as are immediately to perish. Moreover this quarter of the Suevians stretches to the middle of Germany.

THE Community next adjoining is that of the Hermondurians (that I may now follow the course of the Danube, as a little before I did that of the Rhine) a People this faithful to the Romans. So that to them alone of all the Germans commerce is permitted, not barely upon the bank of the Rhine, but more extensively, and even in that glorious Colony in the Province of Rhætia. They travel every where at their own discretion and without a guard; and when to other Nations we shew no more than our arms and encampments, to this People we throw open our houses and dwellings, as to men who have no longing to possess them. In the territories of the Hermondurians rises the Elbe, a river very famous and formerly well known to us; at present we only hear it named.

CLOSE by the Hermondurians reside the Nariscans, and next to them the Marcomanians and Quadians. Amongst

these the Marcomanians are most signal in force and renown; nay their habitation itself they acquired by their bravery, as from thence they formerly expelled the Boians. Nor do the Nariscans or Quadians degenerate in spirit. Now this is as it were the frontier of Germany, as far as Germany is washed by the Danube. To the times withi n our memory the Marcomanians and Quadians were governed by Kings, who were natives of their own, descended from the noble line of MAROBODUUS and TURDUS. At present they are even subject to such as are foreigners. But the whole strength and sway of their Kings is derived from the authority of the Romans. From our arms they rarely receive any aid, from our money very frequently.

NOR less powerful are the several people beyond them, namely the Marfignians, the Gothinians, the Ofians and the Burians, who altogether enclose the Marcomanians and Quadians behind. Of those the Marfignians and the Burians in speech and dress resemble the Suevians. From the Gallic language spoken by the Gothinians, and from that of Pannonia by the Ofians, it is manifest that neither of these people are Germans, as it is also from their bearing to pay tribute. Upon them as upon aliens their tribute is imposed, partly by the Sarmatians, partly by the Quadians. The Gothinians, to heighten their disgrace, are forced to labour in the iron-mines. By all these several Nations but little level country is possessed: They are seated amongst forests, and upon the ridges and declivities of mountains. For, Suevia is parted by a continual ridge of mountains, beyond which live many distinct Nations. Of these the Lygians are most numerous and extensive, and spread into several Communities. 'Twill suffice to mention the most puissant, even the Arians, Helvicones, Manimians, Elysians and Naharvalians. Amongst the Naharvalians is shewn a Grove sacred to devotion extremely ancient. Over it a Priest presides apparelled like a Woman; but according to the explication of the Romans, 'tis *Castor* and *Pollux* who are here worshipped. This Divinity is named *Alcis*. There are indeed no images here, no traces of an extraneous superstition: Yet their devotion is addressed to young Men and to Brothers.

thers. Now the Arians, besides their forces, in which they surpass the several Nations just recounted, are in their persons stern and truculent, and even humour and improve their natural grimness and ferocity by art and time. They wear black shields, their bodies are painted black, they chuse dark nights for engaging in battle, and by the very awe and ghastly hue of their army, strike the enemy with dread, as none can bear this their aspect so surprizing and as it were quite infernal. For, in all battles the eyes are vanquished first. Beyond the Lygians dwell the Gothones under the rule of a King, and thence held in subjection somewhat stricter than the other German Nations, yet not so strict as to extinguish all their liberty. Immediately adjoining are the Rugians and Lemovians upon the coast of the Ocean, and of these several Nations the Characteristics are a round Shield, a short Sword and kingly Government.

NEXT occur the Communities of the Suiones, situated in the Ocean itself, and besides their strength in men and arms, very powerful at sea. The form of their vessels varies thus far from ours, that they have prows at each end, so as to be always ready to row to shore without turning; nor are they moved by sails, nor on their sides have benches of oars placed, but the rowers ply here and there in all parts of the ship alike, as in some rivers is done, and change their oars from place to place, just as they shift their course hither or thither. To wealth also, amongst them, great veneration is paid, and thence a single ruler governs them, without all restriction of power, and exacting unlimited obedience. Neither here, as amongst other Nations of Germany, are arms used indifferently by all, but shut up and warded under the care of a particular keeper, who in truth too is always a Slave: Since from all sudden invasions and attacks from their foes the Ocean protects them: Besides that armed bands, when they are not employed, grow easily debauched and tumultuous. The truth is, it suits not the interest of an arbitrary Prince, to trust the care and power of arms either with a Nobleman or with a Freeman, or indeed with any man above the condition of a Slave.

BEYOND

BEYOND the Suiones is another sea, one very heavy and almost void of agitation; and by it the whole globe is thought to be bounded and invironed, for that the reflection of the sun, after his setting, continues till his rising, so bright as to darken the stars. To this, popular opinion has added, that the tumult also of his emerging from the sea is heard, that forms divine are then seen, as likewise the rays about his head. Only thus far extend the limits of nature, if what fame says be true. Upon the right of the Suevian sea the Æstyan Nations reside, who use the same customs and attire with the Suevians; their language more resembles that of Britain. They worship the Mother of the Gods. As the Characteristic of their national Superstition, they wear the Images of wild boars. This alone serves them for arms, this is the safeguard of all, and by this every worshipper of the Goddess is secured even amidst his foes. Rare amongst them is the use of weapons of Iron, but frequent that of Clubs. In producing of grain and the other fruits of the earth they labour with more assiduity and patience than is suitable to the usual laziness of Germans. Nay they even search the deep, and of all the rest are the only people who gather *Amber*. They call it *Glasing*, and find it amongst the shallows and upon the very shore. But, according to the ordinary incuriosity and ignorance of Barbarians, they have neither learnt, nor do they enquire, what is its nature, or from what cause it is produced. In truth it lay long neglected amongst the other gross discharges of the sea, till from our luxury it gained a name and value. To themselves it is of no use: They gather it rough, they expose it in pieces coarse and unpolished, and for it receive a price with wonder. You would however conceive it to be a liquor issuing from trees, for that in the transparent substance are often seen birds and other animals, such as at first stuck in the soft gum, and by it, as it hardened, became quite enclosed. I am apt to believe that, as in the recesses of the East are found Woods and Groves dropping frankincense and balms, so in the Isles and Continent of the West such gums are extracted by the force and proximity of the sun, at first liquid and flowing into the next sea,

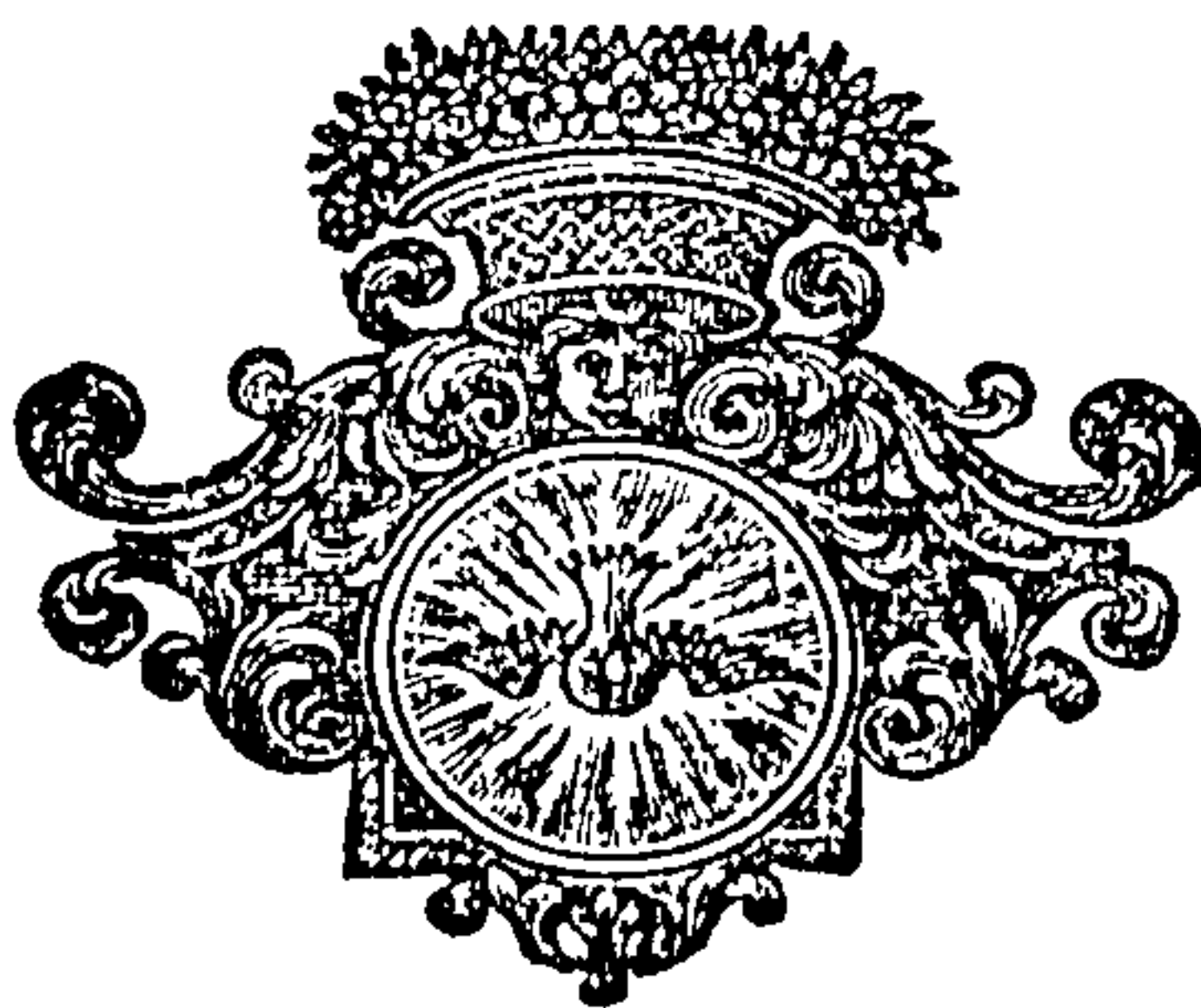
sea, then thrown by winds and waves upon the opposite shore. If you try the nature of amber by the application of fire, it kindles like a torch and feeds a thick and unctuous flame very high scented, and presently becomes glutinous like pitch or rosin.

UPON the Suiones border the people Sitones, and, agreeing with them in all other things, differ from them in one, that here the Sovereignty is exercised by a Woman. So notoriously do they degenerate not only from a state of Liberty, but even below a state of Bondage. Here end the territories of the Suevians. Whether amongst the Sarmatians or the Germans I ought to account the Peucinians, the Venedians, and the Fennians, is what I cannot determine, though the Peucinians, whom some call Bastarnians, speak the same language with the Germans, use the same attire, build like them, and live like them, in that dirtiness and sloth so common to all. Somewhat they are corrupted into the fashion of the Sarmatians by the intermarriages of the principal sort with that Nation: From whence the Venedians have derived very many of their customs and a great resemblance. For they are continually traversing and infesting with robberies all the forests and mountains lying between the Peucinians and Fennians. Yet they are rather reckoned amongst the Germans, for that they have fixt houses, and carry shields, and prefer travelling on foot, and excell in swiftness. Usages these all widely differing from those of the Sarmatians, who live on horse-back and dwell in waggons.

IN wonderful savageness live the Nation of the Fennians, and in beastly poverty, destitute of arms, of horses, and of homes; their food the common herbs; their apparel, skins; their bed, the earth; their only hope in their arrows, which for want of iron they point with bones. Their common support they have from the chase, women as well as men; for with these the former wander up and down, and crave a portion of the prey. Nor other shelter have they even for their babes, against the violence of tempests and ravening beasts, than to cover them with the branches of trees twisted together: This a reception for the old men, and hither resort the young. Such a

condition they judge more happy than the painful occupation of cultivating the ground, than the labour of rearing houses, than the agitations of hope and fear attending the defence of their own property or the seizing that of others. Secure against the designs of men, secure against the malignity of the Gods, they have accomplished a thing of infinite difficulty, that to them nothing remains even to be wished.

WHAT further accounts we have are fabulous, as that the Hellufians and Oxiones have the countenances and aspect of men with the bodies and limbs of savage beasts. This, as a thing about which I have no certain information, I shall leave untouched.



THE
L I F E
O F
A G R I C O L A,

With an ACCOUNT of the
Situation, Climate, and People

O F
B R I T A I N.

L O N D O N:
Printed for T. WOODWARD and J. PEELE.
M, DCC, XXXI.

To His G R A C E

J O H N

D U K E of A R G Y L L

A N D

G R E E N W I C H.

My LORD,



Y never yet denying me any favour, Your Grace has only taught me a confident habit of still presuming upon future condescension, and the same success. Hence I hope to be pardoned, even for my vanity, in publishing as I do to the world, that I can boast of Your Grace as my Patron and my Friend, such a Friend as the world will allow never to have been exceeded in acts of friendship.

X x x x

FROM

DEDICATION.

FROM the same vanity, but vanity accompanied with faithful affection, I am ambitious of having Your Name stand in my Works as long as any Work of mine remains. Indulge me, My Lord, in gratifying this pleasing ambition, and favourably accept a Dedication which entirely comes from the heart: nor indeed is any Dedication which does not, worthy of acceptance.

As therefore the following Treatise, one so charming and instructive, is in the original consecrated to the memory of the excellent AGRICOLA, that polite and most accomplished Patrician, that Great Commander, Great Statesman, and which is above all, that Great honest Man: Be it henceforth in English, from a just resemblance of characters, for ever sacred to the Name and Person of the Duke of Argyll, as well as a public, I hope a lasting testimony, with what high, and sincere regard, I ever am,

MY LORD,

Your Grace's intirely devoted,

and most Obedient,

Humble Servant,

T. GORDON.

T H E
L I F E
O F
A G R I C O L A.



AMONGST the Ancients it was common to transmit to posterity the characters and exploits of memorable men: Nor in truth in our own times has the age, however indifferent about what concerns itself, failed to observe the like usage, whenever any spirit eminent for great and signal virtue has vanquished and triumphed over the blindness of such as cannot distinguish right from wrong, as well as over the spite of malignants; for, spite and blindness are evils common to great States and to small. But, as in those early times there was found greater propensity to feats of renown, and more scope to perform them; so whoever excelled in a happy genius was naturally led to display the merits and memory of the virtuous dead, without all view to court favour, or to gain advantages, but only by the motives and recompence flowing from a benevolent and conscientious mind. Indeed there were several who, in recounting their own lives, concluded, that they thence shewed rather a confidence in their own integrity and demeanour than any mark of arrogance. Neither was the account which RUTILIUS and SCAURUS gave of themselves, thence the less credited or the more censured. So true it is, that the several virtues are best understood and most prized, during the same times in which they are most easily produced. But to my self, who am going to relate the Life of a person deceased, I find pardon necessary; which I

V O L. II. Y y y y should

should not have asked, were I not about to revive and traverse times so sanguinary, and baneful to all virtue.

WE find it recorded, that for celebrating the praises of PAETUS THRASEA, ARULENUS RUSTICUS suffered a deadly doom, as did HERENNIUS SENECCIO for those of HELVIDIUS PRISCUS. Nor upon the persons of the Authors only was this cruelty inflicted, but also upon the Books themselves; since to the Triumvirate of Justice orders were sent, that in the Forum and place of popular Elections the Works of men so illustrious for parts and genius should be burned. Yes, in this very fire they imagined, that they should abolish the voice and utterance of the Roman People, with the liberty of the Senate, and all the ideas and remembrances of humankind. For, they had besides expelled all the professors of Philosophy, and driven every laudable Science into exile, that nought which was worthy and honest might any where be seen. Mighty surely was the testimony which we gave of our patience; and as our forefathers had beheld the ultimate consummation of Liberty, so did we of Bondage, since through dread of informers and inquisitions of State, we were bereft of the common intercourse of speech and attention. Nay, with our utterance we had likewise lost our memory, had it been equally in our power to forget as to be silent.

Now indeed at length our spirit returns. Yet, though from the first dawn of this very happy age begun by the reign of NERVA, he blended together two things once found irreconcilable, public Liberty and sovereign Power; and though TRAJAN his adopted Successor be daily augmenting the felicity of the State; insomuch that for the general security not only hopes and vows are conceived, but even firm assurance follows these vows, and their full accomplishment is seen; such however is the frailty of man and its effects, that much more slow is the progress of the remedies than of the evils; and as human bodies attain their growth by tedious degrees, and are subject to be destroyed in an instant, so it is much easier to suppress than to revive the efforts of Genius and Study. For, upon the mind there steals a pleasure even in sloth and remissness, and that very inactivity which was at first hated,

hated, is at last loved. Will it not be found that during a course of fifteen years, (a mighty space in the age of mortal man) numbers perished through fortuitous disasters, and all men noted for promptness and spirit were cut off by the cruelty of the Emperor? Few we are who have escaped; and if I may so speak, we have survived not only others but even ourselves, when from the middle of our life so many years were rent; whence from being young we are arrived at old age, from being old we are nigh come to the utmost verge of mortality, all in a long course of awful silence. I shall however find no cause of regret from having framed an historical deduction of our former bondage, as also a testimony of the public blessings which at present we enjoy; though, in doing it, my style be negligent and unpolished. To the honour of AGRICOLA my Wife's Father, this present Book is in the mean time dedicated, and, as 'tis a declaration of filial duty and affection, will thence be commended, at least excused.

CNÆUS JULIUS AGRICOLA was born in the ancient and illustrious Colony of Forojulium, and both his grandfathers were Procurators to the Emperors; a dignity peculiar to the Equestrian Order. His father JULIUS GRAECINUS was a Senator, and noted for Eloquence and Philosophy. By these his virtues he earned the wrath of CALIGULA. For, he was by him ordered to accuse MARCUS SILANUS, and put to death for refusing. His mother was JULIA PROCILLA, a Lady of singular chastity. Under her eye and tender care he was reared, and spent his childhood and youth in the continual pursuit and cultivation of worthy accomplishments. What guarded him from the allurements of the vicious (besides his own virtuous disposition and natural innocence) was, that for the seat and nursery of his studies, whilst yet very little, he had the City of MARSEILLES, a place well tempered and framed, as in it all the politeness of the Greeks and all the Provincial parsimony are blended together. I remember he was wont to declare, that in his early youth he studied Philosophy and the Law with more avidity than was allowable to a Roman and a Senator, till the discretion of his mother checked his spirit engaged with
passion

passion and ardor in the pursuit. In truth, his superior and elevated genius thirsted, with more vehemence than caution, after the loveliness and lustre of a name and renown so mighty and sublime. Reason and age afterwards qualified his heat; and, what is a task extremely hard, he satisfied himself with a limited measure of Philosophy.

THE first rudiments of war he learnt in Britain, under that prudent and vigilant Commander SÆTONIUS PAULINUS, by whom he was chosen and distinguished as his domestic companion. Neither did AGRICOLA behave licentiously, after the manner of young men, who turn warfare into riot, nor assumed the title and office of a Tribune without the sufficiency, in order to use it slothfully in feats of pleasure and absence from duty, but to know the Province, to be known to the Army, to learn of such as had experience, to follow such as were worthy and brave, to seek for no exploits for ostentation, to refuse none through fear, and in all his pursuits was equally zealous and active. Indeed at no time had Britain been under greater combustions, nor our affairs there more precarious. Our Veterans were slaughtered, our Colonies burned down, our Armies surprized and taken. At that juncture the struggle was for life, afterwards for victory. Now though all these affairs were transacted by the counsels and conduct of another than AGRICOLA, and though the stress of the whole, with the glory of recovering the Province, accrued to the General; they all however proved to the young man matters of skill, of experience and stimulation; and there seized his soul a passion for military glory, a spirit disgusting to the times, when of men signally eminent a malignant opinion was entertained, and when as much peril arose from a great character as from a bad.

DEPARTING from hence to Rome for the exercise of public dignities, he there married DOMITIA DECIDIANA, a Lady splendid in her descent, and to him who was aspiring to higher honours this marriage proved a great ornament and support. In marvellous unanimity they also lived, in a course of mutual tenderness and mutual preference; a temper commendable in both, only that the praise of
a good

a good wife rises in proportion to the contumely of a bad. His lot as Questor fell upon Asia, where he had SALVIUS TITIANUS for Proconsul. But neither the Province nor the Proconsul corrupted his probity, though the country was very rich, nay prepared as a prey for men corruptly disposed; and TITIANUS, a man bent upon all acts of rapine, was ready, upon the smallest encouragement, to have purchased a mutual connivance in iniquity. In Asia he was enriched by the birth of a daughter, tending at once to his consolation and the support of his family; for the son born to him before, he very soon lost. The interval between his bearing the office of Questor and that of Tribune of the People, and even the year of his Tribuneship, he passed in repose and inactivity, as well aware of the spirit of the times under NERO, when sloth and heaviness served for wisdom. With the like indolence he held the Prætorship, and in the same quiet and silence. For upon him the jurisdiction of that dignity fell not. The public pastimes and the empty gaieties of the office, he exhibited according to the rules of good sense and to the measure of his wealth, in a manner tho remote from prodigality, yet deserving popular applause. As he was next appointed by GALBA to make research into the gifts and oblations appertaining to the Temples, he proceeded with such diligence and an examination so strict, that the State suffered from no sacrilege save that of NERO.

IN the year following he suffered a grievous blow in his spirit and family. For, OTHO's Fleet, which continued roving upon the coast and pursuing rapine, whilst they were ravaging Intemelium (a part of Liguria) flew the Mother of AGRICOLA upon her estate there, and plundered the estate itself with a great part of her treasure, which had indeed proved the cause of the murder. As he therefore went from Rome to solemnize her Funeral, he had tidings upon the road that VESPASIAN was pursuing the Sovereignty, and instantly espoused his party. In the beginning of this reign all the exercise of power and the government of the City, were intirely in the hands of MUCIANUS; for, DOMITIAN was yet extremely young, and, of the Imperial fortune of his father, as-

sumed nothing further than a latitude for debauchery. MUCIANUS, who had dispatched AGRICOLA to levy forces, and found him to have acted in that trust with uprightness and magnanimity, preferred him to the command of the twentieth Legion, as soon as he was informed that he who commanded it before was engaged in seditious practices. Indeed that Legion had with great slowness and reluctance been brought to swear allegiance to VESPASIAN, nay was grown over mighty and even formidable to the Commanders in chief: so that their own Commander was found void of authority to controul them; though 'tis uncertain whether from the temper of the Man or from that of the soldiers. Thus AGRICOLA was chosen, at once to succeed him, and to punish delinquency in them, and exercising moderation altogether rare, would rather have it thought, that he had found them unblameable than made them so.

OVER Britain at that juncture VETTIUS BOLANUS bore rule, but with more complacency than suited a province so fierce and untamed. Hence AGRICOLA restrained his own heat, and held within bounds the ardor of his spirit, as he was well skilled how to shew his obedience, and had thoroughly learned to blend what was honourable with what was profitable: Soon after this, Britain received for its Governor PETILIUS CEREALIS, one of Consular quality. The virtue and abilities of AGRICOLA had now ample space for producing suitable effects. But to him at first CEREALIS communicated only the dangers and fatigues: with him anon he likewise shared the glory; frequently, for trial of his prowess, committed to his conduct a part of the Army; sometimes, according to the measure of his success, set him at the head of forces still larger. Nor did AGRICOLA ever vaunt his exploits to blazon his own fame. To his General, as to the Author of all, he, as his Instrument and Inferior, still ascribed his good fortune. Thus from his bravery in the execution of his orders, from his modesty in recounting his deeds of bravery, he escaped envy, yet failed not to gain glory.

UPON his return from commanding a Legion, the deified VESPASIAN raised him to the rank of a Patrician, and

and afterwards invested him with the government of the Province of Aquitaine, a government of the foremost dignity, and given as previous to the Consulship, to which that Prince had destined him. There are many who believe, that to military men subtlety of spirit is wanting; for that in camps the direction of process and authority, is rather rough and void of formality, and that where hands and force are chiefly used, there the address and refinements usual to Courts are not exercised. Yet AGRICOLA, assisted by his natural prudence, though he was then engaged only with men of peace and the robe, acquitted himself with great facility and great uprightness. He carefully distinguished the seasons of business and the seasons of recess. Whenever he sat in Council or upon the Tribunals of justice, he was grave, attentive, awful, generally addicted to compassion. The moment he had fulfilled the duties of his office, he personated no longer the man of power: He had then cast off all sternness, all airs of state, and all rigour. Nay, what is very rarely to be seen, his complaisance neither weakened his authority, nor did his severity make him less amiable. It were an injury to the virtues of so great a man, to particularize his just dealings, his temperance, and the cleanness of his hands. In truth glory itself was what he pursued not by any ostentation of bravery, or by any strain of artifice or address, though of that pursuit even the best men are often fond. Thus he was far from maintaining any competition with his equals in station, far from any contest with the Procurators of the Prince: Since, to conquer in this contention he judged to be no glory; and to be crushed by them were disgrace. His administration here lasted hardly three years, ere he was recalled to the present possession of the Consulship. With this employment there accrued the public opinion, that for his province Britain would be assigned him, from no words which had dropped from him about it, but because he was deemed equal to the Office. Common fame does not always err; sometimes it even directs the public choice. To myself yet very young, whilst he was Consul, he contracted his daughter, a young Lady even then of excellent hopes, and, at the end of his Consulship, presented

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her in marriage. He was then forthwith promoted to the Government of Britain, as also invested with the honour of the Pontificate.

THE account which I shall here present of the situation and people of Britain, a subject about which many Authors have written, comes not from any design of setting up my own exactness and genius against theirs, but only because the Country was then first thoroughly subdued. So that such matters as former Writers have, without knowing them, embellished with eloquence, will by me be recounted according to the truth of evidence and discoveries. Of all the Islands which have reached the knowledge of the Romans, Britain is the largest. It extends towards Germany to the East, towards Spain to the West. To the South it looks towards Gaul. Its Northern shore, beyond which there is no land, is beaten by a Sea vast and boundless. Britain is by LIVY and FABIVS RUSTICUS, the former the most eloquent of the ancient historians, the latter of the moderns, compared in shape to an oblong shield, or a broad knife with two edges. And such in effect is its figure on this side Caledonia, whence common opinion has thus also fashioned the whole. But a tract of territory huge and unmeasurable stretches forward to the uttermost shore, and straightning by degrees, terminates like a wedge. Round the coast of this Sea, which beyond it has no land, the Roman Fleet now first sailed, and thence proved Britain to be an Island, as also discovered and subdued the Isles of Orkney till then unknown. Thule was likewise descried, hitherto hid by Winter under eternal Snow. This Sea they report to be slow and stagnate, difficult to the Rowers, and indeed hardly to be raised by the force of Winds. This I conjecture to be because land and mountains, which are the cause and materials of tempests, very rarely occur in proportion to the mighty mass of water, a mass so deep and uninterrupted as not to be easily agitated. An inquiry into the nature of the Ocean and of the Tide, is not the purpose of this Work, and about it many have written. One thing I would add, that no where is the power of the Sea more extensive than here, forcing back the waters of many Rivers, or carrying them away with its own;

nor

nor is its flux and ebbings confined to the banks and shore; but it works and winds itself far into the Country, nay forms bays in rocks and mountains, as if the same were its native bed.

For the rest; who were the first inhabitants of Britain, whether natives of its own, or foreigners, can be little known amongst a people thus barbarous. In their looks and persons they vary; from whence arguments and inferences are formed. For, the red hair of the Caledonians and their large limbs, testify their descent to be from Germany. The swarthy complexion of the Silures, and their hair, which is generally curled, with their situation opposite to the coast of Spain, furnish ground to believe, that the ancient Iberians had arrived from thence here, and taken possession of the territory. They who live next to Gaul are also like the Gauls; whether it be that the spirit of the original stock from which they sprang, still remains, or whether in Countries near adjoining, the genius of the Climate confers the same form and disposition upon the bodies of men. To one who considers the whole it seems however credible, that the Gauls at first occupied this their neighbouring Coast. That their sacred rites are the same, you may learn from their being possessed with the same superstition of every sort. Their speech does not much vary. In daring of dangers they are prompted by the like boldness, and with the like affright avoid them when they approach. In the Britons however superior ferocity and defiance is found, as in a people not yet softened by a long peace. For we learn from History, that the Gauls too flourished in warlike prowess and renown: Amongst them afterwards, together with peace and idleness, there entered effeminacy; and thus with the loss of their Liberty they lost their spirit and magnanimity. The same happened to those of the Britons who were conquered long ago. The rest still continue such as the Gauls once were.

Their principal force consists in their foot. Some Nations amongst them make also war in Chariots. The more honourable person always drives: under his leading his followers fight. They were formerly subject to Kings. They are now swayed by several Chiefs, and rent into

factions and parties, according to the humour and passions of those their Leaders. Nor against Nations thus powerful does aught so much avail us, as that they consult not in a body for the security of the whole. 'Tis rare that two or three Communities assemble and unite to repulse any public danger threatening to all. So that whilst only a single Community fought at a time, they were every one vanquished. The sky from frequent clouds and rain is dull and hazy. Excessive cold they feel not. Their days in length surpass ours. Their nights are very clear, and at the extremity of the Country, very short; so that between the setting and return of the day, you perceive but small interval. They affirm, that were it not for the intervention of clouds, the rays of the sun would be seen in the night, and that he doth not rise and fall, but only pass by: For that the extremities of the earth, which are level, yielding but a low shadow, prevent darkness from rising high and spreading; and thence night is far short of reaching the stars and the sky. The soil is such, that except the olive and the vine, and other vegetables, which are wont to be raised in hotter climes, it readily bears all fruits and grain, and is very fertile. It quickly produces, but its productions ripen slowly; and of both these effects there is the same cause, the extreme humidity of the earth and of the sky. Britain yields Gold and Silver, with other metals, all which prove the prize and reward of the Conquerors. The sea also breeds Pearls, but of a dark and livid hue, a defect by some ascribed to the unskilfulness of such as gather them. For, in the Red Sea they are pulled from the rocks alive and vigorous. In Britain they are gathered at random, such as the sea casts them upon the shore. For my self; I am much apter to believe, that nature has failed to give the Pearls perfection, than that we fail in avarice.

THE Britons themselves are a people who cheerfully comply with the levies of men, and with the imposition of taxes, and with all the duties enjoined by Government, provided they receive no illegal treatment and insults from their Governors: Those they bear with impatience. Nor have the Romans any farther subdued them than only to obey just Laws, but never to submit to be slaves.

slaves. Even the deified JULIUS CAESAR, the first of all the Romans who entered Britain with an army, though by gaining a battle he frightened the natives, and became master of the coast, yet may be thought to have rather presented posterity with a view of the Country, than to have conveyed down the possession. Anon the civil Wars ensued, and against the Commonwealth were turned the arms of her own Chiefs and Leaders. Thus Britain was long forgot, and continued to be so even during peace. This was what AUGUSTUS called *Reason of State*, but what TIBERIUS stiled the *Ordinance of Augustus*. That CALIGULA meditated an invasion of Britain in person, is well known: But he possessed a spirit, as precipitate and wild, so presently surfeited with any design whatever; besides that all his mighty efforts against Germany were quite baffled. The deified CLAUDIUS accomplished the undertaking; having thither transported the Legions, with a number of auxiliary forces, and associated VESPASIAN into the direction of the design: An incident which proved the introduction to his approaching fortune. There, Nations were subdued, Kings taken captive, and VESPASIAN placed to advantage in the eye of the Fates.

THE first Governor of Consular quality, was AULUS PLAUTIUS, then OSTORIUS SCAPULA, both signal in war: And by degrees the nearest part of Britain was reduced into the condition of a Province. To secure it, a Colony of Veterans was likewise settled. To the British King COGIDUNUS certain Communities were given, a Prince who even till our times continued in perfect fidelity to us. For, with the Roman People it is a custom long since received, and practised of old, that for establishing the bondage of Nations, they are to employ even Kings as their instruments. Afterwards followed DIDIUS GALLUS, and just preserved what acquisitions his Predecessors had made; only that further in the Island he raised some Forts, and very few they were, purely for the name and opinion of having enlarged his Government. Next to DIDIUS came VERANIUS, and died in less than a year. Then immediately succeeded SUTONIUS PAULINUS, who during two years commanded with success, subdued
fresh

fresh Nations and established Garrisons. Trusting to these he went to assail the Isle of Anglesey, as a place which supplied the revoltors with succours, and thus left the Country behind him exposed to the enemy.

FOR, the Britons, when through the absence of the Governor they were eased of their fear, began to commune together concerning the miseries of bondage, to recount their several grievances, and so to construe and heighten their injuries as effectually to inflame their resentments. “ Their patience, they said, availed them
 “ nothing, further than to invite the imposition of heavier burdens upon a people who thus tamely bore any.
 “ In times past they had only a single King: They were
 “ now surrendered to two. One of these the Governor
 “ General, tyrannized over their bodies and lives; the
 “ Imperial Procurator, who was the other, over their
 “ substance and fortunes. Equally pernicious to their subjects was any variance between these their Rulers, as
 “ their good intelligence and unanimity. Against them
 “ the one employed his own predatory bands, as did the
 “ other his Centurions and their men; and both exercised violence alike, both treated them with equal insults and contumely. To such height was oppression
 “ grown, that nothing whatever was exempt from their
 “ avarice, nothing whatever from their lust. He who in
 “ the day of battle spoiled others, was always stronger
 “ than they. But here it was chiefly by the cowardly
 “ and effeminate that their houses were seized, their children forced away, and their men obliged to lift; as if
 “ their Country were the only thing for which the Britons
 “ knew not how to die. In truth, what a small force
 “ would all the soldiers arrived in the Island appear,
 “ would the Britons but compute their own numbers?
 “ ’Twas from this consideration that Germany had thrown
 “ off the same Yoke, though a Country defended only by
 “ a River, and not like this, by the Ocean. To animate
 “ themselves to take arms, they had their Country, their
 “ Wives, their Parents; whilst these their oppressors were
 “ prompted by nothing but their avarice and sensuality:
 “ Nor would they fail to withdraw from the Island, as
 “ even the deified JULIUS had withdrawn, would the
 natives

“ natives but imitate the bravery of their forefathers, and
 “ not be dismayed with the issue of an encounter or two.
 “ Amongst people like themselves reduced to misery, su-
 “ perior ardor was ever found, as also greater firmness and
 “ perseverance. Towards the Britons, at this juncture
 “ even the Gods manifested compassion, since they thus
 “ kept the Roman General at such a distance, thus held
 “ the Roman Army confined in another Island. Nay
 “ already they themselves had gained a point the most
 “ difficult to be gained, that they could now deliberate
 “ about measures common to all: For, doubtless more
 “ perillous it were to be discovered forming such coun-
 “ sels, than openly to put them in execution.”

WHEN with these and the like reasons they had insti-
 gated one another, they unanimously took arms under
 the leading of BOUDICEA, a woman of Royal descent:
 For, in conferring Sovereignty they make no distinction
 of sexes. They then forthwith assailed on every side the
 soldiers dispersed here and there in Forts, and having
 stormed and sacked the several Garrisons, fell upon the
 Colony itself, as the seat and center of public servitude:
 Nor was any kind of cruelty omitted, with which rage
 and victory could possibly inspire the hearts of Barbarians.
 In truth, had not PAULINUS, upon learning the revolt of
 the Province, come with notable speed to its relief, Britain
 had been lost. Yet by the success of a single battle, he
 reduced the Country to its old subjection, though several
 continued in arms, such namely as were conscious of in-
 citing the rebellion, and under personal dread from the
 spirit of the Governor. He, though otherwise a signal
 Commander, yet treated such as had surrendered them-
 selves in a manner very imperious; and, as one who like-
 wise avenged his own particular injury, thence exerted
 the greater rigor. Infomuch that in his room PETRONIUS
 TURPILIANUS was sent, as one whose behaviour would
 prove more relenting, one who being unacquainted with
 the delinquencies of the enemies, would be more gentle
 in accepting their remorse and submission. TURPILIANUS,
 when he had quite appeased the late commotions, ven-
 tured upon nothing further, and then delivered the Pro-
 vince to TREBELLIVS MAXIMVS. He, still more unwar-

like and inactive than his Predecessor, and no wise trained in camps and armies, maintained the tranquillity of the Province by a method of softness and complaisance. The Barbarians had now likewise learned to forgive such vices as humoured them in pleasure and ease. Moreover, the civil Wars which then intervened, furnished a proper excuse for the lazy behaviour of the Governor. But he found himself greatly embarrassed with faction and discord; for that the soldiers, who had ever been inured to expeditions and feats in the field, were through idleness grown turbulent and licentious. TREBELLIVS by flight and lurking escaped the present fury of the army: He afterwards resumed the Command, but with an authority altogether precarious, without all spirit and destitute of all dignity; as if between him and them articles had been settled, that the soldiers should retain their licentious behaviour, and the General be permitted to enjoy his life. During this mutiny no blood was spilled. Neither did VETTIUS BOLANUS, as the civil War yet subsisted, exert any discipline in Britain. Towards the enemy there still remained the same sloth and negligence, with the same insolent spirit in the camp: This difference only there was, that BOLANUS was a man perfectly innocent; and being subject to no hate, as he was free from all crimes, he had instead of authority over them, only gained their affections.

BUT, when VESPASIAN had with the possession of the World, also recovered Britain, in it were seen great Commanders, noble Armies, and the hopes of the enemy quite abated. PETILIUS CEREALIS, particularly, at his first entrance, struck them at once with general terror, by attacking the Community of the Brigantes, reckoned the most populous of the whole Province. There followed many encounters, such as sometimes proved very bloody. So that he held most part of their Country as his conquest, or continued to ravage it by war. In truth, though the exploits of CEREALIS would have eclipsed the vigilance and fame of any other Successor, yet JULIUS FRONTINUS sustained in his turn the mighty task; and, as he was a man as great and able as he found scope and safety to be, he by the sword utterly subdued the powerful and warlike

warlike Nation of the Silures; though besides the bravery of the enemy, he was likewise obliged to struggle with the difficulties of places and situation.

SUCH was the condition in which AGRICOLA found Britain, such to have been the vicissitudes of the war there, upon his arrival about the middle of summer, a time when the Roman soldiers, supposing the service of the season to be concluded, were securely bent upon inaction and repose, as were the enemy upon any opportunity to annoy the Romans. The Community of the Ordovicans had not long before his coming slaughtered, almost intirely, a band of horse stationed upon their confines; and by an essay so notable the Province in general became roused; while such as were intent upon present war, commended the action as an example and a call to the whole, and others were for delaying till they had discovered the spirit of the new Lieutenant General. Now though the summer were over, though the troops were severed and lay dispersed over the Province, though the soldiers had assured themselves of rest for the residue of the year (a heavy obstacle and very discouraging to one who is commencing war) nay though many judged it better only to guard the places which were threatened and precarious; yet AGRICOLA determined to meet the danger. Hence drawing together the choice bands of the Legions, with a small body of Auxiliaries, he led them against the Ordovicans; and as these dared not descend into equal ground, he, who by sharing equal danger, would inspire his men with equal courage, marching in person before his army, conducted them to the encounter upon the ascent. Almost the whole Nation was here cut off; but as he was well aware, that it behoved him to urge and maintain this his fame, and that with the issue of his first attempts all the rest would correspond, he conceived a design to reduce the Isle of Anglesey, a conquest from which PAULINUS was recalled by the general revolt of Britain, as above I have recounted. But, as this counsel was suddenly concerted, and therefore ships were found wanting, such was the firmness and capacity of the General, that without ships he transported his men. From the Auxiliaries he detached all their chosen men, such as knew
the

the fords, and according to the usage of their country were dextrous in swimming, so as, in the water, at once to manage themselves, and their horses and arms. These, unincumbered with any of their baggage, he caused to make a descent and onset so sudden, that the enemy were quite struck with consternation, as men who apprehended nothing but a Fleet and Transports, and a formal invasion by sea, and now believed no enterprize difficult and insurmountable to such as came thus determined to war. Thus they sued for peace and even surrendered the Island; and thence AGRICOLA was already considered as a very great and even renowned Commander: For that, at his first entrance into the Province, a time which other Governors are wont to waste in shew and parade, or in courting complement and addresses, he preferred feats of labour and of peril. Nor did he apply this his good fortune and success to any purpose of vain glory: So that upon the bridling of such as were vanquished before, he would not bestow the title of an expedition or of victory; nor in truth would he so much as with the bare honour of the laurel distinguish these his exploits. But even by disguising his fame, he enlarged it; as men considered how vast must be his future views, when he thus smothered in silence deeds so noble.

For the rest; as he was acquainted with the temper of the people in his Province; as he had also learned from the conduct and experience of others, that little is gained by arms where grievances and oppressions follow, he determined to cut off all the causes of war. Beginning therefore with himself and those appertaining to him, he checked and regulated his own household; a task which to many proves not less difficult than that of governing a Province. By none of his domestics, bond or freed, was aught that concerned the Public transacted. In raising the soldiers to a superior class, he was swayed by no personal interest or partiality, nor by the recommendation and suit of the Centurions, but by his own opinion and persuasion, that the best soldiers were ever the most faithful. All that passed he would know; though all that was amiss he would not punish. Upon small offences he bestowed pardon; for such as were great he exercised proportionable severity.

Nor did he always exact the punishment assigned, but frequently was satisfied with compunction and remorse. In conferring offices and employments he rather chose men who would not transgress, than such as he must afterwards condemn for transgressing. Though the imposition of Tribute and of Grain had been augmented, yet he softened it by causing a just and equal distribution of all public burdens; since he abolished whatever exactions had been devised for the lucre of particulars, and were therefore borne with more regret than the Tribute itself. For, the inhabitants were forced to bear the mockery of attending at their own barns, locked up by the Publicans, and of purchasing their own corn of the Monopolists, nay of selling it afterwards back again at a poor price. They were moreover enjoined to take long journies, and carry grain cross the several Countries to places extremely distant; insomuch that the several Communities, instead of supplying the Winter-quarters which lay adjoining, must furnish such as were remote and difficultly travelled, to the end, that what was easy to be had by all, might produce gain to a few.

By suppressing these grievances immediately in his first year, he gained a high character to a state of peace; a state which, either through the neglect or connivance of his Predecessors, was till then dreaded no less than that of war. But, upon the coming of summer, he assembled his army; then proceeded to commend such of the men who in marching observed their duty and rank, and to check such as were loose and straggling. He himself always chose the ground for encamping: The salt marshes, friths and woods he himself always first examined, and to the enemies all the while allowed not a moment's quiet or recess, but was ever distressing them with sudden incursions and ravages. Then, having sufficiently alarmed and terrified them, his next course was to spare them, thus to tempt them with the sweetness and allurements of peace. By this conduct, several Communities which till that day had asserted a state of equality and independence, came to lay down all hostility, gave hostages, and were begirt with Garrisons and Fortresses, erected with such just contrivance and care, that no part of Britain hitherto

known escaped thenceforward from being annoyed by them.

THE following Winter was employed in measures extremely advantageous and salutary. For, to the end that these people, thus wild and dispersed over the Country, and thence easily instigated to war, might by a taste of pleasures be reconciled to inactivity and repose, he first privately exhorted them, then publicly assisted them, to build temples, houses and places of assembling. Upon such as were willing and assiduous in these pursuits he heaped commendations, and reproofs upon the lifeless and slow. So that a competition for this distinction and honour, had all the force of necessity. He was already taking care to have the sons of their Chiefs taught the liberal Sciences, already preferring the natural capacity of the Britons to the studied acquirements of the Gauls; and such was his success, that they who had so lately scorned to learn the Roman language, were become fond of acquiring the Roman eloquence. Thence they began to honour our apparel, and the use of the Roman gown grew frequent amongst them. By degrees they proceeded to the incitements and charms of vice and dissoluteness, to magnificent galleries, sumptuous bagnios, and all the stimulations and elegance of banqueting. Nay, all this innovation was by the unexperienced stiled politeness and humanity, when it was indeed part of their bondage.

DURING the third year of his command, in pursuit of his conquests he discovered new people, by continuing his devastations through the several Nations quite to the mouth of the Tay: So the Frith is called. Whence such terror seized the foe, that they durst not attack our Army though sorely shaken and annoyed by terrible tempests: Nay the Romans had even time to secure possession by erecting forts. It was observed of AGRICOLA by men of experience, that never had any Captain more sagely chosen his stations for commodiousness and situation; for that no place of strength founded by him, was ever taken by violence, or abandoned upon articles or despair. From these their strong holds frequent excursions were made; for, against any long siege they were supplied with provisions for a year. Thus they passed the Winter there without

all apprehension: Every single Fort defended itself. So that in all their attempts upon them the enemies were baffled, and thence reduced to utter despair; for that they could not, as formerly they were wont, repair their losses in the Summer by their success in the Winter; since now whether it were Winter or Summer, they were equally defeated. Neither did AGRICOLA ever arrogate to himself the glory of exploits performed by others: were he a Centurion or were he Commander of a Legion, in the General he was sure to find a sincere witness of his achievements. By some he is said to have been over sharp in his reproofs, since he was one who, as to them that were good he abounded in courtesy, appeared withal stern and unpleasant to the bad. But from his anger no spleen remained. In him you had no dark reserves, no boding silence to fear. More honourable he thought it to give open offence than to foster secret hate.

THE fourth Summer was employed in settling and securing what territories he had over-run: indeed would the bravery of the Armies and the glory of the Roman Name, have suffered it, there had been then found in Britain itself a boundary to our conquests there. For, into the rivers Glota and Bodotria the tide from each opposite sea flows so vastly far up the country, that their heads are parted only by a narrow neck of land, which was now secured with garrisons. Thus of all on this side we were already masters; since the enemy were driven as 'twere into another Island.

IN the fifth year of the War, AGRICOLA passing the Frith, himself in the first ship that landed, in many and successful encounters subdued Nations till that time unknown, and placed forces in that part of Britain which fronts Ireland, more from future views than from any present fear. In truth Ireland, as it lies just between Britain and Spain, and is capable of an easy communication with the coast of Gaul, would have proved of infinite use in linking together these powerful limbs of the Empire. In size it is inferior to Britain, but surpasses the Islands in our sea. In soil and climate, as also in the temper and manners of the natives, it varies little from Britain. Its Ports and Landings are better known, through
the

the frequency of Commerce and Merchants. A petty King of the Country, expelled by domestic diffention, was already received into protection by AGRICOLA, and under the appearance of friendship, reserved for a proper occasion. By him I have often heard it declared, that with a single Legion and a few Auxiliaries Ireland might be conquered and preserved; nay that such an acquisition were of moment for the securing of Britain, if, on all sides the Roman arms were seen, and all national Liberty banished as 'twere out of sight.

FOR the rest; on the summer which began the sixth year of his Administration, as it was apprehended, that the Nations forward would universally take arms, and that the ways were all infested with the enemy's host, his first step was to coast and explore the large Communities beyond Bodotria by the means of his Fleet, which was from the beginning employed by him as part of his forces, and in attending him at this time made a glorious appearance, when thus at once by sea and land the war was urged. In truth, the same camp often contained the foot and the horse and the marines, all intermixed, and rejoicing in common, severally magnifying their own feats, their own hazards and adventures: Here were displayed the horrors of steep mountains and dismal forests; there the outrages of waves and tempests. These boasted their exploits by land and against the foe: Those the vanquished Ocean; all vying together, according to the usual vaunts and ostentation of soldiers. Upon the Britons also, as from the captives was learned, the sight of the Fleet brought much consternation and dismay; as if, now that their solitary Ocean and recesses of the deep were disclosed and invaded, the last refuge of the vanquished was cut off. To action and arms the several people inhabiting Caledonia had immediate recourse, and advanced with great parade, made still greater by common rumour, (as usual in things that are unknown) for that they daringly assailed our forts, and by thus insulting and defying us, created much fear and alarm. Nay, there were some who covering real cowardice under the guise of prudence and counsel, exhorted a return to the nether side of Bodotria, for that it were more eligible to retire back,

than to be driven. He was apprized the while, that the enemy meant to attack him in divers bands: So that, as they furpassed him in numbers and in the knowledge of the country, he too divided his army into three parts, and thus marched, to prevent their furrounding him.

As soon as this disposition of his was known to the enemy, they suddenly changed theirs, and all in a body proceeded to fall upon the ninth Legion as the least sufficient and weakest of all; and, as the assault was in the night they flew the guards and entered the trenches, aided by the general sleep or general dismay there. They were already pursuing the fight in the camp it self, when AGRICOLA having from his spies learnt what rout the enemy had taken, and closely following their track, commanded the lightest of his foot and cavalry to charge them, whilst yet engaged, in the rear, and the whole army presently after to give a mighty shout. Moreover at break of day, the Roman Banners were beheld refulgent. Thus were the Britons dismayed with double peril and distress; and to the Romans their courage returned. Hence seeing their lives secure, they now maintained the conflict for glory. They even returned the attack upon the enemy: Insomuch that in the very gates of the camp a bloody encounter ensued, till the enemy were quite routed; for both these our armies exerted their might, the one contending to shew that they had brought relief, the other to appear not to have wanted assistance. Indeed, had not the woods and marshes served for shelter to the fugitives, by this victory the war had been determined.

By this success, with such valour gained, and followed with such renown, the army was become elated and resolute. With fierce din they cried, "That to their brave very nothing could prove insurmountable. They must penetrate into the heart of Caledonia, and advance in a continual succession of battles, till they had at last found the utmost limits of Britain." Thus it was that they, who a little before had been so wary and so wise, were now, after the event was determined, grown full of boasts and intrepidity. Such is the lot of warfare, very unequal and unjust: In success all men assume part: The disasters are all imputed to one. Now the Britons, con-

jecturing the victory to proceed not from superior courage, but from circumstances improved and the address of our General, lost nothing of their spirit and defiance, but armed their young men, removed their wives and children into places of security, and in general conventions of their several Communities engaged them in a league ratified by solemn sacrifices. And thus they mutually retired for the winter, with minds on both sides abundantly irritated.

DURING the same summer, a Cohort of Usipians levied in Germany and thence transported to Britain, adventured upon a feat very desperate and memorable. When they had slain the Centurion and soldiers placed amongst them for training them in discipline, and to serve them for patterns and directors, they embarked in three pinaces, forcing the pilots to conduct them; and since one of these forsook them and fled away, they suspected and therefore killed the other two. As the attempt was not yet divulged, their launching into the deep was beheld as a wonder. Anon they were tossed hither and thither at the mercy of the waves: And, as they often engaged for spoil with several of the Britons, obliging them to defend their property thus invaded, in which conflicts they frequently proved victorious, and were sometimes defeated, they were at last reduced to want so pressing, as to feed upon one another, first upon the weakest, then upon whomsoever the lot fell. In this manner were they carried round about Britain, and having lost their vessels through ignorance how to manage them, they were accounted robbers and pyrates, and fell into the hands first of the Suevians, afterwards of the Frisians. Nay, as they were bought and sold for slaves, some of them, through change of masters, were brought over to our side of the Rhine, and grew famous from the discovery of an adventure so extraordinary.

IN the beginning of the summer, AGRICOLA suffered a sore blow in his family, by losing his Son born about a year before. A misfortune which he neither bore with an ostentation of firmness and unconcern, like many other men of magnanimity, nor with lamentations and tears worthy only of women. Besides that for this affliction

war proved one of his remedies. When therefore he had sent forward the Navy, which by committing devastations in several places, would not fail to spread a mighty and perplexing terror, he put himself at the head of his army lightly equipped, and to it had added some of the bravest Britons, such as had been well proved through a long course of Peace. Thus he arrived at the Grampian Hills, upon which the enemy were already encamped. For, the Britons, nothing daunted by the issue of the former battle, and boldly waiting either to take vengeance or to suffer bondage, taught withal at last, that a general union was the best way to repel common danger, had by embassies and confederacies drawn together the forces of all their Communities. Even then were to be seen thirty thousand men in arms, and their youth from every quarter were still continuing to flock in, as were also such of their elderly men as were yet vigorous and hale, they who were signal in war, and now carried with them their several ensigns of honour formerly gained in the field. And now GALGACUS, he who amongst their several Leaders surpassed all in valour and descent, is said to have spoke in this strain to the multitude all very pressing for battle.

“ WHENEVER I contemplate the causes of the War,
“ and the necessity to which we are reduced, great is
“ my confidence that this day and this union of yours
“ will prove the beginning of universal Liberty to Bri-
“ tain. For, besides that Bondage is what we have ne-
“ ver borne, we are so beset that beyond us there is no
“ further land; nor in truth is there any security left us
“ from the sea whilst the Roman Fleet is hovering upon
“ our coasts. Thus the same expedient which proves
“ honourable to brave men, is to cowards too become the
“ safest of all others, even present recourse to battle and
“ arms. The other Britons, in their past conflicts with
“ the Romans, whence they found various success, had
“ still a remaining source of hope and succour in this our
“ Nation. For, of all the people of Britain we are the
“ noblest, and thence placed in its innermost regions, and,
“ as we behold not so much as the coasts of such as are
“ slaves, we thus preserve even our eyes free and unpro-
“ faned by the sight of lawless and usurped rule. To
“ us

“ us who are the utmost inhabitants of the earth, to us
 “ the last who enjoy Liberty, this extremity of the Globe,
 “ this remote tract unknown even to common fame, has
 “ to this day proved the only protection and defence. At
 “ present the utmost boundary of Britain is laid open;
 “ and to conquer parts unknown, is thought matter of
 “ great pomp and boasting. Beyond us no more people
 “ are found, nor aught save seas and rocks; and already
 “ the Romans have advanced into the heart of our coun-
 “ try. Against their pride and domineering you will find
 “ it in vain to seek a remedy or refuge from any obse-
 “ quiousness or humble behaviour of yours. Plunderers
 “ of the earth these, who in their universal devastations
 “ finding countries to fail them, investigate and rob even
 “ the sea. If the enemy be wealthy, he inflames their
 “ avarice; if poor, their ambition. They are general
 “ spoilers, such as neither the Eastern World nor the
 “ Western can satiate. They only of all men thirst after
 “ acquisitions both poor and rich, with equal avidity and
 “ passion. To spoil, to butcher, and to commit every
 “ kind of violence, they stile by a lying name, *Govern-*
 “ *ment*, and when they have spread a general desolation,
 “ they call it *Peace*.

“ DEAREST to every man are his Children and Kin-
 “ dred, by the contrivance and designation of nature.
 “ These are snatched from us for recruits, and doomed
 “ to bondage in other parts of the earth. Our Wives and
 “ Sisters, however they escape rapes and violence as from
 “ open enemies, are debauched under the appearance and
 “ privilege of friendship and hospitality. Our Fortunes
 “ and Possessions they exhaust for tribute, our Grain for
 “ their provisions. Even our bodies and limbs are ex-
 “ tenuated and wasted, whilst we are doomed to the
 “ drudgery of making cuts through woods and drains in
 “ bogs, under continual blows and outrages. Such as
 “ are born to be Slaves are but once sold, and thence-
 “ forward nourished by their Lords. Britain is daily
 “ paying for its Servitude, is daily feeding it. Moreover,
 “ as in a tribe of household Slaves, he who comes last serves
 “ for sport to all his Fellows; so in this ancient state of
 “ Slavery to which the World is reduced, we, as the
 “ freshest

“ freshest Slaves and thence held the most contemptible,
 “ are now designed to destruction. For, we have no
 “ Fields to cultivate, nor Mines to dig, nor Ports to make;
 “ works for which they might be tempted to spare us alive:
 “ Besides that ever distastful to Rulers is magnanimity and
 “ a daring spirit in their Subjects. Indeed our very situ-
 “ ation, so solitary and remote, the more security it affords
 “ to us, does but raise the greater jealousy in them. See-
 “ ing therefore you are thus bereft of all hopes of mercy,
 “ rouse now at last all your courage, both you to whom
 “ life is dearest, and you to whom glory. The Brigantes,
 “ even under the leading of a Woman, burned their
 “ Colony, stormed their entrenchments, and, had not
 “ such success degenerated into sloth, might have quite
 “ cast off the yoke of slavery. Let us who still preserve
 “ our Forces intire, us who are still unsubdued, and want
 “ not to acquire Liberty but only to secure it, manifest at
 “ once, upon the first encounter, what kind of men they
 “ are that Caledonia hath reserved for her own vindication
 “ and defence.

“ Do you indeed believe the Romans to be equally
 “ brave and vigorous in war, as during peace they are
 “ vicious and dissolute? From our quarrels and divisions
 “ it is that they have derived their renown, and thus
 “ convert the faults of their enemies to the glory of their
 “ own Army; an Army compounded of many Nations
 “ so different, that as it is success alone which holds them
 “ together, misfortunes and disasters will surely dissolve
 “ them. Unless you suppose that the Germans there, that
 “ the Gauls, and many of the Britons (whom with shame
 “ I mention) men who however have been all much longer
 “ their enemies than their slaves, are yet attached to them
 “ by any real fidelity and affection, whilst presenting their
 “ blood to establish a domination altogether foreign and
 “ unnatural to them all. What restrains them is no more
 “ than awe and terror, frail bonds of endearment; and
 “ when these are removed, such who cease to fear, will
 “ immediately begin to manifest their hate. Amongst
 “ us is found whatever can stimulate men to victory.
 “ The Romans have no Wives to hearten and to urge
 “ them. They have here no Fathers and Mothers to up-

“ braid them for flying. Many of them have no country
 “ at all, or at least their country is elsewhere. But a few
 “ in number they are, ignorant of the region and thence
 “ struck with dread, whilst to their eyes, whatever they
 “ behold around them, is all wild and strange, even the
 “ air and sky, with the woods and the sea; so that the
 “ Gods have in some sort delivered them enclosed and
 “ bound into our hands.

“ BE not dismayed with things of mere shew, and
 “ with a glare of gold and of silver: This is what can
 “ neither wound, nor save. In the very host of the enemy
 “ we shall find bands of our own. The Britons will own
 “ and espouse their own genuine cause. The Gauls will
 “ recollect their former Liberty. What the Usipians have
 “ lately done, the other Germans will do, and abandon
 “ the Romans. Thereafter nothing remains to be feared.
 “ Their Forts are ungarrisoned; their Colonies replenished
 “ with the aged and infirm; and between the people and
 “ their magistrates, whilst the former are averse to obedi-
 “ ence, and the latter rule with injustice, the municipal Cities
 “ are weakened and full of dissensions. Here you see a
 “ General, here an Army: There you may behold Tributes
 “ and the Mines, with all the other train of calamities and
 “ curses ever pursuing men enslaved. Whether all these
 “ are to be for ever imposed, or whether we forthwith
 “ avenge our selves for the attempt, this very field must
 “ determine. As therefore you advance to battle, look
 “ back upon your ancestors, look forward to your poste-
 “ rity.

THEY received his speech joyfully, with chantings,
 and terrible din, and many dissonant shouts, after the
 manner of Barbarians. Already too their bands moved,
 and the glittering of their arms appeared, as all the most
 resolute were running to the front: Moreover the Army
 was forming in battle array; when AGRICOLA, who in-
 deed saw his soldiers full of alacrity, and hardly to be re-
 strained even by express cautions, yet chose to discourse
 to them in the following strain. “ It is now the eighth
 “ year, my fellow soldiers, since through the virtue and
 “ auspicious fortune of the Roman Empire, and by your
 “ own services and fidelity you have been pursuing the
 “ conquest

“ conquest of Britain. In so many expeditions that you
“ have undertaken, in so many battles as you have fought,
“ you have still had constant occasion either to be exert-
“ ing your bravery against the foe, or your patience and
“ pains even against the obstacles of nature. Neither,
“ during all these struggles, have we found any cause of
“ mutual regret, I to have conducted such soldiers, or
“ you to have followed such a Captain. We have both
“ passed the limits which we found, I those known to
“ the ancient Governors, you those of former Armies,
“ and we possess the very extremity of Britain, not only
“ in the bruitings of fame and vulgar rumor, but possess
“ it with our camps and arms. Britain is entirely disco-
“ vered, and intirely subdued. In truth, as the Army
“ has been marching, whilst in passing morasses and moun-
“ tains and rivers you have been fatigued and distressed,
“ I was wont to hear every man remarkably brave ask,
“ *when shall we see the enemy, when be led to battle?*
“ Already they are come, roused from their fastnesses
“ and lurking holes. Here you see the end of all your
“ wishes, here scope for all your valour, and all things
“ promising and propitious, if you conquer; but all cross
“ and disastrous, should you be vanquished. For, as to
“ have thus marched over a tract of country so immense,
“ to have passed through gloomy forests, to have crossed
“ arms of the Deep, is matter of glory and applause whilst
“ we advance against the enemy; so if we fly before them,
“ whatever is now most in our favour, will then prove
“ most to our peril. We know not the situation of the
“ country so well as they know it; we have not provisions
“ so abundant as they have; but we have limbs and arms,
“ and in these all things. For my self; it is a rule long
“ since settled by me, that safety there is none either to
“ the Army or to the General, in turning their backs upon
“ the foe. Hence it is not only more eligible to lose life
“ honourably than to save it basely, but security and re-
“ nown both arise from the same source. Neither would
“ it be a fate void of glory to fall in this the utmost verge
“ of earth and of nature.

“ WERE the people now arrayed against you such as
“ were new to you, were you to engage with bands never
“ before

“ before tried, I should animate you by the examples of
 “ other Armies. At present, only recollect and enumerate
 “ your own signal exploits, only ask and consult your
 “ own eyes. These are they whom but the last year you
 “ utterly discomfited, only by the terror of your shouting,
 “ when, trusting to the darkness of the night, they by
 “ stealth attacked a single Legion. These are they who
 “ of all the Britons are the most abandoned to fear and
 “ flight, and thence happen thus long to survive all the
 “ rest. It is with us as with those who make inroads into
 “ woods and forests. As beasts of the greatest strength
 “ there, are driven thence by the superior force of such as
 “ pursue them, and as the timorous and spiritless fly even
 “ at the cry of the pursuers: In like manner, all the
 “ bravest Britons are long since fallen by the sword. They
 “ that remain are only a crowd, fearful and effeminate:
 “ nor can you consider them as men whom you have
 “ therefore reached, because they have persisted to oppose
 “ you, but as such whom you have surprized as the last
 “ and forlorn of all, who struck with dread and bereft of
 “ spirit, stand benumbed in yonder field, whence you
 “ may gain over them a glorious and memorable victory.
 “ Here compleat all your expeditions and efforts: Here
 “ close a struggle of fifty years with one great and impor-
 “ tant day, so that to the Army may not be imputed
 “ either the procrastination of the War, or any cause for
 “ reviving it.”

APPARENT, even whilst AGRICOLA spoke, was the
 ardor of the soldiers, mighty their transport and applause
 at the end of his speech, and instantly they flew to their
 arms. Thus inflamed and urging to engage, he formed
 them so that the strong band of auxiliary foot, who were
 eight thousand men, composed the center. The wings
 were environed with three thousand horse. The Legions
 without advancing stood embattled just without the en-
 trenchments; for that mighty would be the glory of the
 victory, were it, by sparing them, gained without spilling
 any Roman blood; and they were still a sure stay and
 succour, should the rest be repulsed. The British Host
 was ranged upon the rising grounds, at once for shew and
 terror, in such sort that the first band stood upon the plain,
 and

and the rest rose successively upon the brows of the hills, one rank close above another, as if they had been linked together. Their cavalry and chariots of war filled the interjacent field with great tumult and boundings to and fro. Agricola then, fearing from the surpassing multitude of the enemy, that he might be beset at once in the front and on each flank, opened and extended his host. Yet, though thence his ranks must prove more relaxed, and many advised him to bring on the Legions, he, who rather entertained a spirit of hope, and in all difficulties was ever firm, dismissed his horse and advanced on foot before the Banners.

IN the beginning of the onset the conflict was maintained at a distance. The Britons, they who were possessed at once of bravery and skill, armed with their huge swords and small bucklers, quite eluded our missive weapons, or beat them quite off, whilst of their own they poured a torrent upon us, till AGRICOLA encouraged three Batavian Cohorts and two of the Tungrians, to close with the enemy and bring them to an engagement hand to hand; as what was with those veteran soldiers a long practice, and become familiar, but to the enemy very uneasy and embarrassing, as they were armed with very little targets and with swords of enormous size. For, the swords of the Britons, which are blunt at the end, are unfit for grappling and cannot support a close encounter. Hence the Batavians thickened their blows, wounded them with the iron bosses of their bucklers, mangled their faces, and, bearing down all who withstood them upon the plain, were already carrying the attack up to the hills: Insomuch that the rest of the Cohorts, incited by emulation and sudden ardor, joined with those and made havock of all whom they encountered. Nay such was the impetuosity and hurry of the victory, that many were left behind but half dead, others not so much as wounded. In the mean time their troops of cavalry took to flight: The chariots of war mingled with the battalions of foot; and though they had so lately struck terror, were now themselves beset and entangled with our thick bands, as also with the unevenness and intricacy of the place. Of a combat of cavalry this bore not the least appearance: Since here, standing ob-

stinately foot to foot, they pressed to overthrow each other by the weight and bodies of their horses. Moreover the war-chariots, now abandoned and straggling, as also the horses destitute of managers and thence wild and affrighted, were running hither and thither just as the next fright drove them; infomuch that all of their own side, who met them or crossed their way, were beaten down by them.

Now those of the Britons who were lodged upon the ridges of the hills and had hitherto no share in the encounter, like men yet pressed by no peril looked with scorn upon our forces as but few in number, and began to descend softly and to surround them in the rear, whilst they were urging their victory. But AGRICOLA, who had apprehended this very design, dispatched to engage them four squadrons of horse, such as he had reserved near him for the sudden exigencies of the field; and by this providence of his, the more furiously they had advanced, the more keenly were they repulsed and utterly routed. Thus against the Britons themselves their own devices were turned; and by the order of the General, the squadrons of cavalry which charged in front, wheeled about and assailed the enemy behind. Then in truth, all over the open fields was to be seen a spectacle prodigious and tragical, incessant pursuits, wounds and captivity, and the present captives always slaughtered, as often as others occurred to be taken. Now the enemy behaved just as they happened to be prompted by their several humours. Sometimes they fled in large troops with all their arms, before a smaller number that pursued them: Others, quite unarmed, rushed into peril, and desperately presented themselves to instant death. On all sides lay scattered arms and carcases, and mangled limbs, and the ground was dyed with blood. Nay now and then even by the vanquished was exerted notable wrath and bravery. When once they drew near the woods, they rejoined and rallied and thus circumvented the foremost pursuers, such as, without knowing the country, had rashly ventured too far. Whence we must have suffered some notable disaster, from such confidence void of caution, had not AGRICOLA who was assiduously visiting every quarter, ordered the stoutest Cohorts lightly equipped

equipped to range themselves in the form of a toil to invest them, also some of the cavalry to dismount, and enter the strait passes, and the rest of the horse, at the same time, to beat the more open and passable parts of the woods. Now, as soon as they perceived our forces to continue the pursuit with ranks regular and close, they betook themselves to open flight, in no united bands as before, nor one man regarding or awaiting another; but quite scattered, and each shunning any companion, they all made to places far remote and desert. What ended the pursuit was night and a satiety of slaughter. Of the enemy were slain ten thousand. There fell of our men three hundred and forty, amongst these AULUS ATTICUS, Commander of a Cohort, one by his own youthful heat, as also by a fiery horse hurried into the midst of the enemies.

IT was indeed a night of great joy to the conquerors, both from victory and spoil. The Britons, who wandered in despair, men and women uttering in concert their dismal wailings, dragged along their wounded, called to such as were unhurt, deserted their houses, nay in rage even set them on fire; made choice of lurking holes, then instantly forsook them; then met to consult, and from their counsels gathered some hope: sometimes, upon beholding their dearest pledges of nature, their spirits became utterly sunk and dejected; sometimes, by the same sight, they were roused into resolution and fury. Nay, 'tis very certain, that some murdered their children and wives, as an act of compassion and tenderness. The next day produced a more ample display of the victory; on all sides a profound silence, solitary hills, thick smoak rising from the houses on fire, and not a living soul to be found by the scouts. When from these, who had been dispatched out every way, it was learnt, that whither the enemy had fled no certain traces could be discovered, and that they had no where rallied in bodies; when the summer was likewise passed and thence an impossibility of extending the operations of war, he conducted his Army into the borders of the Horestians. After he had there received hostages, he ordered the Admiral of the Fleet to sail round Britain. For this expedition he was furnished with proper forces,

and before him was already gone forth the terror of the Roman power: He himself the while led on his foot and horse with a slow pace, that thus the minds of these new Nations might be awed and dismayed even by prolonging his march through them: He then lodged his Army in garrisons for the winter. The Fleet too having found a favourable sea, entered with great fame, into the Harbour of * Rhutupium: For, from thence it had sailed, and coasting along the nethermost shore of Britain, thither returned.

WITH this course and situation of things AGRICOLA by letters acquainted the Emperor; tidings which, however modestly recounted, without all ostentation, or any pomp of words, DOMITIAN received as with joy in his countenance, so with anguish in his soul: Such was his custom. His heart indeed smote him for his late mock-triumph over the Germans, which he knew to be held in public derision; as to adorn it he had purchased a number of slaves, who were so decked in their habits and hair, as to resemble captives in war. But here a victory mighty and certain, gained by the slaughter of so many thousands of the enemy, was universally sounded by the voice of fame, and received with vast applause. Terrible above all things it was to him, that the name of a private man should be exalted above that of the Prince. In vain had he driven from the public Tribunals all pursuits of popular eloquence and fame, in vain smothered the lustre of every civil accomplishment, if any other than himself possessed the glory of excelling in war: Nay, however he might dissemble every other distaste, yet to the person of the Emperor properly appertained the virtue and praise of being a great General. Tortured with these anxious thoughts, and indulging his humour of being shut up in secret, a certain indication that he was fostering some sanguinary purpose, he at last judged it the best course, upon this occasion, to hide and reserve his rancour till the first flights of fame were passed, and the affection of the Army cooled. For, AGRICOLA held yet the Administration of Britain.

* Supposed to be Sandwich Haven,

To him therefore he caused to be decreed in Senate the triumphal Ornaments, a Statue crowned with Laurel, with whatever else is bestowed instead of a real Triumph, and heightened this his complement with many expressions full of esteem and honour. He directed moreover a general expectation to be raised, that to AGRICOLA was destined the Province of Syria, a Government then vacant by the death of ATILIUS RUFUS, a man of Consular quality, since the same was reserved only for men of illustrious rank. Many there were who believed, that an Imperial Freedman, one much trusted with the secret designs of his Master, was by him dispatched to carry the instrument appointing AGRICOLA Governor of Syria, with orders to deliver it to him, were he still in Britain; that the Freedman met AGRICOLA crossing the Channel, and without once speaking to him, returned directly to DOMITIAN. It is uncertain whether this account be true, or only a fiction framed in conformity to the character and genius of the Prince. To his Successor in the mean time AGRICOLA had surrendered the Province now settled in perfect peace and security. Moreover, to prevent all remarks upon the manner of his entry into Rome, from any popular distinction paid him, and any concourse of people to meet him, he utterly declined this observance of his friends, and came into the City by night, and by night, as he was directed, went to the Palace. He was there received by the Emperor with a short embrace, but without a word said, then passed, undistinguished, amongst the crowd of servile Courtiers. Now in order to soften with other and different virtues the reputation of a military man, a name ever distasteful to those who live themselves in idleness, he resigned himself intirely to indolence and repose. In his dress he was modest; in his conversation courteous and free, and never found accompanied with more than one or two of his friends. Insomuch that many, such especially as are wont to judge of great men by their retinue and parade, all calculated to gain popular admiration, when they had beheld and observed AGRICOLA, sought to know whence proceeded his mighty fame: There were indeed but few who could account for the motives of his conduct.

FREQUENTLY, during the course of that time, was he accused in his absence before DOMITIAN, and in his absence also acquitted. What threatened his life was no crime of his, nor complaint of any particular for injuries received, nor aught else save the glorious character of the man, and the spirit of the Emperor hating all excellence and every virtue. With these causes there concurred the most mischievous sort of all enemies, they who extolled him in order to destroy him. Moreover in the Commonwealth there ensued such times as would not permit the name of AGRICOLA to remain unmentioned: So many were the Armies which we had lost in Mœsia, in Dacia, in Germany, in Pannonia, all by the wretched conduct of our Generals, either altogether impotent or fool-hardy: So many withal were the brave officers, with so many bands of men overthrown and taken. Neither was the question and contest now about maintaining the limits of the Empire and guarding the rivers which served for its boundaries, but about defending the standing encampments of the Legions and preserving our own territories. Thus, when public misfortunes were following one another in a continual train, when every year was become signal for calamities and slaughters, AGRICOLA was by the common voice of the populace required for the command of our Armies. For, all men were comparing his vigor, his firmness, and his mind trained in war, with the sloth and timidity of the others. With discourses of this strain, it is certain that even the ears of DOMITIAN himself were teased; whilst all the best of his Freedmen advised and pressed him to this choice, out of pure affection and duty, as did the worst out of virulence and envy; and to whatever appeared most malignant that Prince was ever prone. In this manner was AGRICOLA, as well through his own virtues as through the base management of others, pushed upon a precipice even of glory.

THE year was now arrived when to the lot of AGRICOLA was to fall the Proconsulship of Asia or of Africa: And, as CIVICA had been lately murdered, (even whilst Proconsul of the former Province) AGRICOLA was neither unprepared what course to pursue, nor

DOMITIAN unfurnished with an example to follow. It happened too, that certain persons, men apprized of the secret purposes of the Prince, made it their business to accost AGRICOLA and ask him, whether he meant in earnest to take possession of his Province. Nay they began, at first indeed with some reserve, to extol a life of tranquillity and repose; anon they proffered their good offices to procure his demission and excuse: At last, throwing off all disguise, and proceeding at once to dissuade and to intimidate him, they prevailed with him to be carried with this as his suit to DOMITIAN. He, already prepared to dissemble his sentiments, and assuming a mien of haughtiness, not only received the petition of AGRICOLA to be excused, but when he had granted it, suffered himself to be presented with formal thanks. Nor was he ashamed of conferring a grace so unpopular and odious. To AGRICOLA however he gave not the salary which was wont to be paid to Proconsuls, and which he himself had continued to some. Whether he were affronted that it was not asked, or whether restrained by his own guilty mind, lest he might seem to have purchased with money what he had hindered by his interposition and power. It is the nature of men, that whomsoever they injure they hate. Now DOMITIAN was in his temper apt to be suddenly transported into rage, and, in proportion as he smothered his vengeance, the more irreconcilable he always certainly proved. Yet by the prudence and moderation of AGRICOLA he was softened. For, by no contumacy of his, nor by any vain ostentation of a spirit of Liberty ill timed, did he court fame or urge his fate. Let such who are wont to admire things daring and forbidden, know, that even under evil Princes great men may be produced, and that by the means of modesty and observance, provided these be accompanied with application and vigour, they may rise to an equal measure of public estimation and praise with that of many, who through a conduct very stubborn and precipitate, but of no advantage to the Commonweal, have distinguished themselves by dying only to gain a great name.

AFFLICTING

AFFLICTING to us his family proved the end of his life, sorrowful to his friends; and even to foreigners and such as knew him not, matter of trouble and condolence. The commonalty likewise, and such people as were void of employment *, were not only frequent in their visits to his house, but in all public places, in all particular companies made him the subject of their conversation. Nor, when his death was divulged, was there a soul found who either rejoiced at it, or presently forgot it. What heightened the public commiseration and concern, was a prevailing rumor that he was dispatched by poison. That there was any proof of this, I dare not aver. Yet it is true, that during the whole course of his illness, DOMITIAN caused frequent visits to be made him, indeed much more frequent than Princes are wont to make, both by his favourite Freedmen and most trusty Physicians; whether through real concern for his health, or solicitude to learn the probability of his death. 'Tis well known that on the day in which he expired, continual accounts were, by messengers purposely placed, every instant transmitted to the Emperor, how fast his end was approaching; and no one believed, that he would thus quicken such tidings, had he been to feel any sorrow from hearing them. In his face however and even in his spirit he affected to shew some guise of grief; for, he was now secure against the object of his hate, and could more easily dissemble his present joy, than lately his fear. It was abundantly notorious how much it rejoiced him, upon reading the last Will of AGRICOLA, to find himself left joint heir with his excellent Wife and tender Daughter. This he took to have been done out of judgment and choice, and in pure honour to himself. So blind and corrupt was his mind rendered by continual flattery, as not to know, that to no Prince but a bad one will any good father bequeath his fortune.

AGRICOLA was born on the thirteenth of June, during the third Consulship of the Emperor CALIGULA. He died on the twenty fourth of August, during the Consulship of COLLEGA and PRISCUS, in the fifty sixth year

* Or it may be thus translated: "the body of the people though chiefly intent upon such affairs as concerned not the State."

of his age. If posterity be desirous to know his make and stature; in his person he was rather genteel and regular than tall. In his aspect there was nothing terrible. His looks were extremely gracious and pleasing. A good man you would have readily believed him, and been glad to have found that he was a great man. Nay, though he was snatched away whilst his age was yet in full vigour, if however his life be measured by his glory, he attained to a mighty length of days. For, every true felicity and acquisition, namely all such as arise from virtue, he had already enjoyed to the full. As he had been likewise dignified with the Consular and Triumphal Honours, what more could fortune add to his lustre and renown? After enormous wealth he sought not: an honourable share he possessed. As behind him he left surviving his Daughter and his Wife, he may be even accounted happy; since by dying whilst his credit was no wise impaired, his fame in its full splendor, his relations and friends yet in a state of security, he escaped the evils to come. For, as before us he was wont to express his wishes, that he might survive to see this truly blessed age, and TRAJAN swaying the Sovereignty, wishes which he uttered with presages as of what would surely ensue; so it was a wondrous consolation attending the quickness of his death, that thence he evaded the misery of the latter times, when DOMITIAN, who had ceased to exert his Tyranny by starts only and intermissions, was come now to rend the Commonwealth by cruelties without all respite, and to overthrow it as it were by one great and deadly stroke.

FOR, AGRICOLA saw not the Court of the Senate besieged, nor the Senate enclosed by armed men, nor the butchery of so many men of Consular dignity, nor the flight and exile of so many Ladies of the prime Nobility, all effected in one continued havock. Till then CARUS METIUS, the accuser, was only considerable for having been victorious in one bloody process; till then the cruel motions of MESSALLINUS rang only within the Palace at Alba; and in those days MASSA BEBIUS (afterwards so exercised in arraigning the innocent) was himself arraigned as a criminal. Presently after we, with our own hands, dragged HELVIDIUS to prison and execution: We beheld

the melancholy doom of MAURICUS and RUSTICUS. We found ourselves besprinkled with the innocent blood of SENECIO. Even NERO withheld his eyes from scenes of cruelty, he indeed ordered murders to be perpetrated, but saw not the perpetration. The principal part of our miseries under DOMITIAN, was to be obliged to see him and be seen by him, at a time when all our sighs and sorrows were watched and marked down for condemnation; when that cruel countenance of his, always covered with a settled red, whence he hardened himself against all shame and blushing, served him to mark and recount all the pale horrors at once possessing so many men. Thou therefore, AGRICOLA, art happy, not only as thy life was glorious, but as thy death was seasonable. According to the account of such who heard thy last words, thou didst accept thy fate cheerfully and with firmness, as if thou thus didst thy part to shew the Emperor to be guiltless. But to my self and thy Daughter, besides the anguish of having our Father snatched from us, it proves a fresh accession of sorrow, that we had not an opportunity to attend thee in thy sickness, to solace thy sinking spirits, to please our selves with seeing thee, please our selves with embracing thee. Doubtless, we should have greedily received thy instructions and sayings, and engraved them for ever upon our hearts. This is our woe, this a wound to our spirit, that by the lot of long absence from thee thou wast already lost to us for four years before thy death. There is no question, excellent Father, but that with whatever thy condition required thou wast honourably supplied, as thou wast attended by thy Wife, one so full of tenderness for her Husband: Yet fewer tears accompanied thy course, and during thy last moments somewhat was wanting to satisfy thine eyes.

If for the manes of the just any place be found; if, as Philosophers hold, great spirits perish not with the body, pleasing be thy repose. Moreover, recall us thy family from this our weakness in regretting thee, and from these our effeminate wailings, to the contemplation of thy virtues, for which it were unjust to lament or to mourn. Let us rather adorn thy memory with deathless praises, and (as far as our infirmities will allow) by pursuing

fuſing and adopting thy excellencies. This is true honour, this the natural duty incumbent upon every near relation. This is alſo what I would recommend to thy Daughter and thy Wife, ſo to reverence the memory of a Father, and a Husband, as to be ever ruminating upon all his doings, upon all his ſayings, and rather to adore his immortal name, rather the image of his mind than that of his perſon. Not that I mean to condemn the uſe of Statues, ſuch as are framed of marble or braſs. But as the perſons of men are frail and perishing, ſo are likewise the portraitures of men. The form of the ſoul is eternal, ſuch as you cannot repreſent and preſerve by the craft of hands or by materials foreign to its nature, nor otherwiſe than by a ſimilitude and conformity of manners. Whatever we loved in AGRICOLA, whatever we admired, remains, and will for ever remain implanted in the hearts of men, through an eternity of ages, and conveyed down in the voice of Fame, in the Record of things. For, many of the great Ancients, by being buried in oblivion, have thence reaped the fate of men altogether mean and inglorious: but AGRICOLA ſhall ever ſurvive in his Hiſtory here compoſed and tranſmitted to poſterity.

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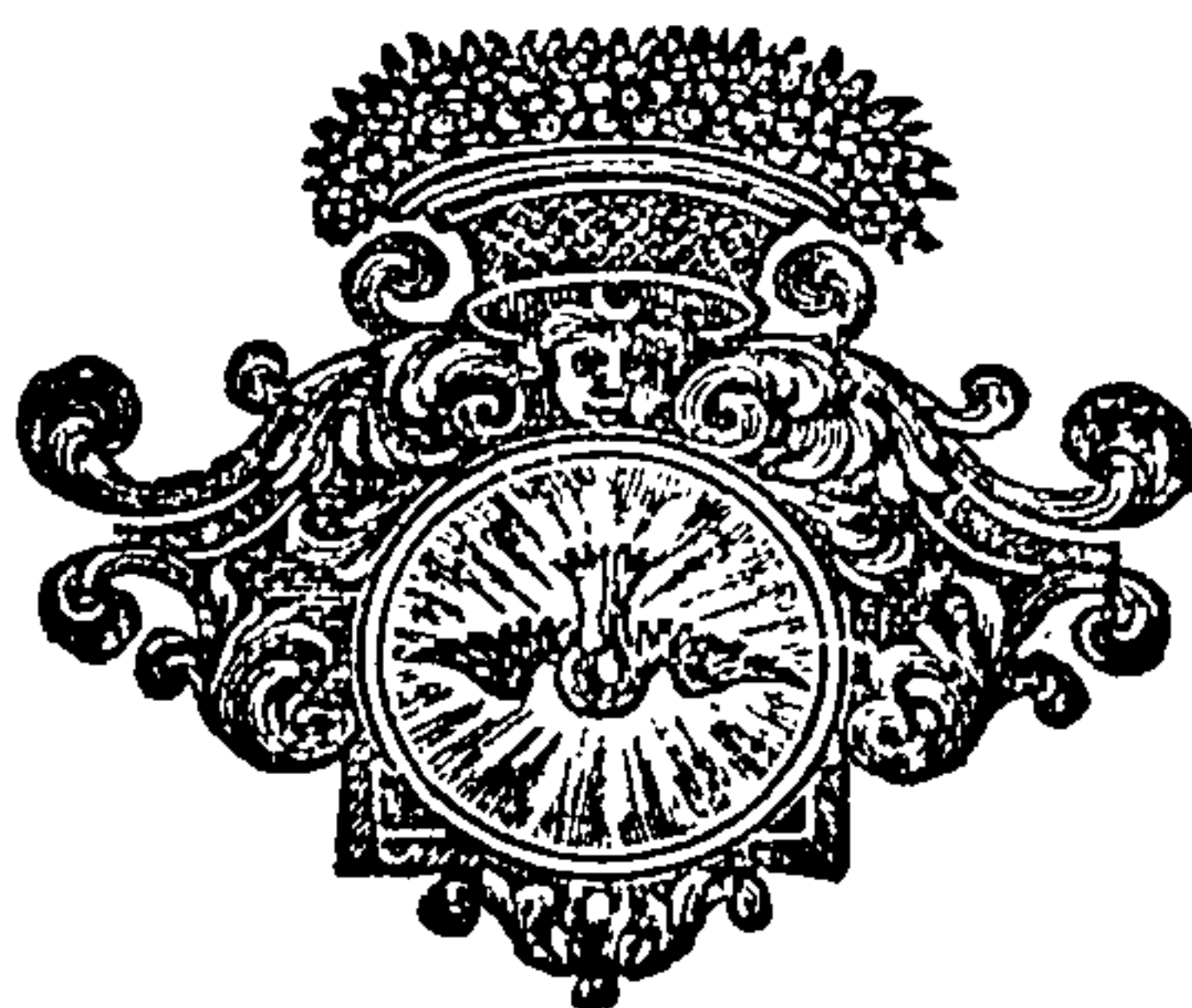
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